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**THE PEASANT MOVEMENT
IN
KWANGTUNG**

PART II

The Peasant Movement in Kwangtung

(Materials on the Agrarian problem in China)

In Two Parts

PART II

COLLECTION OF MATERIALS

**Prepared by M. VOLIN
and E. YOLK**

**UNDER THE EDITORSHIP AND
WITH A PREFACE BY
M. BORODIN**

Part Two contains, beside ten chapters, the following: Twelve half-tones, one three-coloured poster, twelve one-coloured posters, twelve placards, and an Appendix comprising Notes and a Chronological Table, together with an Index.

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TO OUR READERS.

As it has already been stated in the general introduction to our book, Part Two represents a collection of special materials, translated from the Chinese, referring to the peasant movement and covering the past several years (chiefly 1925 and 1926). The main source of those materials was the archives of the Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Union as well as the current periodicals of Canton (Chinese dailies, viz : the "Kuo Min Hsin Wen," "Min Kuo Jih Pao," and others).

All the materials selected are systemised and classified by the compilers according to ten respective chapters. The first six chapters (I to VI) deal with the problem of the Peasant Movement and National Revolution. The remaining four chapters (VII to X) are devoted to the issue of the social struggle within the village.

Each piece of the said materials ends with a reference as to its source and date. In most cases the materials of the present collection constitute the finished translations of the respective Chinese materials. In some cases, according to the character of some or other chapter, it was necessary to put in only the corresponding extracts from same.

The main task of the compilers of the present "Collection of Materials" was to give as much as possible a detailed and finished illumination of the principal features of the Peasant Movement in Kwangtung exclusively by documents and official materials.

Bearing the character of an independent work, the present "Collection of Materials" acquires especial interest and significance as an addition to Part One of the PEASANT MOVEMENT IN KWANGTUNG.

M. VOLIN
E. YOLK

January 15, 1927.

Canton, Kwangtung,
South China.

PART TWO

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The Peasant Movement in Kwangtung

(Materials on the Agrarian problem in China)

In Two Parts

PART II

COLLECTION OF MATERIALS

Prepared by M. VOLIN
and E. YOLK

UNDER THE EDITORSHIP AND
WITH A PREFACE BY
M. BORODIN

Part Two contains, beside ten chapters, the following: Twelve half-tones, one three-coloured poster, twelve one-coloured posters, twelve placards, and an Appendix comprising Notes and a Chronological Table, together with an Index.

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CHAPTER I.

IMPERIALISM

AND THE

KWANGTUNG PEASANTRY.

A. INTRODUCTION.

1. IMPERIALISM AND THE KWANGTUNG PEASANTS.

(Resolution passed by the 1st Delegates Conference of Kwangtung Peasants.)

Suffering from the external exploitation of the Imperialistic nations of Britain, America, France and Japan, and bleeding from the internal ravages of the militarists, China has been transformed into a semi-colony.

Eighty years ago, when the Imperialists first invaded China, their wicked schemes, were:—(1) to occupy our Customs Stations (2) to occupy our waterways, (3) to assist our Army leaders—the militarists. When they had accomplished the first step in their schemes all Customs Stations were handed over to them, and the rate was fixed with their approval. When they had accomplished the second step, our railways and waterways met with the same fate as the Customs Stations. Their steamships and railway trains could enter our ports and cities at liberty; the surplus of their manufactured goods which they could not sell in their dominions were all transported into China for sale and at the same time our raw materials, such as cotton and silk were brought back at low prices. These materials were turned into manufactured goods into their factories and were then taken back to China to be sold at very high prices. Thus our money was absorbed by them and they held a death-grip on our finances. Imperialists established factories in the interior of China, purchased raw materials from the neighbourhood at low prices, employed cheaply-paid Chinese workers, and thus stole both the money and the rights of our people. Each year, as much as \$500,000,000 of our money enters the pockets of the Imperialists. Thus British, American, French, and Japanese goods were shipped in large quantities into China and took the place of our local goods which gradually decreased in production. What we wear and what we use are foreign goods. In addition to this, our silk trade has been defeated by the Japanese; our cotton trade has been ruined by the British who took Indian cotton instead; our tea trade has been overcome by the Japanese; our sugar trade has been defeated by the Dutch; our rice trade has been conquered by the Siamese; and our paper trade has been overcome by the British and the Americans. As a result we now produce only 20% of what we produced in former times and our export trade furnished less than 20% of our revenue. When the Imperialists had accomplished the third step of their schemes, all our army-leaders—the Militarists—are in their pay. Thus the Japanese assisted Yuan Shi-kai to become Emperor, instigated Tuan Chi-jui to lead the Tsuchun's Union to revolt, and helped Hsuen Tung (the ex-Emperor of the Ching Dynasty) to regain his throne. The British

helped Tsao Kun to become President and urged Chen Chiung-ming¹) to take up the post as Commander-in-Chief of the Kwangtung Army in Tung Kiang; the Americans helped Chih Shih-yuan to occupy Kiangsu and to make war against Lu Yung-hsiang, who was at that time backed by the French. In addition to this, the Japanese are at present helping Chang Tso-lin to extend his power from the Three Eastern Provinces into the interior of China; they are also assisting Tuan Chi-jui to take up his post of the Chief Executive of China; they also aided Tang Chi-yao²) in his recent invasion of Kwangsi (we have discovered that the guns used by the invading army under Tang Chi-yao were bought from the Japanese.) The remnants of Tsao Kun and Wu Pei-fu's followers—Hsiao Yao-nan, Fang Pen-jen, Sun Chuan-fang are still occupying the provinces along the Yangtze River through the assistance of the British. The organisation of the Kuomintang by General Feng Yu-hsiang was due to the aid of the Americans. Another obvious proof of the assistance given by the Imperialists to the Chinese Militarists is the \$3,000,000 lent by the Americans to Teng Pen-yin³) for use against the Kwangtung Revolutionary Government. The militarists also oppress and plunder the workers and peasants, and their followers are only too eager to follow their example. Thus thousands and thousands of dollars have been stolen by the followers of Chen Chiung-ming and Lin Hu⁴) in the East River Districts and by Teng Pen-yin in Hainan and Leichow.

The evil deeds of the Imperialists are not confined to those mentioned above. In addition, they perform two more wicked actions. One of them is the transportation of great quantities of opium into China every year, to be sold in every town, port, and district. By this means, they not only rob us of our money, but they also lead us to become opium-smokers and enfeeble our bodies so that we cannot work for our living. In Pao An and Tung Kuan Districts where opium is being transported from Hongkong and Kowloon, nearly twenty per cent of the population are opium-smokers; in Leichow, owing to the transportation of opium from Kwang Chow Wan, a similar condition is found. These opium-smokers not only lost their work and became unemployed, but their bodies also became thin, black and ghastly. Furthermore, the Imperialists import into China great quantities of poppy plants which they, through the aid of the Militarists, force the peasants to plant in their fields. This planting of poppy plants wastes both ground and time, and thus lessens the production of our food-stuffs. Famine is thus the inevitable result. In Leichow, owing to a great famine, more than 200,000 farmers died of starvation, while those who had not died were forced to immigrate to other districts. Thousands and thousands of our male peasants went to the Strait Settlements and French Indo-China to work as slaves there; hundreds and hundreds of our women peasants went to Kwang Chow Wan and Macao to become prostitutes. The other wicked action of the Imperialists is to spread their bank-notes throughout the interior of China. By this means, they seize control of our economic system.

In Treaty ports like Canton, Hongkong notes are accepted in commercial transactions, and one Hongkong dollar is valued at one dollar and thirty cents, Canton Currency. Even in the interior villages, foreign bank-notes are much used in business transactions.

From the above facts, we see that the main cause of our economic sufferings are the wicked actions of the Imperialists and militarists, together with their "hunting dogs"—the petty officials and the wicked gentry. In addition, the great land-lords, greedy money-lenders and treacherous merchants also exploit us in the economic field.

In recent years our propaganda work against Imperialism has not met with any great results. Our fellow peasants have not yet realized the evils of the Imperialists. Hereafter, we must redouble our efforts and convince the peasants of the following facts:

The Imperialists are our greatest enemies. Kwangtung, being a coastal province, was in communication with the foreigners earlier than the other provinces and consequently her sufferings have been more bitter. The lease of Macao to the Portuguese at the end of the Ming Dynasty was the beginning of a long series of oppressions. After our defeat by the foreigners in the Opium War, Hongkong was occupied by the British. Later on, Kwang Chow Wan was taken away by the French; and thus all the strategic points of Kwangtung fell into the hands of the Imperialists. Foreign goods have been shipped into our interior for more than eighty years, and this has brought about the financial distress of our farmers who, though very rich at first, were soon turned into poor and unemployed vagabonds. Twenty years ago, the capitalists in the Strait Settlements and in America wanted Chinese workers because they were honest and were willing to work for low wages. So at that time, numerous peasants, mostly natives of Kwangtung, who were obliged to leave their native villages to seek their living, were induced to go to those places. Later on, when they did not want any more Chinese workers, harsh regulations were passed, prohibiting Chinese immigration, and Chinese subjects in their ports and cities were harshly treated. Thus the oppression of the Imperialists has gradually increased from day to day.

Foreign goods are to be found even in the smallest and remotest villages. As a result, the financial condition of our peasants was severely affected, the progress of our young home industries was greatly obstructed. Those unemployed farmers who could neither emigrate to other countries nor find any work in the factories, had to become coolies and rickshaw pullers in the cities. The rapid increase of such coolies caused a decrease in their earnings and consequently made their livelihood much more difficult. Many of them were employed by the Militarists and turned into unruly soldiers; others were forced to robbery and theft and became local bandits. Moreover it is very easy for unemployed peasants to become bandits, because

grant quantities of new guns and ammunitions have been secretly brought into China from foreign countries for this purpose. In addition to these material exploitations, the Imperialists also brought along their Christianity to tempt our spirit, and missionaries were sent into the interior of China to investigate the conditions and customs of our people. Moreover the splits and dissensions of the politicians and the civil wars of the militarists are almost a ways due to foreign instigation or intervention. British assistance for Chen Chiung-ming and Lin Hu, Japanese aid for Tang Chi-yao, and American secret aid for Teng Pen-yin are obvious instances of the above statement. The Imperialists, by means of their financial and economic aggressions, wish to make our country a perpetual bazaar for their goods and our people their perpetual slaves. Therefore Imperialism is our greatest and deadliest enemy. As long as Imperialism is not overthrown, the emancipation of our peasants can never be accomplished. We must carry out what we have neglected in the past—a systematic propaganda against Imperialism. By our slogans, "Abolish the Unequal Treaties!", "Increase the duty on imported goods", we must show the people the evils of Imperialistic aggression, so as to make every one of us clearly understand what Imperialism is and how we can overthrow it. In places where the poison of Christianity is spread we must stir up the people to oppose the missionaries who are occupying our fields and oppressing our populace. There are the first steps of our anti-Imperialistic campaign.

(May, 1925.)

B. IMPERIALISTIC OPPRESSION IN KWANGTUNG.

1. British Imperialism in Kwangtung.

I. GENERAL.

The island of Hongkong has been the headquarters of British Imperialism in South China since its capture at the point of the bayonet by Great Britain in the Opium War eighty years ago. The mainland of Kowloon has become the protecting fence of Hongkong since its concession to Great Britain twenty-eight years ago. Thus the stepping-stone of British Imperialism in China has become strongly fortified. The peasants of Kwangtung have suffered greatly under British oppression. When she captured Kowloon, her soldiers massacred the peasants who resisted them. Since then, tens of thousands of peasants in and near Kowloon have become her slaves. Furthermore Hongkong and Kowloon are also the meeting places of the militarists, wicked officials corrupt gentry, local bullies and bandits who are instigated and paid to disturb the peace and order of the neighbouring province.

Since Hongkong and Kowloon were captured they have been developed into commercial ports. From these two places, their goods are shipped into every district of Kwangtung, so that the people have learned to prefer foreign goods to home-made ones. As a result agricultural products have become less and less, economic conditions in the rural villages have become seriously affected and the livelihood of the peasants have been made doubly difficult. Driven by poverty from their farms, over 30% of our peasant population have become either soldiers, bandits, workers in the cities, or emigrants overseas.

Furthermore, British Imperialism has found it profitable to permit opium-smoking in Hongkong. As a result, over 20% of the peasants in the southern districts of Kwangtung are addicted to opium-smoking. The peasants also prefer the bank-notes of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, because of the high rate of exchange (one dollar, Hongkong currency, is worth one dollar and thirty cents, Canton silver.)

British Imperialism is found not only in the fields of politics and economics, but also in education. The many Christian churches and Christian schools in the rural villages near the Canton-Kowloon Railway furnish an underiable proof.

(From a Special Report 7-7-26.)

2. ANTI-IMPERIALISTIC MOVEMENTS AND THE SECOND EXPEDITION TO CLEAR THE EAST RIVER DISTRICTS.

A second expedition to clear the East River Districts has now become an inevitable affair. It is most unfortunate that we have to divert a portion of our forces on the small militarists at a time when we should concentrate all our energy on the anti-Imperialist movement. But we must not fail to see that though the expedition to the East River Districts and the Anti-Imperialistic Movement appear to be different matters, yet as a matter of fact, they are movements of the same nature. In clearing the East River Districts, we are not only uniting Kwangtung but are also exterminating the parasitic growth of the Imperialists in South China.

To prove the above statement, we need but observe the fact that our East River District enemies did not attempt to attack us at the time when Yung and Liu rebelled⁵⁾, when the Shukee massacre occurred, or when Lam Chig-min Chu Cheuk-man assassinated Minister Liao⁶⁾. At that time the Nationalist Government was in a more dangerous and helpless position. Our enemies were not unconscious of this, yet they did not make any attack upon us until the present moment, when the foundation of the Nationalist Government has been greatly strengthened. If we can apprehend this point, we will understand the relation of the second expedition to the East River Districts to the Anti-Imperialistic Movement.

Hongkong is the headquarters of Imperialistic aggression against South China. As fate would have it, the foundation of Anti-Imperialism is established in Kwangtung. That the frequent war calamities in Kwangtung are the results of the agitation of the Imperialists who incite and support the petty militarists, is a fact too well known to mention.

Recently, the Imperialists in Hongkong have suffered great losses, and are at their wits' end. Their appeal to the British Government to employ military force against Kwangtung has failed. Their conspiracy with the Counter-Revolutionary Forces to assassinate important revolutionary leaders has had no effect. Their rumours are inefficacious. Their attempts to break the Strike⁷⁾ are of no avail. Therefore, as their last resort, they are supporting the counter-revolutionaries in the East River Districts, utilizing Chinese to kill their own countrymen with the purpose of crushing the Counter-Imperialistic movements. They had long decided to employ this policy of "borrowing knives to kill." Only they would not resort to it until they had tried various other methods. But now they have no other way. The time has come for the harboured project to be put into reality. This is the reason why the counter-revolutionaries in the East River Districts are attacking us at this moment. They would have done so long ago if only they had obtained the support.

中國濟難會廣東總會徵求會員

勿忘沙基慘殺

鋒先革命護救

怖惡白色對反



This vivid picture, published by the Kwangtung Branch of the National Distress Relief Association, depicts the massacre of unarmed Chinese paraders by the British Imperialists at Shaker, Canton, on June 23, 1925. The characters at the sides read "Oppose the White Terror" and "Support the vanguard of the Revolution."

We have actual knowledge that the Imperialists are supplying munitions to them. Hence by clearing the East River Districts, we deprive Imperialism of its chance to exist in South China.

Suppose the revolutionary forces were defeated by the East River counter-revolutionaries, suppose the whole province were under the control of Chen Chiung-ming's army, what would be the fate of Kwangtung? We can easily foretell that, their first order would be to dissolve the peasant and workers' associations in the shortest time possible. For instance, have they not dissolved all the labour associations in Swatow? Are not the peasants in Wu Hua the helpless victims of their troops? Their second order would be to make peace with Hongkong unconditionally and the strikers would be forced to resume work. They would welcome our enemies with open arms.

Since they have received support from the Hongkong Government, they would assuredly carry out these orders as an act of reciprocity.

They will have their third and fourth orders, but we need go no further. In a word, we are absolutely sure they will be exceedingly good friends of the Imperialists and deadly foes of the peasants and workers. The militarists in the North who, for the sake of pleasing the Imperialists, undertook without hesitation to dissolve the Labour Union formed by two hundred thousand workers, and then even help the Imperialists and Capitalists to kill Chinese labourers. These are good examples of what we mean.

Friends! Are we going to let Imperialism haunt us? If not, we should do our utmost to assist the Revolutionary Army to clear the East River Districts and thus eliminate the growth of Imperialism in China. Let us not assume a neutral attitude towards the revolutionary forces.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen 5-10-25)

3. HONGKONG GOVERNMENT CONSPIRES WITH DISBANDED TROOPS TO STIR UP TROUBLE IN SHA YU CHONG.

In view of the fact that the Hongkong Government is treacherously sending cruisers and aeroplanes to assist the disbanded troops of the enemy to attack our troops and pickets, the Strike Committee has sent the following petition to the Nationalist Government:—

"A report has been received by our Committee from Chan Kim-wu, a picket leader, stating that the Hongkong Government has conspired with the disbanded troops of the enemy, and attacked our pickets and Armoured Car Corps,

killing several of them. A detail report of the tragedy is appended herewith for your information,

"On October 30th pickets stationed in Sha Yu Chong were surrounded by defeated troops under the command of Tang Man-lit and Mok Hung. On receiving this information, 25 pickets under Ngai Kam-yin together with the Armoured Car Corps were sent to relieve them. They arrived at Sha Yu Chong at 6 o'clock in the morning of the 1st, but the defeated troops had already dispersed. Plans for the rescue of the pickets arrested by enemy troops in Tungshan and Nam Oh were then devised, but being uncertain of the strength of the enemy, the Armoured Car Corps and pickets did not advance, but sent a telegram to Chu Wong-pui, leader of Sha Yu Chong's Merchant Volunteers, to bring about an amicable settlement with Tang Man-lit and Loh Kwan. The latter replied that they would send delegates to Sha Yu Chong the following day and open negotiations in connection therewith. But on the day in question no delegates came. On the night of the 3rd, Chu Wong-pui and Li Kwok-hung, leaders of the People's Volunteers, were requested to proceed to Tai Pan Sing, in order to explain matters to Tang and Loh, and secure the release of the captives. But at about midnight Chu Wong-pui returned and reported that Tang Man-lit and Loh Kwan were out, and that as nobody was responsible for the captives' release, negotiations would be opened by Li Kwok-hung on the next day. It was also reported that the troops under Tang and Loh did not amount to over 300, and that since the 2nd a steamer had been running between Hong-kong and Tai Pan Sing. Over 100 men with the appearance of soldiers, and a load of general merchandise were carried back on every trip. On receipt of this information from the peasants, martial law was proclaimed. At 4.50 p.m. on the 4th, a band of 1,000 men, composed of troops under Tang Man-lit, Loh Kwan, Regimental Leader Wong Fook-chee of the 12th Division of Chen Chiung-ming's forces, Chu Ping-sow, Chu Wong-pui and Li Kwok-hung occupied the hills and launched a general attack on the Armoured Car Corps and the pickets, who acted as sentries on the left flank. Two detachment of the Armoured Car Corps occupied a rising ground on the left and put up a desperate resistance against the enemy's attack. At about 5 o'clock some 100 enemy soldiers attacked us from the rear, and another detachment was sent to check their advance. Orders were given to the soldiers to hold their post to the last man. Our soldiers made a desperate charge and routed the enemy. At 5.30 over 100 of the enemy were seen on a hill on the right and they attacked us in two directions. When we had fought hard for about an hour and a half, two gunboats were seen bringing four junks, and at the sound of the siren, the enemy attacked us again from three directions, but they were repulsed. At that time, a company leader and a squadron leader of the enemy's troops were killed, and availing themselves of this opportunity, the Armoured Car Corps counter-attacked and defeated them.

(From Min Kuo Jih Pao 11-16-25.)

(4.) BRITISH MAN-OF-WAR SUPPLIES KONGMOON BANDITS WITH MUNITIONS.

Our special correspondent at Kongmoon reports as follows:—

(1) Tien Ho in Hsin Hui is a rendezvous for bandits. Now that the notorious bandits, Wai Chui-yui, Ng Sam-kiang, Chow Hen-leng and Hak Min-ke, learn that the Government is carrying out bandit suppression, they are purchasing munitions from a British man-of-war and are making the dike at Tien Ho bank (this dike was formerly constructed by Tam Hok-hang for preventing floods. Its height is over ten feet and its situation is strategic) their 1st. line of defence against attacks from the sea. About several hundred feet from the dike, there is a highland, planted all over with mulberry trees, and from it the level places can be commanded. This highland is their 2nd line of defence and if they are defeated, they will retreat towards Cheong Ping Market, which is their rear headquarters. In this market, there is a tea-house which is used by the bandit leaders as a gathering place. Their base is at Tai Ngan Hill (from this hill they go to Kiu Kong and Hok Shan). The mountain range extends in all directions, and so makes pursuit very dangerous. The total number of bandits is over 6,000. They are under the command of the rebel Ngai Pong-ping, who is in league with the British Imperialists.

The foregoing information is obtained from a certain Ow, a villager of Wang Kong. Wang Kong adjoins Tien Ho Market and so Ow knows the bandits' affairs very thoroughly.

(2) At about 6 p.m. on the 17th instant, the Lai Lok bandits went to Sa Chai Mee in Kongmoon and kidnapped the partner of a Joss-stick shop. The Militia, on learning this news, gathered together and marched to the spot to fight against the bandits, which fight continued for about two hours. The bandits knew that they could not win, so they killed the captive and dispersed. The bandit leader, Leong On, seeing that all the Militia of Kongmoon had left the city in pursuit, ordered his men to march to Kou Tou and attack Kongmoon by this route.

The Headquarters of the Fourth Army at Kongmoon telegraphed to Hsin-Hui City ordering the different troops to come to Kongmoon to defend the city, and also despatched troops to join the Militia to cross the sea and pursue the bandits. They burnt down several thatched houses of the bandits at the entrance of Lai-lok village. It is said that the reason why the bandits were so powerful this time was that they had received aid from the Imperialists. The number of bandits in Lai-lok is about 4,000.

(3) In Kuo Tou Hill, there are also over 3,000 bandits. Their leader is Teong Sheah. Their dens are at Lan Tai Shun and the vicinity. Last month a British man-of-war supplied them with a large quantity of munitions and mines. They have laid the mines in the sea near Lan Tai Shun, thus blocking the southern

route and endangering the passage. The unwavering intention of the Imperialists to overthrow our Government is shown in all these episodes

(From *Min Kuo Jih Pao* 26-1-26)

5. HUNTING-DOGS DESPATCHED BY HONGKONG IMPERIALISTS
TO ESTABLISH ORGAN FOR SELLING MUNITIONS IN MACAO.

The Hongkong Imperialists are greatly enraged at our opposition and have always been devising methods to frustrate our patriotic movements, especially those of Canton, which is under the Nationalist Government and forms the foundation of our Chinese National Revolution.

It is reported that after the Hongkong Imperialists' intrigue to supply munitions to the "Paper Tigers" *) failed, they were still engaged in devising measures to bring about the destruction of our Government, and recently they have despatched their faithful hunting-dogs, Chen Kung-sau and the unapprehended criminals of the Liao Case, to establish an organ in Macao for selling munitions to bandits, in order to facilitate the creating of disturbances in Kwangtung territory.

(From *Min Kuo Jih Pao* 23-2-26)

6. HONGKONG GOVERNMENT SUPPLIES ARMS AND AMMUNITIONS
TO NOTORIOUS ROWDIES OF SHA CHIANG.

Chan Ping-naam and other rowdies of Sha Chiang village, Pao An district, have always conspired with the dishonest merchants to smuggle commodities to Hongkong from Canton and vice versa. On account of this, they have come into conflict with the pickets, and have even besieged and attacked the peasant corps. The Government has not yet punished them severely, so they have become bolder and bolder. Lately, they ordered a great quantity of pistols from the Hongkong Government and hid them in goods packages in order to smuggle them into Canton.

(From *The Plough* No. 3, 27-7-16)

7. IMPERIALISTS ABET BANDITS TO CREATE DISTURBANCES.

The Hongkong Government has always been insincere in its efforts to settle the Canton-Hongkong strike commenced in June of last year. Instead they plan to overthrow our Nationalist Government, suppress our National movements and destroy the strike. For example, they instigated Chen Chiung-ming and Teng Pen-yin to rebel in the Eastern and Southern Districts. Moreover the invasion of Kwangsi by Tang Chi-yao, the Liu-Yang revolt, the insurrection of Ngai Pong-

ping and Liang Hung-kai*), and the suspension of Customs¹⁰⁾ were also the results of the intrigues of the Hongkong Government. Last month the Imperialists once more tried to instigate the reactionaries of the province to fabricate malicious rumours in order to demoralise the economic condition of the Nationalist Government. The original plan of the Hongkong Government was to prepare \$10,000,000 ready cash and at the same time order the reactionaries to secretly go to Canton and manufacture malicious rumours saying that the Nationalist Government would practice communism on May 1 or May 15. In addition they appropriated \$3,000,000 to the reactionaries to exchange for Central Bank notes. Therefore we had the disturbed condition on May 1 and a run on the Central Bank on May 15. Fortunately the Central Bank was steady and met the unexpected run, and after the May 15 Kuomintang Congress the rumours automatically expired. The imperialistic intrigues once more turned out a failure. But their rapacious nature has not in the least declined and recently news was received that the Hongkong Government would utilize the reactionaries and bandits to disturb the rear during the Northern Expedition. They determined to put aside \$10,000,000 for this plan. A few days ago, gunboats were sent to Chung Shan District to invite over 70 reactionaries and bandit chiefs of Chung Shan, Shun Teh, Tung Kuan and Tseng Chen to a secret meeting in Hongkong. The result of their round table conference was unknown, but it is reported that the upshot of the meeting was that the bandit chiefs returned with large sums of money to distribute to their subordinates as an encouragement to attack and occupy the districts and disturb the rear of the Northern Expedition Troops.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen 24-6-26)

8. CHEN CHIUNG-MING REPORTED TO BE IN HONGKONG.

Not long ago, Rebel Chen Chiung-ming proceeded to Malaya disguised as a Turk, and recently he is reported to have returned to Hongkong, attempting to plot against the Nationalist Government during our present punitive expedition against the North. Being associated with the corrupt compradores and politicians, Rebel Chen is planning to recover his former power in Kwangtung by working in collusion with bandits and Northern militarists.

Recently Chen Chiung-ming despatched Chung Siu-nan, ex-Commissioner of Finance, as envoy to consult with Yang Kuan-yu on methods for stirring up disturbances in the domain of the Nationalist Government. During the last few days, Chen's envoy was seen busily travelling between Hongkong and Macao on his mission to consult with Compradore Chen Kung-Shao¹¹⁾ and traitor Feng Tse-Ju, betrayer of the late Dr. Sun and the Party.

It is reported that the rebels' plan for invading Kwangtung is to get bandits to disturb the peace and order of the various districts after our Northern Expeditionary Army has been despatched to the Hunan front. The Nationalist Government is now keeping strict watch for rebels and their actions will not hinder our Northern Expeditionary Campaign at all.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen 25-6-25)

9. HONGKONG IMPERIALISTS FINANCE WARLORD WU PEI-FU TO INVADE KWANGTUNG.

Since the commencement of the Canton-Hongkong Strike, the British Imperialists in Hongkong have been repeatedly plotting against the Nationalist Government in an attempt to overthrow the Revolutionary Base of China, Canton, so that they may at the same time put an end to our patriotic movement. Recently the British Imperialists in Hongkong have again been working in collusion with Warlord Wu Pei-fu with the intention of financing him to invade Kwangtung.

The Japanese "Daily News" at Shanghai states that Dr. Wellington Koo, the bogus Finance Minister of Peking, has recently been negotiating with the Hongkong Government for a loan of \$20,000,000 and that the borrowed money will be remitted by the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation to Peking to be used as military expenses for sending an expedition against Kwangtung. According to the contract the British Imperialists will first hand \$10,000,000 to Warlord Wu and the rest will be remitted after the capture of Canton, the Revolutionary Base of China.

It is reported that as soon as the Bogus Cabinet at Peking is inaugurated, Warlord Wu will receive a large sum of money from the British Imperialists in Hongkong through the recommendation of Ma Soo, betrayer of Dr. Sun, who was expelled from the Kuomintang some three years ago.

(From Min Kuo Jih Pao 28-6-26)

10. BRITISH SOLDIERS ARREST VILLAGERS AT FANLING.

Since the strike in Hongkong, the British have been in a great terror. All along the railway from Kowloon to Shumchun, troops were posted as if war was expected. On July 20, over 100 British soldiers were sent to arrest the Chinese villagers at Fanling. More than 200 Chinese were carried away in motor-cars and were forced to build fortifications at Kowloon, because the British Imperialists could not hire any other workers during the Strike.

(From Min Kuo Jih Pao 2-7-26)

II. French Imperialism in Kwangtung.

1. GENERAL.

French Imperialism is seen in its occupation of Annam and Kwang Chow Wan, two of the most important ports of South China. Hence the economic development of southern Kwangtung has been greatly hindered. Moreover not far away is Hongkong, and we may be sure that in case of any dispute, British and French Imperialism would unite against us. In the treaty ports of Pak-hoi and Hai-kou the imperialistic influence has also spread far and wide and missionary schools, foreign firms and banks are more numerous than Chinese ones. Although Waichow and Ling-chai are not French colonies, they are under Christian influence and have become the tools of the French imperialists. Almost all the residents there are Christians. Chap-po (Hoi-ling Island) in Yang-kiang, on which Britain has long cast covetous eyes, was surveyed by a British man-of-war last year. We know that the British have made a map of it with the aim of opening a port there. In view of the foregoing, we can well imagine that the economic, political and cultural conditions in the southern districts of Kwangtung will be in a bad way.

A. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS:—Peanuts is the chief agricultural product of the southern districts. Since the encroachment of imperialism, kerosene has taken the place of peanut oil, which is now under a dull market. Hence the peasants who are engaged in the peanut oil trade have become less and less. At present kerosene is sold at a very high price under a monopoly. Because of inconvenient communications, foreign goods were seldom seen in the rural villages in the past, and as a whole, the peasants still preferred the native goods. At present the condition is entirely changed. Almost all the peasants use foreign goods, which are now easily transported into the rural villages by motor cars because public roads have already been built.

As for business, the merchants as a whole prefer to trade in Kwang Chow Wan than in the interior because (1) they are protected by a foreign power and (2) they can enrich themselves more easily by selling opium. In consequence, a great quantity of opium is smuggled from Kwang Chow Wan into the interior, where it finds a ready market, and British and French bank-notes are also freely used. Compared with conditions ten years ago, the price of native agricultural products has risen twice as high, while that of foreign goods have risen to three and even four times as high.

B. POLITICAL CONDITIONS:—(a) LOCAL BANDITS: Although we cannot say that there were no bandits in the Southern Districts in the past, yet they were not so numerous as at present. Since 1916, Kwang Chow Wan has become the rendezvous of the bandits from Chikham and the surrounding districts. Ammunition, especially cartridges, can easily be bought from Hongkong or supplied by the French Imperialists at Kwang Chow Wan. The captured goods and kidnapped persons may be hidden in

Kwang Chow Wan for sale or for the extortion of ransom. So in the neighbouring districts bandits have gathered together in large numbers, fully armed and equipped. They therefore are strong enough to resist any attack. They cause great trouble, especially at Leichow which is very close to Kwang Chow Wan. During the past ten years, almost one-third of the population have left the district, large areas of fertile fields have been given up as barren land, and thousands of kidnapped women have been sold to become prostitutes. There are about 1,000 bandits in Kwang Chow Wan, 1,000 in Hongkong, and several hundreds in Kongmoon, Macao, Hai Kou, Pak Hoi, On Po, Mui Luk and Shui Tung. This group of bandits not only cause trouble to Leichow and Hainan, but also to Kwangsi. It is said that at present most of the bandits in Lookhuen and Pokpak have come from Kaochow and Leichow.

(b) MILITARISTS, CORRUPT OFFICIALS, GENTRIES AND REACTIONARIES :—They all gather together in Kwang Chow Wan. The French were very pleased when Lung Chi-kwang¹²) occupied the Southern Districts, and stored his ammunition for him when he was driven out. Again, both the French and the British supported Teng Pen-yin and other rebels when they invaded the Southern Districts and stored their ammunition for them when they too were driven out. The French imperialists have even asked the corrupt gentry of Leichow, as Chan Yu-chi and Chan Chak-chung, to become judges in Sai Ying, Kwang Chow Wan.

C. CIVILIZATION:—The Imperialists have established their churches and missionary schools all over the southern districts in order to entice the people to become Christians. They are especially prevalent at Pakhoi, Weichow and Lingchai, and then in Yangkiang, Shuitung, Muilok and Leichow. The people in Weichow and Lingchai are almost all Christians. The preachers directed by the French Government distribute many rifles and pistols to the masses in order to persuade them to become French citizens. In Pakhoi there are many missionary schools established by the British, the Americans, the French, and the Germans. In the Manchu Dynasty the Christians always conducted lawsuits for their converts. Their influence was especially great under the regime of militarist, Teng Pen-yin.

From the above, we get a general idea of the condition of the southern districts under French Imperialism. But this yoke has never been willingly borne by the masses there, especially the peasants. When France invaded Annam, Lau Yu and Fung Chi-choi, natives of Yin-chow, led the troops against the French and decisively defeated them. The masses in Yin-chow and Lien-chow have always remembered this event and are very pleased whenever there is a prospect of a fight with the French. Again, when France began to occupy Kwang Chow Wan, the peasants of Leichow and Wu Chuan resisted them for three months. The villagers of Wong Lek and Ma Cheong put up such a persistent and courageous resistance and resisted the French bravely several times that the French dared not capture their homes, but very wisely left them under Chinese administration. Thus we see

that the anti-imperialistic struggles of the peasants has a historic background of which they may well be proud.

To obtain emancipation we must first overthrow Imperialism. This is a fact which we must never forget. It is a hopeful sign that the anti-Christianity campaign has become active again since the Revolutionary Army captured the southern districts. In consequence many churches and missionary schools have closed their doors. The peasants in Kei Ka of Shui Kai have agreed not to admit Christians to their associations, and most of the people of Weichow and Lingchai have deserted the churches because the preachers, fearing a revolt of the masses, took back all the rifles and pistols which they had formerly distributed.

2. THE PEOPLE OF LEI CHOW UNDER THE YOKE OF IMPERIALISM.

(Reported by the Political Bureau of the 4th Revolutionary Army)

Upon the arrival of the Political Bureau of the 4th Revolutionary Army at Lei Chow they called a conference of the officials, military officers, and representatives of the people, and formed a rehabilitation association for the eradication of rebels and the maintenance of peace and order.

The following is a telegram despatched by the Political Bureau of the 4th Revolutionary Army reporting the conditions of the people in Lei Chow and the procedures of the formation of the association.

(1) THE OPPRESSION OF KWANG CHOW WAN IMPERIALISTS.

There is a motor route which serves as the most convenient line of communication between Lei Chow and Kwong Chow Wan. The peasants and labourers collect in the concession to earn a living, and as they are within the influence of the economic aggression of the French imperialists, the standard of living is high. The foodstuffs grown in the interior are bought by the French imperialists and so oftentimes famine follows. At the same time the rich fear the bandits of their own villages and are unwilling to invest their wealth to develop industries; but they admire the foreign concession and so remove to Kwang Chow Wan. So eventually honest people can find no way of maintaining their living in Lei Chow and the only way to save their lives is to turn bandit, while the strong run the risk and indulge in any work which meets their fancy. Moreover Kwang Chow Wan is famous for its opium business. The chief occupation of the people is the selling of ammunition and opium. For this reason people easily become thieves and from thieves they turn bandits. Furthermore the French Imperialists give them rifles, and harbour them when orders are issued by the Chinese authorities for their arrest. Therefore the more Kwang Chow Wan flourishes, the more bandits there are in Lei Chow.

(2) THE OPPRESSION OF TENG PEN-YIN.

After the petty warlord Teng Pen-yin occupied Lei Chow the people were cruelly ill-treated, and soldiers were allowed to rob at will. The soldiers were no other better than bandits. When the villagers attacked the bandits, they found that the bandits were protected by the soldiers. Hence the villagers are compelled to become bandits.

(sd) *The Political Bureau of the 4th Revolutionary Army.*

3. FRENCH SOLDIERS MURDER CHINESE WORKER IN TUNG HSING.

A Chinese worker named Yau Wah-shen was shot dead by a French soldier in Mong Street, Tung Hsing. The following report of the tragedy was submitted to the Provincial Government by the Tung Hsing Diplomatic Association.

"Yau Wah-shen is a native of Po Pa, Kwangsi and is 51 years old. On April 21, he went to Mong Street and because he had no passport, he was arrested by the French soldiers and imprisoned. On May 3, his two sons proceeded to see their father, who was at that time doing hard labour under the strict watch of a French soldier. Being touched with paternal love he went up to speak to his sons. The French guard fired at him without warning. At first he fired two shots which dropped Yau. Following this, he fired another two shots. Then he threw stones at Yau's head and fired at him once more. Under a post mortem examination, Yau Wah-shen was found to be shot in the head, breast, and left arm.

It is reported that the Diplomatic Association of Tung Hsing has brought forth the following points in their protest to the French Government, viz:—

1. When Yau Wah-shen went to Mong Street and was found without a temporary passport by the French soldier, he should have been stopped for trespassing but not arrested.

2. When his sons met him in the prison where he was working, why should the French soldier fire at him five times and stone him, just because he was moved by fatherly love and wanted to converse with his sons?

Besides these two points, the Association also brought out 5 demands, viz:—

1. To punish the murderer.
2. To pay compensation to Yau's relatives.
3. To return the corpse of the deceased.
4. To abolish the territorial passport regulation.
5. Hereafter no one should be allowed to murder or maltreat our Chinese people.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen 21-5-26)

4. FRENCH IMPERIALISTS ACTIVE IN KUNG CHOW.

Sometime ago the 4th Revolutionary Army was ordered to return to Canton to join the Northern Expedition. When the soldiers arrived at Kung Chow, the weather was very bad and hence their boats were compelled to take shelter in the island. (Kung Chow was occupied by the French imperialists by force and the island was not included in the treaty for the concession of Kwang Chow Wan). This aroused the jealousy of the French imperialists. In the afternoon of June 7 several sailors, who did not belong to the 4th Army, quarrelled with some French soldiers who in turn quarrelled with the soldiers of the 4th Army. Thereupon the French at once sent a large number of troops to arrest the soldiers of the 4th Army, who were in uniform. They beat our soldiers with rifles and dragged them away with ropes. Over 50 soldiers were severely wounded. When the French soldiers found that some of the soldiers were nearly dead from severe wounds, they sent them back to our boats. At the same time they were afraid that the 4th Army would avenge their comrades and accordingly stationed soldiers on the coast, ready to resist any invasion. No boats were allowed to go near the shore. The residents in Kung Chow were terrified at the sight and all closed their doors and stopped business. The officers and soldiers of the 4th Army were very indignant. The Political Bureau of the Army despatched Secretaries Lo Yang-ching and Yea Yue-tung to protest against the French Imperialists' bestial action. The director of the Municipality and the officers of the French soldiers realized their fault and apologised to our delegates. In addition they promised to compensate for the loss and were willing to pay the medical expenses of the wounded soldiers.

(From Kuo Min I-sin Wen 6-17-26)

5. FRENCH IMPERIALISTS CONSPIRE WITH TIEN PAI ROWDIES.

The Tien Pai peasant movement is very progressive and the number of Peasant Unions is gradually increasing. Such a progress aroused the envy of the French imperialists in Kwang Chow Wan, and the local rowdies and gentries. Accordingly the French imperialists directly instigated the reactionaries to suppress the peasants. They tried every means to frustrate the undertakings of the Peasant Unions with the purpose of destroying them.

About the middle of last month Tsai Yen-hing, the local rowdy of the district, suddenly abetted his follower, Wong King-ying, to lead the militia and obtrude into the Peasant Union in Tan Cheong Chai. They disturbed the Union and kidnapped the officers. The members of the Union became very indignant and sent delegates to report the trouble to the official who is in charge of the peasant affairs of the

Southern Districts, and asked for help. Accordingly an order was sent to stop the trouble and the Provincial Peasant Union was requested to send instructions.

As soon as the Provincial Peasant Union received word about the trouble, the authorities at once telegraphed to the magistrate of Tien Pai and the 4th Revolutionary Army to strictly suppress the disturbance, arrest the ringleaders and release the kidnapped persons. At the same time the official managing the peasant affairs of the Southern Districts was ordered to give an account of the trouble and suggest methods of dealing with it in detail.

(From Min Kuo Jih Pao 6-30-26)

III. Portuguese Imperialism In Kwangtung.

1. MACAO GOVERNMENT, RAPACIOUS AND IMPERIALISTIC.

The Macao Government always tries to encroach upon our land in order to extend their territory. Some time ago they built a garden beyond Kwan Chap (this place is on the boundary line between Macao and Chung Shan District, and beyond that the land belongs to our country) with the purpose of extending their land. When the Nationalist Government protested, at the request of the Chung Shan people, the Macao Government removed it, but recently they built a vegetable garden there and ordered the negro soldiers to grow vegetables. This is to cover their aggressive intentions. Moreover they built a soldiers' barrack at the same spot. Along the seacoast they constructed an embankment with the aim of securing more land when the boundary line at sea is to be fixed (up till now the line has not yet been decided). For the last few days the Macao Government has despatched gunboats to fathom the depth of the sea beyond Ma Kok Temple.

Another report states that the Foreign Office has lodged a protest with the Macao Government, regarding the deportation of Li Kwan-ta, member of the Executive Committee of the Macao Kuomintang branch, on June 8. But the Macao Government denied this fact. Accordingly Minister Eugene Chen ordered Officer Cheong of the Foreign Affairs Office in Chung Shan to investigate the matter and it was found that, what was published in the papers was true. It is reported that the Macao Government has realised its mistake but is unwilling to apologise to our Government, and so has telegraphed to its Home Government for instructions.

(From Min Kuo Jih Pao 6-11-26)

2. PORTUGUESE PLOTS TO SEIZE WAN CHAI.

Some time ago the Macao Government built a garden beyond Kwan Chap (Kwan Chap is exactly on the boundary between Kwangtung and Macao), with the aim of seizing our land. The people of Chung Shan district petitioned the Nationalist Government to deal strictly with this encroachment. But the Macao Government paid no attention to the negotiations and recently has become more ambitious and plans to seize Wan Chai, which is about 5 miles from Macao. Their plan is as follows:—

1. To ask the King Wu hospital to negotiate with the directors of the Fok Sin Tong to install a water pipe connecting Macao to Ngau Hang, Wan Chai.
2. To send 20 Portuguese to establish Coffee Shops in Wan Chai, the business to be financed by the Government. This aims at gaining the good will of the villagers.
3. To abet the bandits to create disturbances upon which the Macao Government will seize the opportunity and send cruisers and fire brigades to help the villagers. This is also an effort to gain the friendship of the villagers, leading finally to the seizure of the district.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen 4-20-26.)

3. OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF MACAO CONTINUE TO OFFER RESISTANCE.

After the Indians in Macao had failed in their first revolutionary attempt, the Macao Government exercised great precautions, and soldiers were sent to Hok Sa Wan and Ha Wan to unearth secret revolutionary organs. However the Indians were not disheartened at the failure of their first attempt but are still continuing with their task, secretly and energetically. They have organised other revolutionary organs to undertake the important movement. Recently they plotted with the negro soldiers from Africa to carry out a movement cooperatively and simultaneously. (The Negro soldiers are banished from Africa to Macao and are also an oppressed race). On May 26 they imported from Hongkong 4 boxes of rifles and 2 boxes of ammunitions to be used in the insurrection. This cargo of ammunition was to be landed at Tum Chai, but a Chinese detective surnamed Lau discovered this and reported to the Macao Government, who at once sent a large number of Portuguese soldiers to capture the Indians. The latter got wind of this and escaped. Only a coolie, a suspect, was arrested and the ammunition was seized. Afterwards soldiers were sent to search for the insurgents, and a secret organ was unearthed, where many secret letters were found.

Realising that the 1,000 Portuguese soldiers now stationed in Macao are not sufficient to quell the impending danger, the Macao Government intends to request their Home Government to send out more troops, but as Portugal is now itself in a great turmoil, the Home Government has no time to devote to her colonies. For this reason the Macao Government is in a great terror and is trying every means to subdue any uprising by closely watching the Indians, and by prohibiting the publication of news regarding unsettled conditions in Portugal and the revolutionary attempts of the Indians, so that residents in Macao may not be disturbed and terrified.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen 6-3-26)

4. WHY MACAO GOVERNMENT EXPELLED KWAN CHAP CHINESE RESIDENTS.

Kwan Chap originally belonged to our country, but because the corrupt officials of the Manchu Government received a bribe from the Portuguese Government it was ceded to them. After the Portuguese had seized the place, they sold the land to foreigners, chiefly to the Dutch. Recently, owing to the strike, the Macao Government has suffered great losses, and in order to increase her revenue she resolved to increase the land tax in Kwan Chap. The rate is of two grades, viz., the first at \$1.50 per foot, the second at \$1.00. The people in Kwan Chap became very indignant upon learning of the new regulations and opposed it, while at the same time the Dutch merchants in Macao also realised that the new increase in the land tax would not be beneficial to them and so telegraphed to their Government to negotiate with the Portuguese Government regarding the matter. They declared that if the new regulations should be enforced, they would return the land bought in Kwan Chap to the Macao Government at the original price. Thereupon the Macao Government requested their home government to allow them to return the original price of the land to the Dutch merchants.

Because of this incident, the Macao Government bore a grudge against the Chinese residents in Kwan Chap and accordingly ordered them to remove to Pao Chu Chang, a low and damp land. In Kwan Chap there are over 300 houses with over 2,000 residents. A small number of them are Portuguese subjects, while the rest are from Chen Shan. At present the residents there have removed to Fuk Sien Tang, and Tai Cha Ting, Chen Shan. They live in the open air and are suffering greatly. Fortunately the various organisations and the Strike Committee have offered them help. It is reported that these refugees will again petition the Nationalist Government to protest against the cruel action of the Macao Government.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen 7-5-26)

5. PORTUGUESE SOLDIERS INTIMIDATE PEOPLE IN KWAN CHAP.

As previously stated the Macao Government ordered the people in Kwan Chap to vacate the place within a month. After the order was announced, the people were very indignant and for many days they held meetings to discuss plans of how to deal with this unlawful action. They resolved to resist it to the very last and simultaneously requested help from the Peasant Self-Defense Corps in Chung Shan District from the Kuomintang branches, and the Militia. In addition they despatched propaganda corps to make public the cruelties of the Macao Government.

On June 9, the Governor of Macao sent several dozens of Portuguese soldiers to the spot and ordered them to fire blank shots at the propaganda corps as a threat. At present the various organisations are devising means of dealing with the situation.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen 6-12-26)

6. MEMORIAL MEETING FOR MARTYRS IN CHEN SHAN.

On June 12 a memorial meeting was held in Chen Shan, Chung Shan District, in honor of the martyrs killed by Portuguese soldiers on May 29, 1922. Over 20,000 people were present including 50 labour organisations, 20 peasant organisations, 10 schools, hundreds of soldiers, refugees from Kwan Chap, pickets, and members of the Kuomintang branch. The meeting began at 1 p.m. The Chairman reported on the massacre and the various cruel actions, ill-treatment and insults perpetrated on our women in Macao. Enthusiatic speeches were made encouraging the labour leaders of Macao to continue their struggle. Afterwards proposals were put forth. They are:

1. To petition the Nationalist Government to protest against the cruel actions of the Macao Government, and appropriate funds to relieve the families of the deceased.
2. To request the Nationalist Government to grant land for the burial of the martyrs.
3. To ask the Nationalist Government to record this massacre in the history of the Chinese Revolution, and,
4. To appeal to the Nationalist Government to negotiate with the Macao Government to reopen the Macao Labour Union.

At the end of the meeting slogans were acclaimed.

In Macao the labourers stopped work for one day in order to celebrate the occasion. The Macao Government was terrified and announced that Macao was under Martial Law. In Kwan Chap sandbags and parapets were put up, and armoured cars and machine-guns were held ready. Hunting-dogs were detailed to prevent the Chinese residents to go out of the gates. Chinese detectives were also sent to search passengers at the wharves. After the memorial meeting more than 10 men, who attended the meeting, were arrested. Among them, 3 were found to possess Kuomintang certificates and these three men were at once expelled from Macao.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen 6-19-26)

C. THE PEASANTS FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALISM.

1. PROTEST OF KWANGTUNG PEASANTS AGAINST RETURNING MERCHANTS' MILITIA RIFLES.

Seizure of China's territory by the British Imperialists has repeatedly happened during past years. As the strike of the Shameen workers had not yet been concluded⁽¹⁾, the British Imperialists cunningly managed to provide the two treacherous Chens⁽²⁾ with arms to head a revolt in Canton. Their policies aimed at the overthrow of our Revolutionary Government. After the plot was discovered all their arms were confiscated. Then the Imperialists instigated the merchants to strike and they also uttered threats of war in order to frighten our Government. They wanted to demolish our Revolutionary Government and seize our country. Fortunately our Government was unafraid. We advised our merchants to engage in peaceful commerce and at the same time we published a manifesto informing the people of our country and of the whole world of the evil deeds of the Imperialists in our country. We rose up against Imperialism in order to let everyone know that our Government depends upon no foreign country. We wished to prove that we have the spirit of an independent country. We are ready to fight for the freedom of our country and the welfare of our brothers. Our Government has the right to seize the arms of the merchants. Although the strikes in Kwangtung were discontinued by the mediation of generals Fung and Liao, it means, nevertheless, that we have been oppressed by the merchants and Imperialists. This is a great disgrace both for our Government and for the people of our Country, as we know that the two Chens were the hunting-dogs of the Imperialists. Their plots to overthrow our Government have failed and their criminal acts have become well-known, therefore there are no reasons for returning the rifles. In several cases the merchants' militia have used force against our peasants and farmers. Thus it is necessary to confiscate their arms in order to eliminate the enemies of the Government and as a warning to the Imperialists. Returning the arms in order that they may assist the city defense does not exclude the possibility of their rebelling at any time. These two Chens, who are backed by the British Imperialists, cannot give us definite security that they will not rebel again. We, peasants, swear to do our utmost to fight against British Imperialism to save our people and defend our country. In no case shall we approve the returning of the arms to the merchants.

(Sd) The Kwangtung Peasants' Union.

2. CIRCULAR TELEGRAM TO THE AMERICAN FARMERS, PROTESTING AGAINST THE AMERICAN LOAN TO, TENG PEN-YIN.

Farmer comrades of America! We, the farmers of the Kwangtung province of China—the oppressed slaves of the Imperialists and Militarist—recognizing the necessity of uniting and struggling for the emancipation of our class, have summoned the representatives of the 210,000 farmers of the 22 districts of the province, on the 1st of May which we call "Workers' Festival Day," to formally inaugurate the Kwangtung Peasants' Conference. We sincerely desire to join with our farmer comrades of the United States of America in carrying out a movement of emancipation for the farmer class of the whole world. During the meeting of our representatives we received an unexpected report, stating that the Consortium of America has recently made a contract with Teng Pen-yin the oppressor of our Kwangtung people, promising to lend the latter \$30,000,000 Gold, with the forest and mineral resources of Kiungchow as security. This amount will, we are sure, be used to harm the peasants and workers. The peasants of Kiungchow have for many years suffered from the oppression of Teng Pen-yin. If this American loan is effected, his power will be greatly increased, enabling him not only to harm the peasants and workers of Kiungchow, but also to wrought havoc to the peasants and workers of the whole province. Moreover, among the parties to this transaction are representatives of Tuan Chi-jui, the Militarists of Northern China, and Chen Chiung-ming and Lin Hu, militarists who have just lost their power in Kwangtung. The Imperialists of America, wishing to control the industrial development of Kiungchow, are using their money (the blood and sweat of the farmers and workers of America) to assist the Chinese Militarists, to prolong the internal troubles of China, and to massacre Chinese peasants and workers. Such a plan deserves universal condemnation. So we hope our farmer comrades in the United States will join their voices to ours in opposing this unwise and untimely loan.

(The above telegram was sent on the 3rd of May and was signed by 117 representatives of the farmers of 22 districts of the Kwangtung Peasants' Conference.)

3. ANTI-IMPERIALISTIC MOVEMENTS IN SWATOW.

The Swatow General Labour Union, the Chao Mei Branch of the Provincial Peasant Union, the Swatow Merchant Federation, the Swatow Students Union, and the School Teachers Cooperative Association jointly invited the representatives of various circles to a meeting on June 5 at 3 p.m. in Yung Ping Lau. Over 300 delegates representing over 100 organisations were present. At the meeting it was

decided to form a Swatow Peasant, Labour, Merchant and Student Cooperative Committee to be composed of the following 8 organisations, viz., the Swatow General Labour Union, the Swatow Suburbs Peasant Organisation, the Swatow Merchant Federation, the Swatow General Chamber of Commerce, the Swatow Business Cooperative Association, the Swatow Schools Teachers Cooperative Association, the Swatow Press Union and the Chao Chiu Overseas Association. It was also decided to uphold and support the resolutions of the Canton Peasants, Labourers, Merchants and Students Cooperative Association and to despatch a telegram to oppose the Shanghai Militarists who prohibited our fellow-countrymen from commemorating the May 30 massacre. It is reported that this Cooperative Committee will be organised within a week.

(From Min Kuo Jih Pao 12-6-26.)

4. PEASANT PROPAGANDISTS DESPATCHED TO EXTEND COUNTER-IMPERIALISM MOVEMENTS.

The strikers are doing their utmost to oppose Imperialism. Pickets have been sent to various districts to prevent breaches of the strike and propagandists are everywhere in Canton exposing the intrigues of the Imperialists. In addition, the Kuomintang intends to despatch propagandists to the interior districts to extend the Counter-Imperialism movements among the peasants. A propaganda outline has been specially prepared to train propagandists for that purpose.

Fifty students have already graduated, and they have been organised into ten groups and despatched to various districts with two members from the Provincial Peasants Association as guides to each group. They will make investigations on the various peasant organisations before beginning their propaganda work.

Report forms have been given to them to fill up and are to be submitted weekly to the Provincial Peasant Association.

(From Min Kuo Jih Pao 1-8-25.)

5. AN OPEN LETTER FROM THE LABOUR AND PEASANT JOINT CONFERENCE TO HONGKONG STRIKERS IN CANTON.

Dear Comrades:

More than ten months have elapsed since the start of the general strike in Hongkong and Shameen. You, labour comrades, have stood firmly in the front line of the Anti-Imperialism campaign and fought bravely for the emancipation and independence of our country. Though the Imperialists directly and indirectly have tried their utmost to frustrate and oppress your patriotic movement, you have, under the Nationalist Government, strengthened your foothold and continued the fight

Your movement is not only a landmark in the history of our Chinese labour movement but also strikes a great blow at Capitalistic Imperialism by awakening the oppressed races of the world to participate in a World Revolution. It is a worthy fact that besides exerting all your strength to fight for emancipation you have also consolidated and strengthened your organisation. You have cooperated with peasant corps, students, and soldiers in the Anti-Imperialism campaign. As a result of your incessant struggles the British Imperialists have suffered many economic set-backs. Hongkong will soon become a barren island. With your support our Nationalist Government eradicated the reactionaries in the Eastern and Southern districts. Constructive schemes such as road building and port development have just been started. Since the consolidation of Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Hunan have been added to the domains of our Nationalist Government. Economic independence has been secured because consolidation of finance has been carried out. Despite the strong oppression of the Imperialists who have always carried on intrigues for the overthrow of the Strike, you have gone out boldly to meet them and have succeeded in frustrating their plots. Therefore the Imperialists could not but make peace with us. Is this not a victory of our Chinese workers? Dear Comrades! You have won a magnificent battle for our China! You have succeeded in asserting the rights of the masses of Kwangtung! You have sacrificed much, but your work will never be forgotten.

We take this opportunity, when the 3rd All-China Labour Conference⁽¹³⁾ and the 2nd All-Kwangtung Peasant Conference⁽¹⁴⁾ are in session in Canton, to assemble the delegates of the various districts to tender our respect for your fighting spirit and express our satisfaction at the success which you have already obtained. On behalf of more than 1,100,000 labourers and more than 800,000 peasants we send this letter in the hope that you will fight to the very end against Imperialism. Dear labour comrades! Exert all your strength, consolidate your organisation, and support our Nationalist Government to despatch a Northern Punitive Expedition to overthrow Imperialism and militarism. The goal of success is at hand. Long live the victory of the strike!

(sd) *The 3rd All-China Labour Conference and the
2nd All-Kwangtung Peasant Conference. 6-5-26.*

6. THE FIRST CIRCULAR TELEGRAM OF THE PAO AN DISTRICT PEASANT UNION AND THE PICKET CORPS.

To the Peasant Department and Labour Department of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, the Peasant and Labour Department of the Provincial Government, the Whampoa Military Academy, the General Labour Union of All-China, the Canton-Hongkong Strike Committee, the Provincial Peasant Union, and the Press:—

In protest against the massacres of Chinese masses by the imperialists, the workers of Hongkong have carried on a strike in order to save our beloved country. The peasants, recognizing that the future of China is tied up with this strike, have risen in its support. On the other hand, the Imperialists and their hunting dogs, the militarists, compradores, depraved gentries, and notorious rowdies have tried every possible way to destroy the Strike and overthrow the Nationalist Government. So the success of the Nationalist Government is the success of the strike and the overthrow of the Nationalist Government is the failure of the Strike. Anyone who violates the Strike is the public enemy of the Nationalist Government and the masses of the people. But the depraved gentries, notorious rowdies, and dishonest merchants of Sha Chiang, Pao An, namely, Chan Ping-naam, Chan Paak-so, Chan Shau-hong, Chan Paak-fan, Chan Hip-yeung, and Wah On-ho are willing to be hunting dogs of the English Imperialists and violate the policy of the Strike. They have organised a company and bought three big ships and about twenty small ones to transport provisions to the English Imperialists and to carry "yellow" workers to Hongkong to resume work; they also import a great deal of undesirable goods. On August 2nd of the lunar calendar, the Picket Corps and the Peasant Corps detained two ships filled with provisions intended for Hongkong. On August 11th, lunar calendar, these depraved gentries instigated the militia to rob Lam Chaap-ming, a member of the Kiu Tau Village Peasant Union, taking away his boat containing oysters and many other things. On October 23rd, these gentries had a ship No. 2389 carrying provisions and people to Hongkong. It was seized by the Picket Corps. These depraved gentries immediately summoned the militia to the spot, and wounded five members of the Picket Corps and carried off a member named Loh Tai-nin. On November 9th, Yan-choh, Paak-woon and Kwang-wah arrived at the village to deal with the various cases. On the 10th. they asked the gentries of the village to come to the headquarters of the Picket Corps to give a satisfactory reply. On the morning of the 11th, Yan-choh led the Picket Corps and Peasant Corps to arrest the dishonest merchants, Chan Hip-yeung and others. Before going, Yan-choh had informed the militia of this village but the militia ignored the notice and opened fire on Yan-choh and his men when they appeared. Fortunately, Yan-choh escaped by making a bayonet charge but a number of members of the Picket Corps and the Peasant Corps were wounded. On the evening of the 11th, the leaders of the village militia lead the militia and bandits to besiege and attack the Picket Corps and Peasant Corps of Wan Lam. All the money, guns, cartridges, and other articles of the Picket Corps and the Peasant Corps were taken away. Moreover, a big shed was burned and several members of the Picket Corps and Peasant Corps were wounded. On the 12th, the Peasant Corps recaptured Wan Lam. At noon of the 13th, the village militia and the bandits again attacked the Picket Corps and Peasant Corps of Wan Lam. Thereupon Battalion-commander

Chang Ching sent Lam Chung-ying and a company of troops to Wan Lam to prevent the Peasant Corps from resisting. At the request of the depraved gentries of the village, Lam Chung-ying personally came to the village to announce his intentions. But, at present, large numbers of bandits are still collecting in the village and the militia are preparing for further fighting.

We hereby request the Government to despatch a large force to eradicate them in order to maintain the Strike and protect our peasants and workers.

(sd) *Fu Yan-choh,*

Chief instructor of the Third
Picket Corps.

Tung Kaak-woon,
Assistant Commander of the 9th
detachment of Picket Corps.

Loh Kwong-wah,
Captain of the 11th detachment
of Picket Corps.

Pao An District Peasant Union.
(November 14, 1925).

7. THE 2ND CIRCULAR TELEGRAM DESPATCHED BY THE PAO AN DISTRICT PEASANT UNION AND THE PICKET CORPS.

To the Labour and Peasant Departments of the C.E.C. of the Kuomintang, the Department of Peasants and Workers of the Provincial Government, the All-China Labour Union, the Canton and Hongkong Strike Committee, the Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Association, and the Press:

"We beg to inform you that in Sha-ching village the depraved gentry, bullies dishonest merchants, are smuggling foodstuffs and "yellow" workers to Hongkong, and even attacking the Picket Corps") and Peasant Corps, robbing them of their belongings and burning down their houses. All this they have done in collusion with the reactionaries. We have already despatched the 11th Detachment of Pickets and the Peasant Corps there to resist them and at the same time to Prevent them from committing more misdeeds. We also requested Cheung Ching, Battalion-Commander of the 1st National Revolutionary Army to send his men to support us. On the morning of the 18th, he despatched his 2nd company under Lam Chung-ying to come to assist us. But when the above-mentioned company arrived, Lam Chung-ying, the commander, suppressed our pickets and peasant corps forcibly. At the request of the depraved gentry, he went personally to Sha Ching village under the pretext of bringing about a reconciliation. On his return, the trouble was not yet settled, but he precipitately left us and departed with his men on the morning of the 18th. It

has since come to our knowledge that he had received a bribe of \$2,500 from the gentry. On learning this, our men were very indignant. The reason why we workers and peasants are fighting against the reactionaries is because we wish to maintain the Strike and to secure independence for our people. But our action is suppressed by the depraved gentry, who, as hunting dogs of British Imperialism, wish to frustrate the Strike and suppress our workers and peasants. Therefore we request the Government to send real revolutionary troops to help us to deal with the reactionaries, to disarm the militia, and to strictly punish the depraved gentry and bullies. We also request that gunboats be despatched to patrol the sea route by which the tow-boats (it is said that they are more than 20) are conveying contraband goods to Hongkong so that their evil plots may be defeated. We also hope that the Government will deal strictly with Lan Chung-ying. If this is done we will realize that our Government is really endeavouring to work for the welfare of our workers and peasants. We hope that our expectations will be realized and that a satisfactory settlement will be made at an early date.

(Sd) *Min Kai,*

Commander of the 3rd Detachment of Pickets.

Loo Kwong-wah,

Representative of the Pao An District
Peasant Association.

(November 16, 1925).

8. CIRCULAR TELEGRAM DESPATCHED BY THE WEI YANG DISTRICT PEASANT ASSOCIATION AND THE ALL-CHINA LABOUR UNION BRANCH IN WEI YANG.

On reading the telegram of November 16, despatched by the Pao An District Association and the leaders of Pickets Corps—Min Kai and Loo Kwong-wah, we learn that in Sha Ching village the depraved gentry and bullies, viz: Chan Ping-nam, and Chan Shau-hong are violating the Strike by illegally transporting foodstuffs to Hongkong. They have attacked the pickets, robbed the members of the Peasant Union and burnt down their houses. The company commander, Lam Chung-ying, who was despatched by Regiment Commander Chang Ching to support the peasants and workers, received a bribe from the depraved gentry. Instead of supporting the working classes, he sided with the privileged class to suppress the revolutionary movements of the peasants and workers. On reading the above information, our anger knew no bounds. Their wicked actions are against the principles of our Revolutionary Government. Therefore we suggest that if our government is working for the welfare of the working classes it should immediately and strictly

deal with those reactionaries. We also hope that all classes of people will rise up to help our suppressed classes and thus strengthen our revolutionary spirit. In addition to sending a message of consolation to our comrades in Pao An, we also issue this telegram to the public.

(sd) *The Transacting Department of the All-China
Labour Union in Wei Yang.
The Wei Yang District Peasant Association.
(December 2, 1925)*

9. KWANGTUNG PROVINCIAL PEASANT ASSOCIATION URGES EXTENSION OF ANTI-TUAN MOVEMENT.

The Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Association recently issued a circular instructing its branch unions to report to their members full details of the massacre in Peking and also to unite with other organisations in convening demonstrations and parades against Tuan Chi-jui. The circular reads as follows:—

“Under the pretext of enforcing the Treaty of 1901, the Imperialistic nations of Great Britain, Japan, France, and America unreasonably prevented the Kuominchun from garrisoning the region of Taku by despatching more than forty gun-boats to the spot and demanding compliance to their demands within 24 hours. Aroused by these illegal acts, the patriotic masses of Peking held a demonstration meeting and parade on March 18, to urge the people to oppose the violent and unreasonable actions of the Diplomatic Corps. But Tuan Chi-jui, instead of rendering his assistance to the masses, ordered his guards to fire at the paraders with the result that more than 50 people were killed and more than 100 wounded. We consider this deplorable affair to be much more serious than that of May 30 last year, when the Japanese, British and American Imperialists violently and mercilessly slaughtered our comrades in Shanghai. It also proves the fact that the unequal treaties are the fetters of our people and the most effective tools of the Imperialists for oppressing our people. So it is imperative that they be abolished, thus destroying Imperialism and its tool—the militarists.

Our Peasant Associations which are leading the oppressed peasants in their struggle for emancipation must not neglect such a serious matter as the present deplorable massacre of our comrades by our greatest enemies, the imperialists and the militarists. We must explain the truth of the case to our peasant comrades so that they may understand how cruel and violent the militarists are, how the Imperialists joined and directed the militarists to oppress our people, what the unequal treaties are, what effect they produce upon our people, why the imperialists wanted to hinder the actions of the Kuominchun, and how the Kuominchun failed as a result of such intervention.

10. PEASANT AND LABOUR DELEGATES PETITION FOR NORTHERN EXPEDITION.

On May 7, the delegates of the 3rd Labour Congress and the Peasant Congress petitioned the Nationalist Government to launch a Northern Expedition. At 3 p.m. that day more than 1,000 delegates started from Fan Yu Hok Kung to the yamen of the Nationalist Government. They carried a big flag with the following words written on it:

"Petition Nationalist Government to despatch a Northern Expedition."

When they arrived, they sent Li Lob-sam and several others to hand in their petition and explain its motives. The chairman of the Nationalist Government, Tan Yen-kai, replied to the petitioners as follows:

"On behalf of the Nationalist Government I give you the following reply. The oppressions which our country has suffered at the hands of the Imperialists and militarists as pointed out in your petition have also aroused our indignation. The Nationalist Government following the Last Will of our late Dr. Sun seeks to achieve National Revolution and thus secure international equality for our country. The majority of our people are peasants and the next numerous are the workers. As the Nationalist Government is built upon the people, undoubtedly it should support the welfare of the peasants and workers. Our fellow citizens in China are now ill-treated. The Government naturally must protect the freedom of the people by military force, and she has formerly used force to exterminate all reactionary forces in Kwangtung. It is now time for us to put an end to the reactionary forces in the whole country. The Nationalist Government will accept your petition and launch an expedition as soon as possible. The Government has already made great preparations and I hope that the people will back her in her efforts."

All were satisfied with the reply and departed with loud acclamations of slogans.

The Petition reads:

"After the May 30 massacre our working masses carried out a general strike in order to secure emancipation for our nation, and also to participate in the Anti-Imperialistic movements. But the Imperialists utilized their agents, the Mukden militarists to murder our workmen, attack our workers' unions, oppress our patriotic movements and arrest our leaders. Thus we were not successful in our May 30 Anti-Imperialistic Movement."

The treacherous deeds of the Mukden militarists are known throughout the whole country and every citizen abhor and hate them. Accordingly we, working class, realize that in order to be victorious in our anti-imperialistic movements the militarists must be overthrown. So the anti-Mukden war took place. At

that time the British and Japanese Imperialists despatched troops to Manchuria and caused the two militarists Wu Pei-fu and Chang Tso-lin to unite in order to fight against the Kuominchun Army, which is closer to the people. After the Kuominchun Army retreated, the northern provinces have again fallen into the hands of the reactionaries, and the working class of the whole country, except those under the Nationalist Government, are once more oppressed by the militarists. All the labour unions have been closed and freedom has been taken away. Our leaders Liu Wah, Huang Ching-yuen, Li Wai-nun and Kao Ko-chien were cruelly killed. Several hundred workers were imprisoned by the militarists and imperialists, while an order was issued by the militarists for the arrest of over 10,000 workers who have now fortunately escaped. Over 10,000 are unemployed and more than 100 have been disabled and are unable to work.

We, working class, who always fight for the emancipation of our country and the betterment of our livelihood, are thus maltreated and compelled to make heavy sacrifices. This is not only true of working class but also applies to our students, peasants, merchants and the people, who are all suffering from the oppression of the militarists, as, the commandeering of coolies, strict search, punishment, heavy and exorbitant taxes, and "squeeze." The only path for the labourers and all oppressed people to follow, is to participate in the National Revolution so as to fight strenuously against the militarists and imperialists, and to fundamentally overthrow them. In this way our lives may be safeguarded.

Our Government is the Centre of the National Revolution and works for the welfare of the oppressed people. It is the government which our working class respects and supports. On behalf of the working class our congress expresses sincere sympathy and support, and we hereby petition you to despatch a Northern Expedition in order to overthrow all militarists and counter-revolutionaries, release our people from the abyss of sufferings, relieve our imprisoned leaders, avenge the working class and overthrow the public enemy of the people. We will lead all labourers to participate in the movement so as to assist you. We sincerely petition you and hope you will accede to our request."

(sd) *The 3rd Labour Congress, 6-5-26*

11. THE ANTI-IMPERIALISM LEAGUE.

On October 7th, a mass meeting was called by the New Students Union of Canton. It was held in the First National Park and was attended by 2,000 persons including the students of the Whampoa Military Academy¹⁸⁾, the Labour Volunteer Corps, and the Peasants Volunteer Corps. Representatives of more than 60 public organisations were also present. Some proposals were prepared the night before the meeting, one of which was the organisation of an Anti-Imperialism League. This proposal was passed and a Provisional Committee composed of the representatives of 12



第一軍革命草民國黨圖

A cartoon published by the Political Department of the First National Revolutionary Army of the Kuomintang, depicting the forces that Imperialism has brought to bear on the poor peasant. The circus trainer is, of course, Imperialism. The snake represents the landlords, the bee represents the traitorous Chinese, the tiger represents the militarists, the rat represents the corrupt village elders, the dog represents the officials, and the crocodile represents the village bullies. The helpless peasant is

public bodies was appointed by the chairman, Tan Pin-shan. They were the New Students Union, the Labour Council, the Peasants Federation, the Federation for National Emancipation, the Students Union, the Women Union, the Law Students Association, the Students Union of the National University of Kwangtung, the Seamen's Union, the Chamber of Commerce of Canton, the Students Union of the First Middle School, and the Whampoa Military Academy.

On September 18th, a meeting of the Provisional Committee was held to elect an Executive Committee. The following organisations were elected: the Womens' Union, the Seamen's Union, the Peasants' Federation, the Painters' Union, the New Students Union, the Labour Council, the Students Union, the Federation for National Emancipation, the Chi Shien Association, the First Middle School, and the Electric Workers' Union.

Since its inauguration, the League has issued many declarations, such as the Declaration of the League on Anti-Imperialism, Declaration on the interference of the Imperialistic Powers in the recent Kiangsu-Chekiang war, Declaration on the meaning of Independence Day, Declaration on French and American interference in the Georgian Revolution, and Declaration on the Northern Expedition of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Copies were distributed to all public organisations, and were also published in the press. By means of this propaganda, public attention was drawn to the nature and objects of the League.

On Independence Day ¹⁹) the slogan of the League was to change the National Celebration Day to a National Warning Day in order to awaken the masses. But this idea was opposed by two prominent Kuomintang members who considered that such an action would be under-estimating the importance of the 1911 Revolution. But before Independence Day arrived, a circular was issued by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang stating that on account of the difficulties of the situation in Canton, excessive celebrations and demonstrations of joy would not be fitting. So the League was, after all, able to carry out its plans for a National Warning Day.

The Committee of the League are mostly composed of Kuomintang members and its office is also in the Central Kuomintang building. Therefore it is very widely known as a Kuomintang organisation.

Under this League there is also an Anti-Christianity Committee, which was very active during the recent student strike at the Sacred Heart College. But unfortunately the Strike failed because of the heavy atmosphere of conservatism and Christianity which pervaded the whole school. Still, headway has been made, and better results are expected in the near future.

(Information Bureau, 28-10-25)

D. THE CULTURAL AGGRESSION OF IMPERIALISM.

1. A PROTEST AGAINST CULTURAL AGGRESSION.

In addition to military force and economic aggression, the Imperialists have yet another method, more passive and more latent, by which they may paralyze the people of weak nations, and that is, cultural aggression.

Political oppression and economic aggression have driven China into a state of misery. If cultural aggression is added also, extermination of race and loss of country will be inevitable.

In this most critical state, it is imperative that we immediately seek a method of relief and a road of escape.

Military and political aggression are very evident, but it is difficult to see the effects of cultural aggression. India is an example. When such a method is used it paralyzes the people, making them lose their national characteristics. Schools are established all over the country under the guise of fraternity and liberty. Moreover our unconscious countrymen are utilized as tools for such aggression. When under the effects of this invisible drug, people no longer desire to work for their country's welfare. So if the movement continues, more and more people will be paralyzed until extermination of the race results.

A movement to inform the masses of the effects of cultural aggression is thus very important and cannot be delayed. Such aggression is much more to be feared than the terrors of the militarists and many times more deadly than either political or military aggression.

Therefore it is imperative that our paralyzed fellow-countrymen be enlightened of these hidden dangers.

Many of our fellow countrymen have become hunting dogs of the Imperialists. The images of Jesus Christ, God and His Majesty the foreigner have been impressed too deeply in their minds. They have tried their best to paralyze the people for the sake of the Imperialists. If anyone talks to them about cultural aggression, they deny it, saying that instead of their culture conquering us, it will be our ancient civilization that will conquer them. The missionary schools are established not for aggressive, but rather for philanthropic purposes. The foreigners have come to help us, and it would be base ingratitude on our part if we were to oppose them. Such are the arguments of these, alas!, too innocent beings.

We protest not against the progress of Western civilization, the substitution of railway and steamship for horse and junk, of electric light for candle, but against the base methods employed by the Western nations to destroy

the national characteristics of our people. Look, for instance, at India or North America, oppressed by these imperialists. In each case cultural aggression was employed to destroy the national characteristics of the people until the race became extinct.

Though many missionary schools may be established solely for philanthropic purposes, we ought nevertheless to recognize that all the Imperialistic nations are striving for economic supremacy in China, and that in order to gain such supremacy they must resort to military, political, and cultural aggression. Mr. Wang Ching-wai has said that military force is a prerequisite of political supremacy which in turn is an essential factor in economic domination.

If we recognize that economic aggression is the aim of all Imperialistic governments, then the countries which have not abolished the Unequal Treaties are all alike, and there should be no question of welcoming one and rejecting another. This must be clearly understood, or else we will easily fall into traps and become paralyzed.

We repeat that we are protesting not against the progress of Western civilization, but against the base methods employed by the Imperialists to rob our people of their national characteristics. It is our earnest wish that all Chinese Christians will sever connections with the Imperialists and participate in our movement to secure emancipation for our people and security for our country.

2. CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN CHINA.

The Report of the China Educational Commission of 1921-1922 (From Canton Gazette, 4-8-1926).

FOREWORD: This will not be in any way a critique of the various Christian methods of propagating their inspired teachings or modes of life. The present writer recently had the rather belated opportunity of going through the above named report, published in book form by the Commercial Press, Ltd., and on so doing happened upon the following passages (illuminating to the radical as well as lay minds), which undoubtedly will interest all those who are interested in the welfare of students attending Christian schools, colleges and universities of different denominations and creeds here in China. All the quotations are copied word for word, only the headings and sub-headings being the insertions of the author.

1. HOW MISSIONARIES PLAN THEIR IMPERIALISTIC CULTURAL AGGRESSION

Never Mind Medical Schools: Concentrate on "Educational" Work!

"Canton.—The capital of Kwangtung was the first city in China to have a hospital. In 1835 the Presbyterian Mission established a dispensary and later a hospital in a most strategic location....This institution has rendered a most conspicuous service for these many years.

"There are several schools in the district which should have increased equipment and larger annual incomes. This is especially true of Canton Christian College. The Chinese Educational Commission believes that further investments in higher education in this province is needed to strengthen and enlarge this college.

"The results to the Christian community and in building up the Christian Church in South China will be much greater by strengthening this school than by attempting to build a medical school. The Commission therefore urges the Christian forces of Kwangtung to abandon all thought of erecting a medical school and to concentrate their efforts on strengthening their other educational work." (page 176)

To Educate Labour Traitors.

"It is not only the employing and merchant classes that will have to be considered from the standpoint of this higher type of teaching. There are already signs of a labor movement in China, as evidenced by new forms of associations among employees and indeed by the familiar phenomenon of strikes. A labor movement implies the emergence of labor leadership, although probably not on quite the same lines as in the West.

"Nothing is more surely discredited by the various phases of industrialism than the attempt to suppress labour leadership or to withhold higher education from it. All who believe in the attainment of social righteousness through understanding rather than through violence must hope that the Christian colleges may play their part in developing an educated aristocracy of labour in China." (page 229-230)

To Command Public Opinion by Education of Writers.

"...Few things seem more urgent than the development of a thoroughly strong school of literature in connection with some centrally located college or university, which shall train writers for all types of literature, its aim being to prepare thoroughly equipped writers and editors in whose hands the printed pages, or treatise, shall help to infuse all China's life with the Christian spirit and Christian ideals. Special attention should be given also to translating or adapting Western material." (page 269)

Must Penetrate into the Villages.

"The village school is the most important single item in an adequate educational system for the rural people of China. For it seems imperative that the Christian forces shall maintain a sufficient number of village schools to demonstrate what is the best sort of education for the farm children, to train leadership in the village life, to serve in general as allies to the church in the development of the villages under Christian ideals.

"The Christian village school should help China to answer such questions as these :

"Can the village school be made as good a school as the city school of the same grade ?

"Can it become a true educational and social centre for the community ?

"Can its teacher be a real leader and guide of the people ?

"Can we confidently look forward to an effective and widespread system of education for the rural population of China comprising three-fourths of its millions?" (page 190)

2. BRITISH CHAMBER OF COMMERCE HELPS CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS IN CHINA FOR THE SAKE OF CHRISTIANITY.

Commercial Competition Between Imperialists to be Settled by Christian Mission Schools.

"A new factor has been recently introduced by the scheme of the British Chamber of Commerce for subsidizing recognised British secondary schools in China. These schools are to receive grants-in-aid primarily to strengthen the British staff of each school. It is further contemplated that later on scholarships, tenable at Hong-kong or other British universities, will be established. It is expressly stated that the missionary character of these schools will remain entirely unaffected. Although among the motives for the scheme is probably a desire of the British Chambers of Commerce to counterbalance to some extent the considerable influence which America is obtaining in China by means of her far-flung system of schools, an influence which inevitably reacts favorably on her commerce, the movement indicates a genuine desire to help China by means of education and a strong belief that Britain has a distinct educational contribution to make." (page 296)

CHRISTIAN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN KWANGTUNG. (China Year Book-1925.)

LOWER PRIMARY	HIGHER PRIMARY	MIDDLE SCHOOL	TOTAL
675	132	37	837

With students, totalling 25, 796.

AFTERWORD: Upon reading the above random extracts, one sees how thoroughly the Christian missionaries in China have been going about their work of inculcating in the pliable mind of progressive Young China Christian ideals and Christian ways of thinking; and how, if this state of things continues unchecked very much longer, the very mind of Young China will become so "Christianized" that it will not be of any earthly use (good Christians will get their reward by-and-by beyond the sky) to the National Revolutionary Movement of China.

Youths of China—You, who will become the Men of Tomorrow—what are you going to do about this important matter? There is only one reply, and that is, support the policies of the Kwangtung Nationalist Government and follow the principles of the Kuomintang!

3. CHRISTIANITY AND THE PEASANTRY.

(collection from various reports)

(1) CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND MISSIONARY SCHOOLS IN CHIU KIANG.

In the town of Chiu Kiang, there are more than 10 churches established by the British, French, Americans and Germans. Even in such small villages as Wu Shek Ma and Tai Tong churches have also been established.

All the missionary schools are in Shao Chow. They are seven in number—3 primary schools established by the British, 2 by the French and 1 by the Americans, and also 1 normal school, including middle school and primary school departments, established by the French.

On account of the recent political troubles, nearly all the public and private schools were suspended; but the missionary schools continued as usual and, taking advantage of the suspension of other schools, they have become much more prosperous than before and have got together nearly one thousand students. Hence we may say that education in Chiu Kiang is in the hands of the Christians. Not only are the schools in Chiu Kiang controlled by the Christians, but the wealthy and intellectual classes have also all become Christians.

But in the villages, Christianity is much hated by the peasants, not one of whom has become a Christian. Hence it may be said that Christianity has no influence with the peasants. Even those peasants who study in the missionary schools are only aiming at their studies and pay no attention to the religion.

(From the Report of Ku-kong district, 12-11-25)

(2) CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND MISSIONARY SCHOOLS.

There are no Missionary Schools in this region, but there are 3 Christian Churches upon which attacks have always been made by the peasants. Since the Christian converts always relied on the power of the foreigners and oppressed the peasants, the farmers of the region look upon the Christians as their greatest enemies. After the recent strike of the Hongkong workers, the three churches were successively dissolved.

(From the Report of Tseng Cheng district, 9-12-25)

(3) Most of the schools in the district are private schools and the majority of the peasants are illiterate. In Shek Ha Village there are several missionary schools. The village has a population of more than one thousand, 20% of which have become Christians. When the peasants of the village were asked the cause for such a large number of Christians in their village, they replied, "Formerly the Christian villagers in Sheung Kau Village presumed on their power and oppressed the peasants of our village severely. Our peasants, seeing the power of the Christians and thinking wrongly that Christians can do whatever they like, became Christians one after another, thus forming the large number of the Christians in our village."

(From the Report of Tseng Cheng district, 24-10-25)

(4) CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND MISSIONARY SCHOOLS OF SHUN TEH.

In the various villages of Shun Teh, several churches and missionary schools have been established. But up to now, no trouble has arisen between them and our Peasants' Associations.

In various villages, a few peasants have joined the churches and become Christians. But they are all non-members of our Peasants' Associations.

(From the Report of Shun Teh district, 24-11-25)

(5) Since the occupation of Kwang Chow Wan by the French, cathedrals have been built in various parts of Lei Chow district. In the Holy Trinity Cathedral of the 7th division of the district, more than 500 peasant families have been converted. These converts frequently rely on the power of the French Imperialists to oppress the non-Catholic peasants. When comrade Wong Kwon-yun was directing the peasant movement in the 6th and 7th divisions, he organised an "Anti-Catholic Propaganda Outline" and explained to the Catholics the evils of this alien religion. Up to the present, no less than 60 families have severed their relations with the church. The "holy fathers" were filled with dismay and returned to Kwang Chow Wan. On the Catholic island of Wei Chow Ling opposite the 7th division, there are about 2,000 families, all of whom are Catholics. Some years ago, the "holy fathers" imported about 2,000 firearms from France and distributed them to these converts. But on observing the southward advance of the Revolutionary Army and the anti-Catholic spirit of the peasants in the 6th and 7th divisions, these firearms were withdrawn again by the "holy fathers."

(From the Report of the Southern Districts)

(6) There is a Tong Shih Society²⁰ with about 200 members and also a Christian organisation with about 100 converts in this district. The members of these societies are chiefly townsfolk or peasants living on the outskirts of the towns.

(From the Report of Lo Ting District, 24-10-25.)

(7) THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS AND THE PEASANTS.

There were very few Christians among the peasants of Hai Feng. Christian schools were equally scarce. The students of the few Christian Schools that were established were chiefly the children of wealthy people. The majority of the children had no opportunity to secure an education because they had to work for their living. Recently the peasant movement began to extend its influence and many Christian peasants have also joined the Union. After hearing our lectures, they gradually became race-conscious, and severed connections with the church. So Christianity has very little influence with the peasants, and if a systematic Anti-Christianity campaign is organised, the churches would be forced to close their doors.

(From the Report of Hai Feng District, 1-12-25.)

(8) MISSIONARY SCHOOLS AND THE PEASANTS.

There are several missionary schools established in Shek Ha and Shek Tau villages. Some of the peasants in the neighbouring villages also study in those schools. But the majority of the peasants of the various villages are against Christianity.

(From the Report of Hsin Hui District, 24-10-25.)

4. SIU TANG PEASANTS OPPRESSED BY MISSIONARIES.

During the Manchu Dynasty certain Americans built a church in Siu Tang village, the 5th section in Shun Teh. Their stated purpose was to spread the Christian faith, but in reality they conspired with the local rowdies and rascals, and also contracted to help the villagers in their lawsuits so as to entice them to join the church. Although many ignorant villagers were misled by the sweet words of the Americans, other loyal and awakened villagers hated the church very much and often hoped to exterminate it. Last year when the church celebrated the so-called Christmas, about 100 to 200 villagers assembled at the door of the church and beat drums and other musical instruments to create a clamorous noise in order to disturb the proceedings within. Thereupon the foreign missionaries and their so-called Christian converts realised that the villagers hated them very badly. Because of this, they dared not protest. Moreover the stone path in front of the church was not a public road but a private one constructed by a certain villager, so the

missionaries could not prevent the musical party of the villagers. But they sent men to Canton to request their consul to lodge a protest with the Canton Government. As the Government was then afraid of the Imperialists, it was forced to despatch troops to the village to reprimand the gentries and restrain the villagers. On the arrival of the soldiers the villagers became quiet, but their opposition of the church continued. After the Peasant Organisation is formed, the people intend to carry out a systematic campaign against the church.

(From a Special Report, 10-8-26)

5. THE ANTI-CHRISTIANITY MOVEMENT IN WEI YANG.

On June 2nd, 1926 an Anti-Christianity Demonstration was held at Kung Chong Hsu. About 600 people from the two nearby villages of Kat Shi Wai and Tung Kok attended, and also the representatives of five organisations, namely, the two village peasant associations, the Pui Tak and the Pui Pung Schools, and the Chamber of Commerce.

During the demonstration, the paraders waved small flags, acclaimed slogans and sang Revolutionary, peasantry and labour songs. On reaching the door of the church, the crowd elected and despatched four delegates to enter the Ngo Yuk School and the church in order to make speeches. Strict order was kept throughout. Thus we see the people at Kung Chong Hsu are beginning to oppose the cultural aggression of the Imperialists.

6. ANTI-CHRISTIANITY MOVEMENT ON CHRISTMAS DAY.

Since the founding of the Anti-Imperialism League, the Anti-Christianity movement in Canton has become more and more active. A struggle took place between the propaganda workers on the Yuen-Han Railway and the ruffians at Wongsha on the 20th, in which more than 10 persons were wounded, including the Chairman of the Yuen-Han Railway Worker's Union. Mr. Chan Chi-man, chairman of the Anti-Christianity League, has received many blackmail letters during the last few days ordering him to "hands off" Jesus otherwise he would be put to death before Christmas. As for the church's secret plots to hinder our Anti-Christianity movement, a certain follower of Christ reports as follows:—

It is said that many churches at present are bribing a great many of the ruffians and loafers of the city to follow the example of the Yuen-Han Railway ruffians and attack the propaganda workers of the Anti-Christianity League. Meanwhile the Shameen authorities have piled up more sandbags along its Bund and four more Imperialist gunboats have arrived presumably to be ready for action.

During the last few days, the Hongkong papers and the Reuter's News Agency have been fabricating all sorts of malicious rumours, accusing the Canton Anti-Christianity movement of being an organisation similar to that of the Boxers. They

say that the Anti-Christians will burn down the churches and slaughter the Christians and missionaries. Such rumours were fabricated in the hope of overthrowing our Nationalist Government and shaking our Revolutionary foundation.

The Anti-Christianity League, upon learning of the secret plots planned by the churches and the Imperialists, held an executive meeting at the Kwangtung University Assembly Hall on the 24th instant. Mr. Chen Kung-po²¹) was elected Chairman and the meeting discussed ways and means of defence against the enemy and decided to carry out their Anti-Christian Movement in a civilized way. On Christmas evening at 7 p.m. Mr. Wang Ching-wei²²) gave a lecture at the Kwangtung University Assembly Hall. Propaganda workers from the various schools were asked to go out and give lectures to the people all over the city on Christmas Day, explaining to them the superstitions of Christianity and how it is being utilized as a tool of Imperialism. The Anti-Christianity movement in Canton this year will carry out their work in an orderly manner because it is the Kuomintang's principle to allow freedom of speech and of belief.

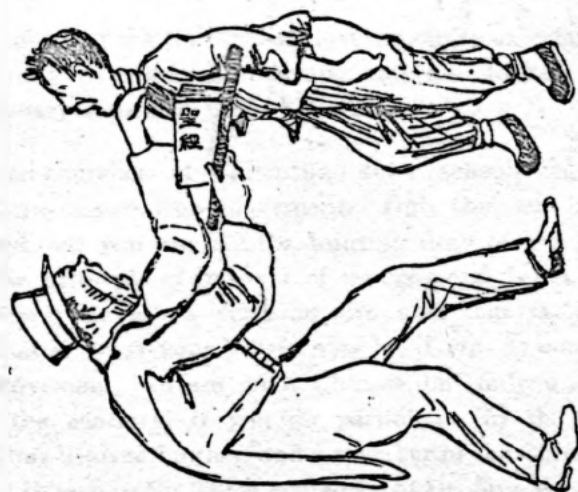
(From *Kuo Min Hsin Wen* 22-12-25)

7. A WORD TO CHINESE CHRISTIANS FROM THE ANTI-CHRISTIANITY LEAGUE.

Brothers! Brothers who are under the oppression of the Church! Do you know why we are so indignant and heated in our struggle against Christianity? It is not that we are meddlesome or mischievous. No, not at all. Why then, do we protest against Christianity. Here are our reasons.

In the 20th century, the period of science, religion cannot stand. Christianity as a religion cannot be said to be free from superstition. It should therefore be abolished. This is the reason for our protest against Christianity at this moment. China has been suffering from the oppressions of the Imperialists for a very long time. There is no way to save our country other than to cooperate with the other classes to overthrow Imperialism. Christianity is the tool of the imperialists in oppressing the weaker nations. This tool will kill a man without shedding blood. We must destroy such tools before we can put down International Imperialism. Our reason for protesting against Christianity is not based upon misunderstanding or prejudice but upon the sufferings which we know Christianity has brought to our people. But our aim is not mere empty talk. We wish you to see how the Imperialists have made use of Christianity. The followers of Christ always speak of freedom, equality and universal love, but their actions are to the contrary. Who killed the Chinese in the May 30 massacre? Were they not the imperialists? Who are the protectors of the village scoundrels and bullies? Are they not the missionaries? Who opposes the patriotic movements of the missionary school students? Are

帝國主義者說：我先前送你一本
聖經，使你們忘了種族及國家的
思想，去服從上帝就好了！
還許多鴉片給你們吃，使你們一點
精神都末有了！到了現在
就要你的命了！！



廣東省農民協會印佈

This cartoon, published by the Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Association, shows Imperialism forcing the Bible and an opium pipe on the Chinese people. Imperialism is saying, "Formerly we gave you a Bible so that you may lose all race consciousness and become obedient followers of God. We also gave you opium to smoke, so that your body and spirit may be weakened. How dare you then carry on a revolution!"

they not the followers of Christ? Of course, we know that not all the followers of Christ are the hunting dogs of the Imperialists, but many of them have been tricked and beguiled. Listen, Chinese followers of Christianity! If you do not wish to be considered as the hunting dogs of the Imperialists, you must show your true attitude. We do not want your mere talk of freedom, equality and universal love, which is only deceiving our beloved brothers. Only practical deeds as the following will convince us.

1. You should issue declarations advocating the overthrow of Imperialism. You must propagate the importance of overthrowing Imperialism in the churches and schools.
2. You should support the movement for recovering the rights of education, so as to free China from the Imperialists' yoke.
3. You should support the strikers of Shanghai, Hongkong and Canton in order to solidify the Anti-Imperialism movement.
4. You should assist the Nationalist Government to exterminate all counter-revolutionary parties in Kwangtung, and also to help send a Northern Expeditionary Army to unify China.

The Christian churches of China and their schools should unanimously participate in the Anti-Imperialism movement. Only thus will the Revolutionary masses be convinced that you are not the hunting dogs of the Imperialists. We firmly believe in the principle of freedom of thought and belief, but the Chinese people must at present have one common aim and that is, the overthrow of Imperialism. No matter what your beliefs may be, if you do not participate in the Anti-Imperialism movement, you are not a Chinese, but only a hunting dog of the Imperialists. On the contrary, if you do participate in the Anti-Imperialism movement, you are our beloved brother, and a member of the Chinese Revolutionary masses, whether you believe in the Three Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Communism, or Christianity.

Brothers, brothers who are under the oppression of the Church, arise! Chinese brothers, Chinese followers of Christ, unite with us, free yourself from the net of obscurity, and sever connections with your masters, the Imperialists! Overthrow the Church of your Imperialistic masters! Overthrow Imperialism! Overthrow the hunting-dogs of the Imperialists!

Long live the emancipation movement of the Chinese people!

(Sd) Canton Anti-Christianity League, 8-1-26.

8. HOW THE "REDS" DROVE AMERICAN MISSIONARIES
FROM WUCHOW.

(*"The China Weekly Review"* 23), 17-7-26)

By Charles Dailey.

WUCHOW IS TYPICAL CASE

Although this story deals wholly with the Southern Baptist Mission at Wuchow, it must not be forgotten that the case is largely typical. The great Canton Christian College is affected by strikes due to organisation of servants and disciplining of Red students. American missionaries have evacuated Kweilin, in Kwangsi province, and several outlying stations in the Swatow region of Kwangtung. On the island of Hainan the property of the American Presbyterian Mission has been looted by an anti-Christian mob. Earlier in the year the mob had lowered the American flag there.

One must not lose sight of the Bolshevik activities and the increased danger to American missionaries in all China. Usually the news that gets to me is merely a laconic cablegram reading something like this: "The American gunboat *Pampanga* is standing by to bring off the missionaries and their families."

After all, it is not the *Pampanga* or the *Monocacy* or the *Palos* or the *Sacramento* or the *Asheville*—names count for little—but the American Navy that saves the missionaries, as in the case of those starving Americans at Wuchow, who were brought down to Canton; and now are back in the homeland where they can tell the story at first hand.

But to go back more specifically to the missionaries at Wuchow and to throw a little light upon the Bolshevik-inspired anti-foreign feeling in China. It is first-hand information, and it comes directly from the missionaries and not from the Navy or the Consular Service. By now their full report probably is on file in the State Department in Washington and is available to members of Congress and other Americans.

The missionaries on the Wuchow station were Dr. George W. Leavell, superintendent of Stout Memorial Hospital, his wife and daughter; Dr. Joseph Mansfield Wiley, the Rev. Mr. Tipton, and the Rev. Rex Ray, his wife and two sons; the Rev. Albert N. Beddoe, his wife and two daughters; Miss McMinn, Miss Pearl Johnson and Miss Helen G. Hoffman.

There are more than 8,200,000 Baptists in the United States, and the Southern and American Baptist societies cooperate in the work at Wuchow. The Rev. L. K. Williams, of 3115 South Park Avenue, Chicago, is President of the National Baptist Convention. The headquarters are at Selma, Ala., and the secretary is Prof. R. B. Hudson.

But it is the story of the Wuchow missionaries that shall be told, and it needs no supplement, interesting though it might be. Rather than deal with hardships and privation, with the disgusting insults and revilings they suffered, I shall treat with concrete facts and with translations of documents made under the direction of Dr. Leavell.

Let it be said at the outset that following the outbreak of anti-foreign feeling in June, 1925, as a result of the clash at Shanghai and continuing up to the moment of evacuation the work of Stout Memorial Hospital had been carried on from day to day with increasing apprehension and uncertainty. There was an undercurrent of unrest, dissatisfaction and anti-foreign feeling that made the situation extremely difficult. "When the rising tide of patriotism reached us last Summer," said one of the mission workers, "the student began to arrange patriotic demonstrations, the labor unions were enlisted and general strikes were called and carried out.

"During this period a strike was ordered by the labor unions at the Stout Memorial Hospital. The matter was brought to the attention of the military governor of Kwangsi. Being a friend of the hospital, he issued immediately a proclamation for the protection of the hospital staff and the strike was cancelled by the labor unions. He thus averted the initial attack and they were able to carry on for the rest of the year."

During the autumn and winter of 1925 anti-Christian organisation was very active at Wuchow and soon was in evidence at Stout Memorial Hospital. Demonstration, parades, posters and newspaper articles served to arouse the people, and the hospital staff as well as the Chinese Christians were much concerned at the threats and growing anti-foreign sentiment, which seemed to be constantly increasing and gaining greater force and momentum. A great demonstration occurred on Christmas Day, when there was much agitation on the part of the anti-Christians.

Of course, the Bolsheviks, whose agents are scattered all over China, and particularly in the south, were behind this anti-foreign development and constantly added fuel to the flames. What the Bolsheviks have desired is to embroil China with the foreign powers, and particularly the United States, which on the one hand is the best friend China ever has had and on the other is bitterly opposed to Bolshevism and for that reason has refused steadfastly to recognize the government of Soviet Russia, although it has stood unchallenged for more than eight years.

Early in 1926 some of the more radical Christians representing all the denominations in Wuchow organised what is known as the Chinese Christian Promotion Association. They enlisted all the members of the mission churches who had been dissatisfied in any way with the work and organisation of the churches and their management. This body was organised in order to combat the opposition to the Chinese Christians and seemed to have for its initial purpose the object of proving

to the masses the loyalty of Chinese Christians to their country. But there came to their support the Bolshevik element, the military headquarters, the labor unions and the strikers operating at Wuchow. The result of this coalition was the presentations of a series of unacceptable demands to the American members of the Southern Baptist Mission. The Chinese Christian Promotion insisted that the missionaries sign the following amazing demands, which I quote in entirety:

DEMANDS UPON FOREIGN MISSIONARIES.

(Presented by the Kwangsi Chinese Christian Promotion Association.)

I. MANIFESTO :

A manifesto, typewritten and signed with pen and ink, is to be handed to the Kwangsi Chinese Christian Promotion Association embodying the following six important points :

1. The realization of the fact that the unfair treaties are oppressive to China.
2. The impropriety of foreigners depending on treaty protection while performing missionary work in China.
3. The approval of the Chinese starting to free themselves from all unequal restraints.
4. The earnest desire of assisting, as an individual, the Chinese to relieve themselves from various oppressions.
5. The earnest desire, as an individual, of declaring to the world that all unfair treaties imposed on China should be abrogated.
6. The individual recognition of the fact that missionary affairs belong to God and should be openly handled by Chinese Christians.

II. OPEN HANDLING OF CHINESE AFFAIRS:

1. The Committee: The Committee of various departments should consist of more than 50 per cent of Chinese members.
2. The Power of the Committee: The Committee of the various departments have the power to manage or to improve the affairs of the department concerned.
3. Finance: The funds derived from contributions of foreign missionaries are to be controlled and appropriated by the committee of the department concerned.

Dated March 22, 1926.

Here was Bolshevism in the extreme. The missionaries were asked to surrender not only control of the institutions that were established and maintained by American contributions, but even the funds coming to the mission were to be disbursed by the Chinese majority, backed by the military and the labour unions.

"Of course, we could not sign such a document," said Dr. Leavell in discussing this Bolshevistic demand. "We did, however, prepare the following statement, but which we did not have the opportunity of presenting, viz :

"On account of the antagonism and opposition by certain factions to the on-going of Christian work in Kwangsi and Kwangtung provinces at the present time we, as individuals, have agreed to stand with our Chinese Baptist Brethren in the following resolutions:

1. That we earnestly desire a conference as soon as possible between the Chinese and foreign governments, through their duly appointed officials, for the consideration of the revision of the existing treaties.

2. That we state firmly our belief in the one True God and His Son Christ Jesus and look firmly in faith to the power of the Holy Spirit to guide and protect us in our daily life and work.

3. That we approve of and look forward to the organisation of further joint boards of control with our Chinese Brethren for the management of the funds entrusted to us and the work of our Baptist institution.

This statement was wholly unsatisfactory to the Bolshevik-dominated Christians and the troubles of the missionaries rapidly became worse. They were blockaded in their compound and food refused them. Let me state it in the words of Dr. Leavell :

HOSPITAL BLOCKADED.

"Our personal servants were intimidated and threatened. Having joined the labour unions, they were officially notified to strike. On the morning of March 23 all personal servants in the compound walked out. Instructions were given to the coolies and other helpers that they should do nothing whatever for the hospital. A member of this organisation walked boldly into the hospital office and instructed the cashier that from that time onward all hospital funds were not to be turned over to the foreign doctor in charge of the hospital, but to this organisation.

"This demand was made on the threat of the cashier being killed unless he obeyed instructions. The foreign doctor in charge actually caught this man in the act of passing this order to the hospital cashier. Pickets were placed at all entrances to the mission compound. All foreigners were closely watched by the native pickets and nothing was allowed to be taken in or out of the hospital for the foreigners. No food could be purchased or supplies procured."

Three days after the starvation blockade began, the following ultimatum in writing was sent, dated and addressed as indicated :

WUCHOW, MARCH 26, 1926.

Dr. G. W. Leavell.
Rev. Tipton,
Rev. Rex Ray,
Dr. Bailey,
Miss McMinn,
Miss Pearl Johnson :

On the basis of Christian doctrine we do not recognize the existence, in the human being, of unfairness and unfreedom which cause pains of oppression among races and nations. Our nation has been laboring under extreme pains of oppression from the unfair treaties concluded with the Powers and your nation. You, missionaries and doctors, who have come to China so long, have witnessed the terrible conditions arising therefrom and should have assisted the Chinese to abrogate unfair treaties in the Christian mind of altruism.

We have sent delegates to approach you three times, demanding your joint approval of the abrogation of the missionary and all unfair treaties and your recognition of the open management of missionary affairs. Our demands are firmly refused. The saying that the missionaries and the doctors are vanguards of the Imperialistic invaders proves to be a fact undeniable. Fragrance and stench must be separated, friends and enemies can hardly associate with each other. We have resolved finally and unanimously to sever friendship with you, missionaries and doctors. This is for your consideration.

Yours very truly,

(sd.) Kwangsi Chinese Christian Promotion Association.

There was the definite declaration: Capitulate to the Bolshevik demands or starve in the compound. Even then the missionaries did not surrender and never would they yield control of funds and evangelical work entrusted to them by philanthropic Americans, whose agents these mission workers were. After a night spent in prayer they determined to appeal to the military officials and the Secretary for Foreign Affairs to save the work of the hospital for the people of Kwangsi.

"The labor organisations seemed to have thorough control," said Dr. Leavell in discussing the matter weeks later, "and the military and other officials supported by the Soviet Russians allowed without molestation the carrying out of the program."

The strike grew steadily worse and the food boycott was becoming serious. From the mission compound the strike was extended to all the hospital helpers and nurses. This was to take effect when salaries for March were paid on April 1. Some of the loyal Christians tried to save the situation from disaster and presented to the missionaries for signature the following, which it was thought they could conscientiously agree to sign:

The Kwangsi Chinese Christian Promotion Association resolved in a general meeting held on March 23 to send five representatives to make a third negotiation with the American missionaries, doctors and ladies of the Baptist Mission in Wuchow. Four demands are presented as under:

1. We, the American missionaries, doctors and ladies, agree that the future preaching of Christianity in China and the handling of benevolent affairs will depend on nothing but the assistance of the True God and the protection of the local

government and not the privilege of the missionary treaties (i.e., treaties respecting missionaries in China).

2. We, the American missionaries, earnestly desire to assist the Chinese government in its recovery of Customs autonomy and in the abrogation of the unfair treaties imposed by the Powers with oppression.

3. We, the American missionaries, do wish to request our government to annul the so-called unfair treaties and to revise the treaties respecting the mutual honor and equality between both nations.

4. In regard to the preaching work of the Mission, we, the American missionaries, not only desire to handle it in co-operation with Chinese Disciples, but also to hand over the work to their management. For instance, the Kwei Nam Pui Ching School has been entirely handed over to the control of the Kwei Nam Joint Board, and the preaching work, mission locations and clergymen preaching has been under the control of the "Preaching Board" for over a decade. A committee was organized by the Kwei Nam Joint Board to run the Stout Memorial Hospital year before last. The only institution uncontrolled by the Kwei Nam Joint Board is the Wang To Girls' school. Our Miss McMinn earnestly wishes that the Kwei Nam Joint Board will immediately organise a board to run it. Should the representatives of the Kwei Nam Joint Board find the above points unsatisfactory, the same can be rectified at any time. In the event of the Kwei Nam Joint Board being able to make an independent stand and support itself, our American missionaries will turn everything over to it.

Space was left at the bottom of this document for the signatures of the American missionaries and representatives of the Chinese Christian Promotion Association, but no signatures were affixed.

The missionaries realized that there was no way to carry on the work of the hospital and the superintendent, Dr. Leavell, announced on the morning of March 29 that the salaries for the month would be paid on the following day and the hospital officially closed and sealed by the American authorities. The news of the starvation blockade of the missionaries had reached the Consul General in Canton and already the Stars and Stripes of the gunboat Pampanga could be seen waving in the breeze at the anchorage down at the river. Rescue was at hand; evacuation was possible; surrender to the Bolsheviks already had been refused. But the hearts of these missionaries beat faster when an unaccompanied lieutenant from the Pampanga brushed aside the pickets at the mission gate, presented the compliments of Lieut. Commander G. W. Duggan and quietly remarked: "At your service, ladies and gentlemen."

The movies and the thriller novel would at this point work up a great scene that would stir the blood, but we will leave that to them and pass on to the realities. One gets so many thrills in China anyway that they become commonplace.

The arrival of the Pampanga meant only one thing to the authorities of Wuchow—the abandonment of the mission. There was no fear that the city would be shot up; it is not the American way, and even the Bolshevik-Chinese respect us for it. The Department of Public Health under the military organisation at Wuchow hastily presented a proposition to take over the hospital as a public health institution. In truth, that was found to be the ultimate aim in calling a strike and closing the hospital. The American trustees of the hospital instructed the superintendent not to enter upon any plan of co-operation whereby the ownership of the property and the work of the hospital would be placed in danger. It seemed impossible to work out a plan of co-operation in any form. So the Chinese staff was dismissed early in the morning of March 31 and Dr. Leavell closed up the hospital, suspending all work until the skies in South China become less Red.

There followed some trying hours. The naval support kept at a discreet distance, well out of the possibility of any conflict, for carrying a chip on his shoulder is not part of Uncle Sam's characteristics. He comes swiftly when called, but he will not interfere. Once on the job, he does his work with neatness and dispatch—and then forgets about it.

All the patients were removed from the hospital and the entire Chinese staff had left before noon, with all their baggage. A close guard was placed about the hospital by the strike committee and no Chinese were allowed to enter. No help could be obtained from any source and after the Chinese staff departed the American men and women were compelled to do their own moving out.

The removal of their baggage and personal effects was a serious problem. The Americans were permitted to go in and out without physical interference, but were jeered at as they struggled under their heavy loads; never actually stopped, but always in the face of a restless crowd of very angry-looking and entirely irresponsible persons.

"Each time we went out of the gate," said Dr. Leavell, "our lives were in danger and we always heard such expressions as 'Kill the Foreigners!' 'Down with the Imperialists!' 'China for the Chinese!' 'Take back the hospital property!' 'Kill all the Christians!'

"We tried in every way to get help in removing some of our trunks. The workmen seemed willing and ready to earn a little money, but the strikers drove them off and threatened their lives. We were isolated, disgraced, insulted, and embarrassed. Seeing that the only way to get our trunks off the compound was to remove them ourselves, the four American men on the Mission station undertook the task with great difficulty.

"As we went down the streets, a trunk between two of us, we were surrounded by an angry mob, howling insults at us as we carried our heavy loads to the shipping office. At times the situation was tense with excitement and danger. One wrong move on the part of the Americans would, without doubt, have caused violence."

The mere presence of the Pampanga greatly strengthened the precarious situation of the missionaries. It arrived March 26. "Had it been one or two days later in arriving," commented Dr. Leavell, "perhaps I would not be telling the story."

Under the leadership of Lieut-Commander Duggan conferences were held on the Pampanga with the Chinese officials regarding the protection of American lives and property, but the military authorities gave the Secretary for Foreign Affairs no support.

"The local Chief of Police tried to help and protect," said Dr. Leavell, "but Bolshevism knows nothing of law and order, and the mass of strikers and pickets seemed to have entire control. Outnumbered by the national movement, the police could not afford to clash with the sentiment of the populace as expressed in their agitation and hatred in numerous demonstrations. In the name of the United States government and in all fairness under the existing treaties appeals were made to every official department at Wuchow, which is a treaty port, but little or no help was offered."

The baggage was duly loaded on the power launch Roanoke belonging to the Mission, and with the missionaries sitting on the trunks and boxes of hospital equipment the little craft moved down the river to Canton under the escort of the Pampanga. This was on April 3, and Canton was reached in due season. After a short rest there most of the missionaries started on their return to America. All the investment is at the mercy of the strikers and their Bolshevik encouragers. The local police department promised protection and the missionaries gave the police 300 Hongkong dollars—all the money they could spare for the pay of ten policemen to look after it, with the promise of more from time to time as it can be arranged.

"The pitiful part of the situation as we see it now," was the final comment of Dr. Leavell, "is that the radicals in China under the influence of Bolshevik propaganda are demanding less Consular and Naval protection for foreigners residing in China; they offer no help through the officials to the foreigners in times of danger and opposition, and it is yet to be demonstrated that they have the ability to maintain law and order among their own nationals. We fear that our experiences during these trying days calls for better protection of the lives of the foreigners and foreign property and a fuller enforcement of existing treaties."

There you have the missionary's answer to the demand of the Chinese for the immediate revocation of all the "unequal" treaties. The business man is already on record; the news writer gives the situation as he sees it, having no goods to sell or souls to convert. When all three vote together, it would seem that the report of the Commission on the Abolition of Extraterritoriality is as good as written.

Peking, July 12, 1926.

CHAPTER II.

THE CIVIL WAR IN KWANGTUNG

AND THE

PEASANTRY.

A. THE CIVIL WAR IN THE EAST RIVER REGION.

I. CHEN CHIUNG-MING—"KING OF THE EAST RIVER REGION"

Fellow-workers, Fellow-peasants and All Suppressed Fellow-countrymen :

For more than five years, we have been groaning and gnashing our teeth under the iron heel of the troops of Chen Chiung-ming, "King of the East River Region" and hunting-dog of the imperialists. During these five years of sorrow and darkness, we have experienced the most grievous suffering that the world has ever seen, such as the usurpation of people's dwellings, the wronging of women, the burning and looting of villages, the commandeering of men for use as military porters, the advanced collection of land tax, the levying of miscellaneous cruel taxes, the extortion of military funds, the appropriation of passenger junks and the like. Thus, the East River Region has been devastated until not a single section of peaceful land remains. Mercantile houses have been closed, students have been caused to suspend their studies, workers have lost their jobs and peasants have ceased to farm. Of the citizens in the East River Region, the old and weak have either fled to other places or died as a result of bad treatment; the more robust adults have become soldiers, some even bandits, and some as a last resort have sold themselves as slaves in the Straits Settlements. How ruinous the calamity has been!

A still more grievous fact is that the Rebel Yang Kun-Yu nominally surrendered to the Nationalist Government, has taken advantage of the crisis to which our fellow-countrymen have been subjected as a result of the repeated massacres of the imperialists, notably at Shanghai and at Shakes (Canton). This traitor has gone so far as cooperate with the Hongkong imperialists in frustrating the Canton-Hongkong Striker's patriotic attempt of blockading Hongkong. He has smuggled provisions from Swatow and its neighbourhood to supply the city of Hongkong. Furthermore he has utilized funds and munitions supplied by his Hongkong "foreign masters" to slaughter our defenceless fellow-countrymen in the East River Region; this merely to satisfy his desire of maintaining a military base in order to subject our countrymen of this region to the authority of the cannons and rifles of his "foreign masters" and his unsympathetic warlord, Chen Chiung-ming.

In addition to the above, Chen Chiung-ming has even advocated Pan-Weichowism using the slogan: "The Weichowese won't kill the Weichowese," in order to deceive the citizens of the Weichow prefecture and cause our fellow-countrymen

to be cannon-stands and rifle racks of militarism. By the use of these he holds his position high above the people and continues his devastation of the native place to the satisfaction of his "foreign masters." The result is the bringing of evils to the country and the people. In fact, during the five years' occupation of Weichow by the troops of the Rebels Chen Chiung-ming, Yang Kun-yu, Hun Chao-lin and Lin Hu, the only "beneficial" result has been the increase of numerous underserving deaths, accompanied by the addition of many new ancestral tablets to the family worship of the citizens. Thousands upon thousands hunger-stricken, homeless people without clothing have become refugees, soldiers, and bandits. In the inland waters, in towns and cities and in the Straits Settlements one will find former innocent citizens of Weichow. Such are the "benefits" resulting from his slogan of "The Weichowese won't kill the Weichowese." The magnificent present of Rebel Chen Chiung-ming to the citizens of Weichow has been tears, blood, and decayed flesh bones!

Like a messenger of salvation, the National Revolutionary Eastern Expeditionary Army descended upon the invincible city of Weichow, and within twenty-four hours subdued it, a city occupied at various times by despotic warlords ever since the Sun Dynasty (ca. 1000 A.D.). Millions of fellow-countrymen were rescued in the East River Region. What does this conquest signify? It is not by any means the so-called Pan-Weichowism, nor by any means alien-provincialism. It is really a national emancipation movement for the salvation of the country and the people. It is the revolutionism which aims at cancelling the unequal treaties, subduing the imperialists, overthrowing the imperialists' hunting-dogs and traitorous militarists and adopting measures for the entire emancipation of the Chinese nation by the Chinese. This revolutionism holds good, irrespective of Students, Peasants, Workers or Merchants, irrespective of Weichow or Canton and irrespective of our own province or other provinces. In short, all Chinese citizens who are under the oppression of the imperialists and militarists should rise up to emancipate themselves and cooperate together to organise unions of their respective groups. The workers should organize Labour Unions; Merchants Commercial Unions; students Student Unions; peasants Peasant Unions and Soldiers Revolutionary Soldiers' federations. Thus, Workers, Peasants, Soldiers, Merchants and Students will unite together on a big scale to overthrow militarism and imperialism.

Our Peasant Union in the Wei Yang District is a unique and extensive organ for the promotion of the interests of all peasants in the district. It was organised by order of the Provincial Peasant Association of Kwangtung, the only central organ for all peasants in the whole province. Since February of this year, we have commenced our activity with systematic organisations in villages and towns at such place as Ping Shan, Tam Shui, To Chuk, Pak Mong Fa, etc. We have also systematically opposed the cruel taxation and devastation of the militarists, the fraudulent Pan-Weichowism

of Rebels Chen Chiung-ming, Yang Kun-yu, etc. and their traitorous intrigue with the imperialists. On the other hand, we joined with the peasants of various districts to render assistance to the Canton-Hongkong strike, and stopped the flow of Rebel Yang Kun-yu's smuggled provisions to Hongkong. Consequently our members were arrested, imprisoned, tortured and killed by Rebel Yang Kun-yu and other anti-revolutionary agents, such as corrupt officials, native bullies and wicked gentry. But we were not the least bit afraid, but still went on with our union work. Before the mobilization of the Eastern Expeditionary Army, we appealed to the Central Kuomintang, and the Nationalist Government requesting that Yang Kun-yu be overthrown since he occupied the traitorous position of an anti-revolutionary leader. Upon the advent of its mobilization, our Peasant Union directed our peasant comrades to arm themselves in preparation for the arrival of the Revolutionary Army and be ready to serve as vanguards in the overthrow of the traitorous militarists. With the assistance of our peasant comrades, the Revolutionary Army succeeded in subduing the warlord of several years' standing. It is still within the memory of our fellow-countrymen that our peasant comrades, while participating in the sanguinary battle during the attack on the Weichow warlord, cried loudly: "Oppressed people rise up to kill your enemy." Fellow-countrymen, awaken!

But now we believe that our District Peasant Union was inaugurated too late. Had we united the whole district earlier, Rebel Yang Kun-yu would have perished long ago and our peasants' land would not now have been devastated and their persons insulted.

Peasant Comrades! At present, there are under the direction of the Provincial Peasant Union of Kwangtung, thirty-five districts and more than a million members, all of whom are well-organised, well-united and as brethren mutually affectionate. With the victory of the Eastern Expedition as well as the Southern, the organisation of Peasant Unions may be extended throughout the whole province, and 24,000,000 peasants, representing more than eighty per cent of our provincial population, will be united together. When the unification of Kwangtung is completed and the success of the strike assured, workers, peasants and soldiers may all be federated. We may then step forward to join the revolutionary workers peasants and soldiers of the whole country, and overthrow all foreign imperialists and all traitorous militarists. In that case, will China not be united? Will the Chinese people not enjoy liberty, independence and equality? Those peasant comrades who are oppressed by foreigners, militarists, corrupt officials, wicked gentry, native ruffians and all anti-revolutionary factors, should rise up and join the Peasant Union of Wei Yang. All villages containing peasants should rise up and organise local peasant unions. These are our earnest words to our peasant comrades on this inauguration day of our District Peasant Union.

Worker Comrades! Peasant Comrades! All Oppressed Fellow-Countrymen
Unite, to

Overthrow the Imperialists.

Overthrow the Imperialists hunting-dogs, Militarists, corrupt officials,
wicked landlords and native ruffians.

Clear out all Anti-revolutionary factors.

Long live the Triumphant Strike!

Long live the Grand Federation of Workers, Peasants, Soldiers and Students!

Long live the Unification of Kwangtung!

Long live the Emancipation of China!

Long live the Provincial Peasant Union of Kwangtung!

Long live the District Peasant Union of Wei Yang!

The Peasant Union of the Wei Yang District.

November 16, 1925.

2. THE EAST RIVER EXPEDITION AND THE ATTITUDE OF THE PEOPLE.

Since the twelfth year of the Republic of China, the necessity of sending an expedition to punish Chen Chiung-ming and to clear the East River districts of the rebel troops under him, had many a time been pointed out to the people. It had also been repeatedly suggested that unless these rebel troops were cleared away, the disasters caused by them would be very serious to the people.

Military operations lasted for several years in the East River districts, but the rebel troops still held their strong position in this region. It is now necessary that a punitive expedition be sent again to the East River districts. The crimes of rebel Chen Chiung-ming are numerous and are well known to the people, and it is not necessary for us to mention them here again. The only thing we want to point out is that in the previous years rebel Chen was merely a hunting-dog of Tsao Kun and Wu Pei-fu and caused disturbances in the country, but now he has become the hunting-dog of the imperialists and has betrayed his country. It is needless to say that such a traitor should not be allowed to exist.

Chen Chiung-ming is trying to seize the control of our Kwangtung province. His associates are either disappointed politicians or foreign slaves. The troops under him are either undisciplined soldiers or bandits. None of these bad characters should be allowed to exist in Kwangtung which is the birth-place of our National Revolution.

Having been defeated many a time by the Revolutionary Army, the rebel troops in the East River districts are now in a state of extermination; but should we allow them an opportunity to remain and survive, it would be a suicidal policy.

Chen Chiung-ming has betrayed his country. He is acting traitorously under the direction of the imperialists and has received a supply of funds and ammunition from the imperialists to fight against the Nationalist Government. At the same time, he is plotting to ruin the patriotic and strike movements of the people. If we want to maintain our personality and if we view the brutal massacre at Shakese retrospectively, we should arouse ourselves and cooperate with the government to exterminate this rebel.

(From *Min Kuo Jih Pao*, 6-10-25)

3. INDEPENDENCE DAY AND THE EAST RIVER EXPEDITION

For over eighty years China has been suffering externally from the aggression of the international imperialists and internally from the oppression of its emperors and warlords.

Passing under such conditions the foundations of our nation has been shaken and the livelihood of the people endangered year after year. The nation will certainly fall without a National Revolution to rescue it.

Before 1911 the National Revolution had many times met with failure but ultimately it succeeded in overthrowing the late Ta Ching dynasty and a republican form of government was established following the uprising at Wuchang on October 10th, 1911. The celebration of the October 10th National Day means, therefore, the preliminary success of the National Revolution.

Since 1911 the warlords in our country have conspired with the imperialists in order to safeguard their own benefits, and, whether intentionally or not, they have been detrimental to and often have threatened to destroy our republic. It is therefore obvious that unless the warlords and imperialists are overthrown the National Revolution can never be completed.

During these fourteen years the expeditions against Yuan Shih-kai's monarchical movement, the restoration of the abdicated emperor, the traitorous Tsao Kun, and the present expedition to the East River Districts, have been carried on both for the purpose of eliminating all internal disturbances and resisting foreign aggression. On each of the previous occasions the expeditions resulted in the frustration of the intrigues and plans of the warlords and imperialists. Progress has thus been effected by our National Revolution.

What is advantageous to the warlords and imperialists is certainly detrimental to the people of our country. Judging from history, both in ancient and modern times and in our country and foreign nations alike, fighting against righteousness and benevolence has usually met with failure. At present the people of the whole

country are unanimous in their disfavor of Great Britain, but Chen Chiung-ming has acted to the contrary. He has joined hands with the British imperialists while a blockade of Hongkong is being carried on by Canton, and he also has supplied them with food-stuffs.

His actions were deliberately detrimental to the peasants' movements in the East River Districts, while these were advancing steadily and smoothly. The Nationalist Government has been doing its best to support all righteous movements of the people, but Chen has ever exercised his power to ruin them. Under these circumstances we are sure he will be defeated in the present campaign.

In the past, although the troops under his command were fully equipped with cannons, and were well trained and had a year's rest, yet they were defeated by the Party Armies in a single battle. In the present campaign, the troops under him are nothing more than disorderly fellows and bandits who have never been trained. It is needless to say that they will certainly be defeated.

Since all the internal counter-revolutionary forces have already been exterminated, there is no anxiety about Canton, and we are therefore sure that we shall achieve final victory.

We are today celebrating our October 10th National Day, but we may also in anticipation congratulate ourselves upon the success of our East River Expedition,

(From Kuo Min Sin Wen, 10-10-1925)

4. THE REBELLIOUS TROOPS DEVASTATE HAI FENG

THE CONDITION OF THE PEASANTS:

After the rebellious generals Hung Chao-lin, Lin Hu and Yip Chui ordered their soldiers to march, the Peasant Organisation of Hai Feng called a mass meeting of its members, at which it was resolved that the Peasant Self-Defence Corps of the 1st section of the district and the fourth and ninth brigade of the Kwangtung Army in Swatow should unite to fight against the rebellious troops. The Labour Union undertook the transportation work.

On the 3rd of August the garrison troops of the district retreated. Seeing that the garrison troops did not wish to fight, the Self-Defence Corps called a second meeting of representatives and they decided to retreat temporarily.

After the rebellious troops captured the city, they adopted a revengeful attitude when dealing with the peasants. On their way they plundered whole villages (those villages which had relations with Traitor Chen were not included). The propagandists and the officers of the Peasant Organisation, and all active members were shot after being arrested. The members of the organisation were

forced to hand over their badges, and were fined five dollars. The Executive Committee of the village peasant organisation were fined seventy dollars. The officers of the Central Peasant Organisation were all shot. Rewards were offered everywhere, and strict searches were carried out. All those who were connected with the peasants fled. The sight was dreadful.

The rebellious generals increased the rent four per cent, but the peasants feeling their oppression cruelly rose to oppose them. On the 19th day of the eighth moon at eight a.m. the Executive Committee including Mr. Hu Hsiao-nan of the Peasant Organisation of Ngan Kai village in the 3rd section led four hundred inhabitants of the neighbouring villages to fight with the rebellious troops in that district. Owing to insufficient ammunition and old rifles, they were defeated. In that battle over fifty peasants were killed, but after this the resisting force of the peasants was greatly increased. At present for the sake of safety they have adopted a scheme of defense. They are training their soldiers properly and reserving their strength to assist the Revolutionary Army in the rescue.

The peasants of other sections of Hai Feng and those of Lu Feng often opposed the rebellious soldiers who were at their wits' end to deal with them.

THE POLITICAL CONDITION:

After the rebellious troops were quartered at Hai Feng an old and notorious representative of the gentry, Yau King-yuen, was appointed as magistrate. On assuming office, he issued orders that the officers of the Peasant and Labour Organisations be punished. The peasants opposed him in this and he was greatly terrified. His twenty-five year-old wife and family requested him to resign his post and hasten home. On his return home, he lost control of his limbs and was unable to walk. It was fortunate that members of his family were at hand to aid him in his escape.

After Yau's escape the landholder, Lim Kim-hung of Mei Lung succeeded him. Lim's cruel scheme, aimed at the farmers, was more severe than that of the former magistrate. When the members of the peasant and labour organisations in Fu Sing escaped, the rebellious organisations of Kuo Tin-sheh, and Tung Fut were formed. They burned the headquarters of the Peasant Organisation, that of the Peasant Corps, the Central Labour Union, the New Student Society, the Women Emancipation League, the District Kuomintang Office, and the Young Peasants and Labourers Club. The residences of over sixty officers of the Peasant Organisation were also burnt.

THE VIOLENT ACTIONS OF THE REBELS IN HONGKONG.

After the rebellious troops arrived at Hai Feng all the members of the revolutionary organisations attempted to escape in a boat to Canton; but by a mistake were brought to Hongkong. Traitor Chen Chiung-ming, who intended to have them all arrested,

requested the Hongkong Government to allow his Hai Feng subordinates, Chen Chiung-wu and Chung Sing, to place pickets all over the wharves and streets in Hongkong to arrest revolutionary members, who were falsely accused of being communists. Those who were arrested were first sent to Wing Tai-shing in Wing Shing Street for maltreatment, before they were brought to the Police Station. Messrs. Chen Shun-yi of the executive committee of the Hai Feng Central Labour Union; Chen Sing-kwong of the staff of the Peasants' Union in Hai Feng District; Chen Kit-nan and Ma Chun-wu, members of the New Student Society of Hai Feng District, were first arrested. Later on over two hundred were arrested. Chen Chiung-wu then requested the Hongkong Government to deliver Messrs. Chen Shing-kwong, Chen Shun-yi and another three into the hands of the rebellious general, Chung King-tong, for execution. It is reported that the Hai Feng people were allowed to arm themselves and to make arrests. This is because the Hongkong Government greatly abhors the peasants and workers. They allowed pickets to be organised and appointed rebel Chung King-tong to be the commander for the suppression of bandits in Hai Feng District.

In Kung Ping rebel Chung King-tong arrested Mr. Man Wai-sun, of the executive committee of the Peasant Union of Hai Feng District, and five others. They and another five, who were delivered up by the Hongkong Government, were all executed at the same time. Their eyes were first plucked out; then their ears and the hands were severed and lastly their abdomens cut open. During the execution they cried out "Long live the Peasants and Workers." Rebel Chung told his subordinates that he had promised traitor Chen Chiung-ming to slaughter and eradicate the peasants and workers and their relations if he ever returned to Hai Feng, and that he was fulfilling his promise.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen, 10-17-25)

5. PEASANT CORPS IN HAI FENG RESIST THE REBELLIOUS TROOPS.

On the 5th of the 8th moon of the old Chinese calendar, the rebellious patrolling troops of the 2nd. Division of the 1st. Army under Lo Ying-pin were despatched from Ho Tin to Lok Foon. When the rebellious troops arrived at Tai On, they robbed several members of the Peasant Union. But these members did not yield to the force of the mob of unruly soldiers because over one hundred armed peasants assembled to resist them. Over ten men were killed by Lo's soldiers. Those in the city escaped. Subsequently the rebellious troops entered the city. After entering, they arrested and shot Chung Ting-pin and Chen Tat-ken. The residence and shops of Ngan Kwok-poon, the President of the Peasant Union, were attacked. The shop "Yuen Hing" of Cheng Yuen was also seized. On the next day the rebellious troops marched to Tsit Shing in Hai Feng. Here Lei Lo-kung called a meeting of over one hundred



This cartoon, published by the Political Department of the First National Revolutionary Army of the Kuomintang, shows how the people are oppressed by the militarists, who in turn, however, are manipulated by the Imperialists. The oppressed people are exhorting their still unawakened comrades to sleep no longer, but to arise and overthrow their oppressors.

persons to discuss means of resistance, but a counter party became mixed up in the meeting. The opposition party opened fire, and the rebellious soldiers at once shot down a large number. Then over four hundred peasant soldiers of Hai Lu Feng escaped to Hongkong from Swabee, and were detained by the Hongkong Government. Traitor Chen Chiung-ming then accused them of being communists and sent Chung Sing to negotiate with the Hongkong Government for the transferring of the peasants to Swatow.

(From *Min Kuo Jih Pao*, Oct. 1925.)

Some time ago the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang sent Mr. Chiu Sing-chang, the chief military trainer of the pickets, to Hai Lu Feng to organise a peasant organisation and to form several troops of peasant corps. But after the rebellious troops of Tsai Min-ping and Chung King-tong devastated Hai Lu Feng, the peasant corps were dissolved, and Mr. Chiu returned to report the case to the Government.

When the East River Expeditionary Troops attacked the rebellious troops in Hai Lu Feng the peasant corps also rose and attacked the rebels. Many rifles were thus captured.

(From *Min Kuo Jih Pao*, 29-10-25)

6. REBELLIOUS TROOPS DESTROY TZU CHIN PEASANT UNION.

A report from the Peasant Organisation of Tzu Chin states:

"The Peasant Organisation of Tzu Chin city was falsely accused of being a communistic organ and so was totally destroyed by 700 of the rebellious troops under Lin Yin-hung, Kam 'Chuk-ming and Ma Kien-to, who forcibly took possession of the city on August 1. Various organisations of the villages were also destroyed. The properties of the officers of all organisations were plundered. A delegate of the Executive Committee of the Peasant Organisation of Nam Ling village was shot dead by notorious gentries and bandits. This shooting was ordered by the rebel Kam Chun-ming.

All peasants are now hiding themselves in the mountains, and are suffering from hunger and thirst. Their conditions are dreadful. Taking advantage of this opportunity, Kam 'Chuk-ming again plundered Fu Sing, Wu Sek and To Ting villages. They intended to put all captured peasants to death.

Our association which instructed the peasants to prepare for fight, and to help the Party Army '1) when it arrives, now reports the matter to you and requests that help be sent them to relieve their great sufferings."

(From *Kuo Min Hsin Wen*, 10-22-25)

7. AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PEASANTS FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS DESPATCHED TO THE EAST RIVER DISTRICTS.

The revolutionary forces despatched to the East River Districts have this time determined not to commandeer coolies, not to extort rations for troops and not to seize non-official houses by force. Their sole aim is to unify Kwangtung and to protect the interests of labourers and farmers. Before they were despatched to the East River Districts, they issued an open letter to the peasants as follows:—

“Our most beloved peasants of the East River Districts.

“During the spring of this year we have overthrown the Militarists: Chen Chiung-ming and Lin Hu, and have planned efficient methods of relieving you from your hardships when Yang Hsi-min and Lin Cheng-huan rebelled in the rear. In order to render you permanent protection we have to leave you temporarily and to return to strengthen the Revolutionary Government. If there were no Revolutionary Government, there would be no revolutionary army and consequently your interests would not be protected.

“At present rebellious Yang and Liu and all the counter-revolutionary parties have been successively eradicated. We are fully aware of how Lau Chi-luk cruelly maltreated you in the Wu Hua Section; how Lei Yi-piu mercilessly extorted you in the Hai Lu Feng Section, and how all the counter-revolutionary parties conspired with Imperialists to severely oppress you. We are again conscious of the fact that you have at present no great organisation and are not well equipped with effective war implements directly to resist militarism and overthrow imperialism. Therefore, in spite of great hardships and difficulties, we come to fight for you as your vanguard, to release you from the deep abyss of tyranny. We do not commandeer coolies; nor do we extort funds, and seize non-official houses by force. We still keep up our original spirit and order which were shown this spring when fighting expressly for your interests.

“Peasant comrades! Our intimate peasants of the East River District! Your numbers are greatest of all the oppressed classes, and at the same time, you are the most important and the most necessary class in the universe. You ought to take this opportunity to organise yourselves and to arm yourselves and cooperate with workers and soldiers in the fighting-line in order that all the counter-revolutionary parties may be eradicated, and the specially privileged classes be overthrown.

“Therefore, at present, you ought, on the one hand, arm yourselves and be ready to support us and, on the other, to help us in every possible way. For example, those who are well acquainted with the roads ought to guide us; those who know the topography of the country ought to use their knowledge on our behalf; those

who know the condition of our enemy ought to act as our spies, and those who are strong in physique to help us in transportation. All this work will lead to your emancipation. Victory will at last be ours.

Remember that our present mottoes are:

"Long live the great union of workers, peasants, and soldiers."

"Long live the victory of the National Revolution."

"Long live the emancipation of the East River Peasants."

"Long live the victory of the revolutionary forces."

(sd) NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY ARMY.

(From *Min Kuo Jih Pao*, 10-9-25)

8. THE PEASANTS OF VARIOUS DISTRICTS BRAVELY ASSIST THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY TO DRIVE OUT CHEN CHIUNG-MING'S TROOPS.

Chen's troops, while garrisoned at Pao An, were very troublesome, levying heavy taxes, kidnapping innocent people for exorbitant ransoms, and looting and ravaging rural villages. They were worse than bandits and were bitterly hated by the peasants. Last year, before the launching of the first eastern expedition of the Revolutionary Government, the peasants at Bocca Tigris, Pao An, Yin Chuen, Lo Ting and Shu Tin Po and those at Siu Pin and in the vicinity of Tung Kuan district were consulted by the Revolutionary Army as to possible means of assisting the Government in driving out Chen's troops. They were quite willing to render assistance and prepared to welcome the Revolutionary Army in a grand movement with at least one thousand men as vanguards for the expedition. But to their disappointment, the Revolutionary Army did not come their way and a detachment of Kwangsi soldiers under Lin Shu-wei's command was detailed there instead. The Revolutionary Army had very good discipline while the reverse condition was true of the Kwangsi soldiers. In spite of this, the peasants still did their best to help Lin Shu-wei's army as it also belonged to the Revolutionary Government and cooperated with it for the sake of the revolutionary cause.

As for Chen's troops, as soon as the Revolutionary Army came, they sent some of the peasants to carry an urgent message to their headquarters, asking for immediate help. The first time, the peasant messengers threw the message away and the second time they fled to another place with the message, thus leaving Chen's troops still hoping for reinforcements. The endeavor of Chen's army to hold out was in vain, for no support came.

The Kwangsi soldiers were not aware of their enemy's whereabouts nor did they know the proper route for setting forth an attack. They were then voluntarily guided by the peasants in a march from Siu Pin through Yin Chuen to Lo Tin and thence diagonally to Wan Lam so as to cut off the enemy's retreat. But the

Kwangsi soldiers had small faith in the support of the peasants and would not go the way as shown by the peasants. Consequently the majority of Chen's troops retreated without difficulty. The Kwangsi army still hesitated to enter Pao An district, as they did not think that the inland people would render them any armed assistance. To their surprise, the inland peasants, impressed by the need of the Revolutionary Army did not wait for the arrival of Government soldiers and rose up themselves to attack Chen's troops. At such places as Shu Tin Po, Hop Shui How, Ma Shan Tow, Chow Ka Chuen, etc. they organised themselves into an armed force, with a front offensive line of twenty li. This resulted in the defeat of Chen's army, the death of a company-leader and a platoon-leader of it and the capture of many rifles. When they had chased Chen's men almost to Wu Shek Ngam, the Kwangsi soldiers slowly began to follow them. The Kwangsi army not only did not appreciate the assistance of the peasants but also accused them of being bandits, and forcibly disarmed them. After a good deal of negotiation, these arms were returned, with the exception of one German musket, two rifles and a revolver. Because of this treatment the peasants became disheartened and were of the opinion that the Revolutionary Government had made a mess of the situation.

(From a Special Report, 7-7-26)

9. CLASH BETWEEN THE PEASANTS OF LU FENG AND THE REMNANTS OF CHEN CHIUNG-MING'S MEN.

The following is a report from the peasants in Lu Feng:—

Kwangtung Peasants Organisation:

We have lately been troubled by Lo Kok-ngam and his followers, remnants of Chen's men from Wong Tong, one of the villages of Lu Feng. On the 18th instant Messrs. An Kwok-fun, Chow Chew-han and Choi Hun-kwun lead a body of Peasants Self-Defence Corps into the said village to subdue these troublesome agents of the imperialists. Unfortunately our Defence Corps was entirely defeated. Choi Huen-kwun and some of the members of the Defence Corps met their deaths and leader An Kwok-fun was badly wounded. This defeat in battle will naturally make things harder for our members, and probably will lead to the disarmament of our Self-Defence Corps.

When Lo was Tupan here, during the regime of Chen Chiung-ming, we suffered terribly. Some of our members as Lee Wing-kung, Wong Chun-sun, Chen Huen and Lam Nai-tin of the Self-Defence Corps were murdered by him. More than sixty of our organisation headquarters were ransacked by him, and cattle and animals numbering seven hundred or more were taken. Besides there were other maltreatment too horrible to describe. As soon as the Revolutionary Army appeared on the

scene following the defeat of Chen, our organisations sprang up once again. Unfortunately, the remnants of Chen's men went over to Dong Tong and joined Lo and Yow, who have more than a thousand robbers under their control. On the 16th instant Lo and Yeung assisted by several hundred robbers captured more than thirty of our members. We were obliged to send out our Defence Corps, and this was defeated on the 18th instant. Unless we get instant help we are afraid we shall again have to undergo the ill treatment of the imperialists.

(Sd.) *Members of the Peasant Organisation of Lu Feng.*

The Kwangtung Peasant Organisation on receipt of the report has asked Commander Chang to send soldiers to their rescue.

(September 1925)

10. WU HUA PEASANTS AGAIN OPPRESSED BY UNRULY SOLDIERS.

Peace and order had been restored in Wu Hua for a time by the expulsion of the rebel Lau Chi-luk and his troops. But just about ten days after their departure, another unruly troop of soldiers about a thousand strong, under Regimental-Commander, Wong Lun of the First Division arrived and after combining with the Magistrate Chang Chai-ching, have been disturbing and plundering the villages there. Not a single house has been left undisturbed. The families and relatives of the members of the City Peasant Association were arrested and their houses confiscated. A multitude of hardships has been imposed upon the peasants. It is said that the rebel Li Yih-piu and his troops are coming to Wu Hua. The representatives of the City Peasant Association, Messrs. Hu Hon-ki and Chang Lup-nung, have again implored the Provincial Peasant Association to request the Government to deliver the suffering peasants from the terror of these unruly soldiers.

(From Information Bureau, October, 1925.)

11. WU HUA PEASANTS ASSOCIATION RE-ESTABLISHED.

The peasant associations of various regions of this district have been organised for a long time. About 70 or 80 of them have been enrolled as members of those associations. But owing to the oppressions of Chen Chiung-ming's rebel soldiers these associations have suffered considerably for several years. Many of their members have been arrested and the associations compelled to raise funds for military expenses. Recently, however, the influence of the Revolutionary Armies has again been extended over the East River Districts, and nearly all the rebel followers of Chen Chiung-ming have been exterminated. Taking advantage of this opportunity for their revival, the peasants of the various divisions, such as Lung Chuen, On Lau, Wang Por, and Shui Chai, have unanimously risen up and re-established their peasant associations and peasant corps to support the Revolutionary Armies. Now the peasant members of

various associations in the district have become even greater in number than before, a fact which indicates their zeal in demanding emancipation.

(From Information Bureau, October, 1925.)

12. PING SHAN PEASANT ORGANISATIONS WELCOME REVOLUTIONARY ARMY.

At 11 a.m. on October 21, 1925 the peasants of twenty-eight villages of Ping Shan District held a reception in honour of the National Revolutionary Army in Sam Wong Kung. The peasants carried small flags, bearing the following slogans, on their weapons and farm implements :

"Welcome to the National Revolution!"

"Down with Chen Chiung-ming!"

"Down with the militarists, the oppressive landowners and local ruffians!"

"Abolish all agricultural taxes!"

"Long live the Nationalist Government!"

Merchants, workers and students attended, the number being about 3,000.

When General Chiang Kai-shih²⁾ arrived, the peasants stood up, waved their flags and applauded, saying :

"Welcome to the National Revolutionary Army!"

The chairman, Mr. Ho Yau-tik, on making the opening speech, pointed to the graves of the late Dr. Sun, the late Liao Chung-kai, Wang Ching-wei and introduced General Chang Kai-shih and his companion to the peasants. General Chiang Kai-shih then next requested to deliver a speech.

GENERAL CHIANG KAI-SHIH'S ADDRESS WAS AS FOLLOWS:-

"I am extremely happy to be present at this meeting. Do you know why the Revolutionary Army is undertaking revolutionary work? It is because the peasants, workers, merchants and students are oppressed by militarists, such as the traitor Chen Chiung-ming. The Revolution aims to relieve the people from the bondage of tyranny. Therefore the Revolutionary Army is the army of the peasants, workers, merchants, students and of all classes. The people should treat them as members of a family; love them as their brothers and sisters, and encourage them in their revolutionary work. If any soldier is found disturbing the people, he will be court-martialled; and if found guilty, shot.

"The purpose of the Revolutionary Army is to protect the people. They in turn should assist in transportation when the army is being despatched to the front. It is only with the success of the Revolution that peace will come to the people. Our Revolutionary Army is at present fighting against the militarists, Chen

Chiung-ming and Yang Kun-yu, who have been levying exorbitant taxes, dissolving peasant unions, plundering, maltreating and murdering peasants. They have employed every possible inhuman means in an endeavor to stop the people from resisting.

"Wherever the Revolutionary Army has gone, it has helped the people to unite and to free themselves from their sufferings.

"The peasants, workers, merchants and students must unite to overthrow the militarists. We must also distinguish revolution from militarism. The leaders of the latter movement are afraid that the people will unite their forces and so have always oppressed them. The former aims to help the people to unite, to form well-organised peasant organisations and secure self-government. In the future armunitions can be obtained from the Government, who will appropriate the war implements captured from the rebellious soldiers and give them to the peasants, thereby strengthening their forces. The militarists, to the contrary, always disarm the people.

"When oppressed by traitor Chen Chiung-ming, you were afraid to help the Revolutionary Army; but now you should render every possible assistance. The Revolutionary Army is constructing an illumined pathway for the people. Don't miss this opportunity! Let us all acclaim the following slogan:

"Long live the union of the Revolutionary Army, peasants, workers and merchants!"

After General Chiang Kai-shih had finished his address, he was followed by the Russian Adviser whose speech is as follows:—

"Now we can prove the statement that "our Revolutionary Army does not cooperate with the people, and that they cannot conquer the Counter-Revolutionary troops," is false. This meeting demonstrates that the Revolutionary Army is cooperating with the people, and has defeated the Counter-Revolutionary troops.

"Dr. Sun ^a) once said that if the Revolution was to be successful, it must cooperate with the people. Therefore the National Revolution cooperates with all classes of people, removes their sufferings and fights for the welfare of all classes. What the National Revolutionary Army has done, proves that they have followed the instructions of our late Generalissimo. What General Chang Kai-shih has just said is a fact. For example, traitor Chen Chiung-ming and his subordinates dissolved the Peasant Union and murdered the peasants in Hai Feng. They wish to oppress the people, for they are afraid that the people will unite.

"When the Revolutionary Army was despatched to the East River Districts, several thousands of workers helped in the transportation. The soldiers and the people are like brothers. The Revolutionary Army is thus the people's army. It is unlike the army of the Imperialists which treats the people as their private property. General

Chiang has also said that when the people's organisations are well formed, they should be supplied with war implements. This is quite a contrast to the ideas of the militarists like Chen Chiung-ming, who obtains ammunitions from Hongkong to kill the people. This shows that the militarists are harmful to the people, but that the Revolutionary Army is helping them. Formerly the Canton merchants hated the Nationalist Government but since the strike, the Nationalist Government has protected the merchants in every way, thereby preventing the merchants from suffering great losses. Hence the merchants understand the Nationalist Government and participate in the political, peasants, workers, and merchants movements. Now we should all understand that the Nationalist Government works for the welfare of the people. Wherever the Revolutionary Army go, they cooperate with the people. Therefore the invincible city-walls of Weichow, which for 2,000 years had not been captured, was seized within twenty-six hours. This is an indication of the cooperation between the soldiers and the people.

Let us now repeat the following slogans!

"Long live the spirit of Dr. Sun!"

"Long live the spirit of Liao Chung-kai!"

"Long live Wang Ching-wei!"

"Long live General Chang Kai-shih!"

"Long live the Weichow people!"

"Long live the Ping Shan Peasants!"

"Long live the Nationalist Government!"

After the speeches were delivered, the meeting was closed, and a big demonstration took place that afternoon.

(From Min Kuo Jih Pao 23-10-26)

13. REVIEW OF THE CAPTURE OF SWATOW AND CHAO CHOW.

As previously stated, Swatow and Chao Chow were captured by our East Expeditionary Army. The following is a detailed account of its capture by our soldiers who marched from Chieh Yang, Ching Hai and Pu Ning to Chao Chow and Swatow.

IN PU NING DISTRICT:—On November 2, our First Army under General Ho Ying-yam numbering over 10,000 soldiers entered Pu Ning, and were stationed at various villages. They were well-behaved and under good discipline. Mr. Chiu Yan-loy, the director of the Political Bureau, also arrived at that district the same afternoon. Everywhere he was welcomed and he spoke of the aim of Revolution and the benefits to be derived from the Three Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen⁴). There was a large audience. Afterwards Mr. Chiu appointed Fong Chi-ting acting magistrate, and Fong Chin-ying, inspector.

At 7 a.m. of the 3rd instant, the troops were dispatched to Chieh Yang. That afternoon the 3rd division of the 1st Army, having a force of several thousand, arrived at the district. At 5 p.m. of 4th instant Mr. Hsu, the director of Political Bureau of the 3rd Division, invited the people to attend a social gathering of the people and soldiers at which Mr. Hsu delivered an address. The audience was very enthusiastic.

IN CHIEH YANG:—On November 1 and 2, the rebellious troops under Hung Chao-lin and Li Yuen-fu retreated to Chieh Yang. They dared not remain there very long because the Revolutionary Army were pursuing them, but proceeded to Swatow and Chao Chow. Therefore this district escaped being plundered, but on the way many villages were robbed. On the 3rd instant the First Army under General Ho Ying-yam and Party representative, Mr. Chiu Yin-loy reached the district from Pu Ning. The directors of various organisations met them at the outskirts of the district. When our troops arrived at the city, the streets were crowded with onlookers, who gave the troops a hearty welcome. Pamphlets were distributed on the way by our Army. As soon as they arrived at Chieh Yang, General Ho Ying-yam ordered 3,000 of his troops to pursue the enemy, and the rest were stationed at the various temples of the city. That night Mr. Tsai Tek-min, representative of the Swatow Central Chamber of Commerce and Bureau of Public Safety, interviewed General Ho Ying-yam and informed him that the rebellious troops under Lin Hu, and Hung Chao-lin had entirely evacuated Swatow, and requested our troops to proceed to Swatow. Accordingly Messrs. Chiu Yin-loy and Tsai Tek-min went to Swatow first, and General Ho Ying-yam led his troops to Fo Yeung via Tang Kong Tong on the 4th instant. On November 5 the troops arrived at Swatow by train from Fo Yeung.

CONDITION OF CHAO CHOW, MEI HSIEN AND OTHER DISTRICTS.

CHAO CHOW.—On November 1, over two hundred of Chen Chiung-ming's wounded soldiers were brought to Chao An. A committee from Chen went to the magistrate's yamen and demanded money. The citizens were greatly terrified. At 3 p.m. that day Chen Chiung-ming's soldiers commandeered coolies in the city. All shops were closed. At night many defeated soldiers from the front reached the city. The officials left the city, and the magistrate also escaped. At 2 a.m. Liu Chi-luk and Wong Kiang arrived at the city by special train, and stayed at the Second Normal School in Hon Shan. Next day Hung Chao-lin also arrived with his troops. At 9 a.m. Liu Chi-luk escaped from Yao Ping. On November 2, Li Fu-yuen's troops arrived and gathered at Chut Kiu Tau. During the night Hung Chao-lin also escaped with his troops from Yao Ping. On the morning of November 3rd Hung Chao-lin's troops under regimental-leader Mang entered the city from Chieh Yang. After commandeering coolies, they left.

CHING HAI.—On November 2 over one hundred defeated soldiers with several cannons passed Lin Yueng, whose citizens closed their doors. But Ching Hai was not a well-fortified place, and so Chen Chiung-ming's soldiers did not remain.

CHAO YANG.—After Chen's troops were defeated in Ho Po, they became panicky. The magistrate left hurriedly, and Tseng Wun-king, president of the Militia, was then elected to fill the vacant position temporarily. On November 1, the remnants of Yang Kun-yue's force numbering 600 men arrived at the district. The acting magistrate was afraid that they would create trouble, and ordered the police to lead them to Hau Kai Ma temple, and then sent them to Swatow.

MEI HSIEN.—After Hung Leuk was defeated, he went to Chung Hau with his bodyguards. There he forced the payment of various taxes amounting to \$6,750. After having extorted this amount, Hung Leuk left Sun Po, Chiu Ling. It is reported that Li Yi-piu's troops passed Sak Hang after their defeat at Hing Ning. The people were frightened when the soldiers were passing by, thinking that they would attack the village. The soldiers however did not molest the villagers, but took to the mountains.

TAI PO.—A few days ago about 100 people who appeared to be soldiers from Tan Hai Pa passed by Lau Shue Street, and left via Fu Chuen Street. They were not in uniform, but carried with them several worn-out rifles. The people of the district were very cautious and suspicious.

CHIU LING.—When Chen Chiung-ming's soldiers under regimental-leader Chow were in Wai Loy, they forced the merchants to pay \$700, but the merchants opposed this and were arrested. This was made known to the brigade-leader of that army, who by means of terrorism, extorted \$1,400 from the merchants, who begged in vain for a reduction. At present most of the shops have closed their doors. Fortunately our Revolutionary Forces arrived soon after. The merchants were then released from bondage.

Other districts as Pu Ning, Yao Ping were also devastated by Chen Chiung-ming's soldiers.

(From Kuo Min Sin Wen, 11-11-25)

TUNG KIANG CAPTIVES ARRIVE IN CANTON

It is reported that 3,000 captives were gathered at Shek Lung on the 10th instant and removed to Canton the next day. The Central Transportation Station of the 1st Revolutionary Army notified the Canton-Kowloon Railway to set aside and despatch three special trains to Shek Lung that day. After the station received this notice, twenty-eight cars were made ready and at 4 a.m. and 1 p.m. of the 11th instant the cars were despatched to Shek Lung.

(From Min Kuo Jih Pao, 11-11-25)

B. THE CIVIL WAR IN THE SOUTHERN DISTRICTS.

1. MANIFESTO OF THE EIGHT SOUTHERN DISTRICTS REVOLUTIONISTS' ASSOCIATION, DENOUNCING TENG PEN-YIN

The following is a manifesto issued by the Eight Southern Districts Revolutionists' Association, denouncing the rebel Teng Pen-yin:-

"Our comrades who are struggling on with dogged perseverance! Our natives of the Eight Southern Districts! The Imperialists are continually carrying out their malicious, underhand schemes; they are making use of their hunting-dogs to invade and to oppress us. Our fellow comrades, unable to suffer these cruelties, will soon die under imperialistic oppression.

Hence, if you want to rid yourselves of your sufferings and to preserve your lives, you must unite as soon as possible to oppose and attack your enemies, the imperialists. But, in order to do so, you must first exterminate the hunting-dog of your enemies, that is to say, Teng Pen-yin!

The rebel Teng Pen-yin is a willing hunting-dog of the foreigners. He occupies the south of Kwangtung. He has ruined the natives of the Eight Districts and has smuggled goods and provisions to the British imperialists.

Instances of his oppression of the people are numerous. He has caused villages to be burned; he has insulted their females: young girls and old women were ravished by him and his rebel followers; he has massacred innocent citizens; he has gagged the mouths of the people and forbidden them to talk about his actions; he has forced the villagers to plant poppy; he has minted counterfeit coins; he has oppressed the peasants and labourers; he has disturbed the financial equilibrium; he has established many kinds of surtaxes: a poll-tax and a tomb-tax, for instance. Moreover, he broke the strike system; he killed many students unjustly, he smuggled rice to support the Hongkong imperialists and thus caused the people to suffer.

On the whole, his crimes and cruelties have rivalled those of Chen Chiung-ming, Yang Hsi-min, Liu Chen-huen, Ngai Pong-ping and Chu Chuk-min; and unless this rebel is extirpated our people will never know peace.

We, following the trend of evolution, and adjusting ourselves to the present-day world, started the National Revolution which aims at the betterment of the welfare of the people. No matter how strong the force of the counter-revolutionists, who are backed by imperialists, may be, they will be defeated by our revolutionists sooner or later. This has been proved in many instances. Those counter-revolutionists, such as Chen Lin-pak, who directed a band of Merchants' Volunteers; Chen Chiung-ming, who occupied Tungkiang for a long time; Liu Chen-Huan and Yang Hsi-min, who started a revolt in Canton and Ngai Pong-ping and Chu Chuk-min, who tried to overthrow the Government about one month ago, were gradually cleared out by our Revolutionary Government assisted by our people, and are all taking refuge in alien territories.

These facts show that opposition to our revolution for selfish purposes is useless.

At present, when the militarists — the hunting dogs of the imperialists — are gradually being put out of existence and the unification of Kwangtung is slowly but surely being effected, why should the rebel Teng Pen-yin, who is still practicing his "Tufei" methods in the South, be allowed to exist and maltreat the people?

Our revolutionary comrades who are responsible for the relief of China and her people! You must endeavor quickly to eradicate this rebel, so as to facilitate your work of unifying Kwangtung and successively overthrowing imperialism. We have already said that in order to overthrow imperialism, we must first exterminate its hunting-dog Teng Pen-yin; in order to release the people from their sufferings, we must also get rid of their oppressor, viz., Teng Pen-yin; and, moreover, in order to make our National Revolution a fact, we must overthrow the counter-revolutionist, Teng Pen-yin first.

We, for the sake of the unification of Kwangtung and the peace of our Eight Southern Districts, must rise up, unite and fight together. We will fight decisively against the rebel Teng.

But we should not work only to overthrow Teng Pen-yin and then consider that we have accomplished our work. Our chief aim is to eradicate all militarists so that when this Teng Pen-yin is exterminated, none will arise to take his place.

At the same time while we are working for the overthrow of Teng, we must continue to follow the instructions of the late Dr. Sun and thoroughly improve the conditions of the Eight Southern Districts by bringing the peasant and working classes to a higher level and train the common people in our revolutionary principles.

We must endeavor to follow the political principles of the Nationalist Government, to struggle onward toward a National Revolution and to overthrow all the militarists in the country.

We must also join, as directed by the Kuomintang, with all the oppressed classes of the world in the overthrow of all the Imperialistic countries, so as to attain the fraternity, liberty and equality of mankind.

(SD) THE SOUTHERN EIGHT DISTRICTS
REVOLUTIONISTS' ASSOCIATION.

(From *Min Kuo Jih Pao*, 10-31-26)

2. TENG PEN-YIN'S ACTIVITIES IN THE SOUTHERN DISTRICTS.

When Teng Pen-yin was in power in the Southern Districts, he minted many counterfeit silver coins and forced the people to regard them as legal money, thus causing great suffering to the peasants. Since the overthrow of Teng, the people in the cities have abolished the use of these counterfeit coins. But the peasants of various villages, being ignorant of this, still regarded them as good and consequently suffered greatly from using them.

During his period of supremacy in the Southern Districts Teng Pen-yin told many lies to the people of that region, saying that the Nationalist Government wanted to introduce communism. He did so with the intention of misleading the peasants and thereby rousing the opposition of the people against the Government. Afterwards when the Revolutionary Armies had captured the Southern Districts from Teng Pen-yin and were occupying them, the landlords, deceived by Teng's fabrications, became greatly frightened. For fear that the Nationalist Government would actually enforce communism and consequently deprive them of all their property, the land-owners of Lien Kiang, Hua Hsien and Leichow immediately sold all their lands. They insisted on saying that the Canton Government would soon introduce communism. Later it was clearly explained to them that this was only a rumour fabricated by Teng Pen-yin with the intention of calumniating our Government. How foolish the landlords are!

THE LAND-TAX:—Another grievance against Teng Pen-yin is that he collected in advance the land-taxes of various districts for the 15th and 16th years of the Chinese Republic. Often he changed the magistrate of a district several times a month. The peasants, besides paying their land-taxes which were either due or collected in advance, also suffered from the extra extortions of the tax-collectors. At the present time and since the Revolutionary Armies have taken over the collection of taxes, they are collected in accordance with the rules for tax collection formulated by the Department of Finance of Kwangtung Province. According to those rules, there are extra charges in addition to the regular amount of land-tax, and the

peasants, being ignorant people, are grumbling over such impositions, saying that even during Teng Pen-yin's regime there were no such extra charges. Those peasants who grumble have forgotten the extortions and the oppressive levy of taxes by the tax-collectors during Teng's reign and now the peasants of those districts have come together to demand the Government to cancel these excessive taxes.

Besides the land-tax, various miscellaneous taxes are also imposed, such as likin taxes levied in the regions of Sui-tung, Wong-poh, and Yang-kiang, shipping license fee, stamp tax, Customs duty, wine tax, and butcher tax in the regions of Mei-lu, Sui-tung, Pak-hoi and Leichow, etc. As yet all the inordinate impositions of Teng Pen-yin have not been completely removed by the Revolutionary Armies, but the peasants of those districts have been greatly relieved from their sufferings caused by the extortions of the authorities.

(From a Special Report, 5-14-26)

3. LIQUIDATION OF THE REBELLION IN THE SOUTHERN DISTRICTS.

Since the capture of Weichow, the Revolutionary Army has marched forward with invincible fortitude. Hai Feng, Ho Yuen, Tzu Chin and Ho Po have already been recovered. The East River Districts are on the verge of peace but warfare in the Southern Districts is again rampant. The Southern District Rebels who attempted to attack Kai Ping at this juncture are indeed crafty, but their attack had long been expected by the Government and they had consequently taken due precautions. Inasmuch as the East River Renegades are more dangerous than the Southern Rebels, the Government decided to eliminate the former before it started an expedition against the latter, who, being aware of the fact, took this opportunity to revolt.

There are two purposes in this action of the Southern Rebels. First, the East River Renegades, on account of the onset of our Revolutionary Army which they could not resist, instigated the Southern Rebels to attack our rear to prevent the advance of our Revolutionary Army in the East River Districts. Secondly, the Southern Rebels, knowing that after the elimination of the East River Renegades, our Government would of a surety direct its forces against them, took the offensive hoping to maintain, if possible their, position. But our Government soon detected their scheme and before the Eastern Expedition was despatched, Division Commander Chen Ming-hsin was instructed to station his troops in the Southern Districts to take precautions against a revolt of the rebels. Thus they were defeated during their attack on Kai Ping. We needed no message to assure us of the victory.

The rebels thought that the non-submission of the Szechuenese Army in the North and the disturbance of the Kew Kong brigands together with the revolt of the Southern Rebels were enough to disturb the rear and hinder the force of our army. But it turned out that, the Szechuenese Army was driven away, and the Kew Kong

brigands were exterminated. This rendered the revolt of the Southern Rebels useless. Since the East River Districts are more dangerous to approach than the Southern Districts, and since these have been conquered there should be little difficulty in recovering the Southern Districts.

We are confident that when our army arrives the Rebels in the Southern Districts will soon be defeated. We agree with Mr. Wong that "the Southern Districts may be recovered in ten days." This leads us to believe that the unification of Kwangtung will this year be completed.

(From *Kuo Min Hsin Wen*, 10-29-25.)

4. MANIFESTO OF THE 3RD ARMY TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTHERN DISTRICTS.

The Revolutionary Armies, in order to unify Kwangtung, have decided to start a Southern Expedition to eradicate the Rebels in the Southern Districts, notwithstanding the incompleteness of the Eastern Expedition.

Our dear people! Our Nationalist Government is now trying hard to unite Kwangtung. It has abolished all miscellaneous surtaxes so as to lessen the burden of the people and it is now planning to benefit Kwangtung province in other ways, at the time when the government is carrying out its constructive programme.

The rebel Teng Pen-yin has suddenly revolted in the South and launched attacks upon the various districts of that region, thus violating the peace of Kwangtung. Such rebel actions bring great trouble to our beloved fellow-countrymen. What a deplorable state of affairs! Consequently we have determined to clear these rebels out and relieve your people even at the price of great sacrifice and suffering.

At the same time we hope that your people will understand that the Revolutionary Government is the Government which aims to emancipate the people from their distress and give them freedom and equality. We also expect that you will assist the Government in the unification of Kwangtung.

Rebel Teng's revolt is supported by the British Imperialists. With this economic assistance he has created trouble in the South in order to hinder and check the movements of our Nationalist Government.

He is a hunting-dog of the Alien Imperialists and in his toadying of the foreigners, forgot to think of the distress to the people, which his rebel movement would cause. If he should succeed the splendid, flourishing region along the Pearl River would become one of the settlements of the British Imperialists.

When we blockaded Hongkong after the Shakee Massacre, the rebel Teng Pen-yin smuggled provisions to support the Hongkong foreigners. When we started to boycott the British Imperialists, the rebel Teng forced the natives of Chiungchow to work for the Aliens. Such unpatriotic acts deserve severe punishment.

More recently this Rebel used the Northern Warships to shut up Canton and employed his own force to attack his neighbours.

From his actions, we can see that he wants to put his fellow provincials to death, either by means of starvation or the bayonet. What malicious desires he possessed! Our dear comrades! Organize quickly and work for the overthrow of the rebels. We are pioneers in the relief of the people.

You people must cooperate with the Government, if you want to attain the unification of Kwangtung, to acquire an invincible Nationalist Government, to plan for the peace of the citizens and to eradicate the rebel Teng Pen-yin, the counter-revolutionists, and the hunting-dogs of the imperialists.

Long live the revolutionary theories of Dr. Sun!

Long live the union of the workers, the farmers, the soldiers, the merchants, the Government Officials and the students!

*(sd) The Political Department of the 3rd National Revolutionary Army.
(From Min Kuo Jih Pao, 10-29-26)*

5. MANIFESTO OF THE NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY ARMY TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTHERN DISTRICTS.

Our beloved comrades! We have been suffering for years from the ill-treatment of unruly soldiers and have been over-burdened by the unnecessary and exorbitant taxes which have deprived us of our means of living. These have been the gifts of the counter-revolutionaries.

This spring traitor Chen Chiung-ming was defeated. Then as the people of the East River Districts were being relieved, rebels Liu and Yang plotted a revolt in the rear. Consequently the Revolutionary Army had to leave their beloved fellow citizens and return to Canton to punish these two rebels. Then traitor Chen Chiung-ming again gathered his followers and occupied Tung Kiang.

This time the Revolutionary Army sacrificed its blood and everything to fight for the interests of the people. They captured Weichow, the formidable den of the rebels in two days' time. This is indeed a praiseworthy and notable achievement. The final result was the weakening of the forces of traitor Chen Chiung-ming, so much that he will not be able to rise again.

Our present urgent mission is the pacification of the Southern Districts. Rebel Teng Pen-yin has again been maltreating the people in Chiungchow.

When the Nationalist Government was blockading Hongkong by means of the fleet, rebel Teng Pen-yin supplied the Hongkong Government with provisions in order to frustrate us.

As our revolutionary strength is augmented day by day, rebel Teng Pen-yin is becoming greatly alarmed, and intends to overthrow our Nationalist Government, who in order to protect the people's interests, has decided to despatch an expedition to the South. The people of the East River Districts have helped in the attack of traitor Chen Chiung-ming. Hence the people of the Southern Districts must also help to attack the petty militarist, Teng Pen-ying. Then Kwangtung will be unified, and the people may again live in peace.

Fellow-citizens: We must rise up to cooperate with the Nationalist Government, and loudly acclaimed the following slogans:

"Down with Imperialism!"

"Down with the Hunting-dogs of Imperialism!"

"Down with the counter-revolutionists!"

"Down with Militarism!"

"Long live the National Revolution!"

6. REVOLUTIONARY ARMY ABOLISHES TYRANNICAL TAXES.

A telegram received by the Min Kuo press from Lau Wah-feng reads as follows:—

The Ko Liang revenue office was established in Yang Kiang by rebel So Ting. It was a tyrannical tax gathering organ. I was instructed by General Li Chi-shen, Commander of the 4th Army of the Nationalist Revolutionary Army and Chen, the 10th Division-leader of the above army to abolish this illegal taxation and have despatched officers to investigate it, but I fear that the various classes of people do not know about this. I hope you will publish this matter in your paper so that the people will know that the Nationalist Government has abolished the above tyrannical tax-organ for them.

(sd) LAU WAH-FENG,

OFFICER IN CHARGE OF THE 10TH

DIVISION AT YANG KIANG.

(From Min Kuo Jih Pao, 12-18-26)

7. BIG BUTCHERY AND LOOTING BY REMNANTS OF RENEGADE TENG PEN-YIN.

Our special correspondent writes:—

After the Revolutionary Armies crossed and captured Chiung-chow City and Haikow, all the troops under the renegade Teng Pen-yin stationed at Chiung-ngai and vicinity, upon learning this news, became terrified. They knew that the main

strength was gone and all of them, while the Revolutionary Armies were too busy to intervene, looted every village near their encampment. The misery of the people of Chiung-ngai at the time was very pitiful.

According to a letter written by a certain person in Chiung-chow City, it is said that at 2 p.m. on January 22, Lam Hei-chun, the bogus commissioner of the Bureau of Cooperative Defence of Men-cheong District, led his accomplices Ying Kuk-wen, Ying Po-meng and others numbering over a hundred persons to round up and attack the Militia Bureau of Weng Heng Thoo village of Chiung-shan district. The deed took six hours. During this period, the Weng-heng Lower School, Yuk-sek, Chiuluk, Toa-shan, Tung-kok, Seong-yuen and Lam-tein villages were looted and cleaned out. The casualties were five militia-men and citizens killed and over 100 persons wounded. A boy and a woman were kidnapped. The Militia Bureau lost over ten rifles and several hundred rounds of cartridges. All movable property of the villagers were confiscated.

The renegade soldiers, the bogus Commissioner and others are still at Kou Tong Market in Men-cheong. They say that if the Weng-heng Militia Corps do not surrender all their rifles and ammunitions, they will level the place to the ground. Therefore, thousands of the terrified inhabitants have fled to the forest where they are hiding and living under most pitiful conditions.

Upon investigation, it was learned that the bogus Commissioner Lam Hei-chun and his accomplices Ying Kuk-wen, Ying Po-meng and others, were formerly notorious bandits of Men-cheong District and were always disturbing the villagers in Tam-ngou, Pao-loh, Kau-tong, Tai-cheong, Kam-tun and Khaimee markets. Renegade Teng Pen-yin, seeing that their accomplices were numerous and their strength great, could not harm them and afterwards enlisted them and appointed Lam Hei-chun to be Commissioner of the Bureau of Co-operative Defence. On this account, they led their accomplices to Kou-tong market and thereafter they become more barbarous in their acts. In the daytime, they opened opium-smoking and gambling dens and in the night, they despatched their accomplices to the small villages to rob. These are the reasons why during the past year the villages living near them have been suffering most horribly. Although the news of these vicious acts was broadcasted the renegade Teng Pen-yin paid no notice to it.

It is anxiously hoped that the Revolutionary Armies, after crossing Chiung-chow, will be able to relieve the people of these great evils.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen, 2-5-26)

8. PEASANT MOVEMENT DURING THE REIGN OF TENG PEN-YIN IN THE SOUTHERN DISTRICTS.

In the middle of November, 1924, comrade Wong Kit came to the district and started the peasant movement. He started his work in Shingkok village, Simoon village etc. of the first division, Mosheling village, etc. of the fourth division, and

Siling village, Kintau village, Taikiu village, Malim village, etc. of the sixth division. He assembled the peasants, secretly. About forty-one villages in all have established peasant unions. However, on account of the fact that the counter-revolutionary soldiers and officers of traitor Teng did not allow people to form peasant unions and the notorious ruffians and corrupt landowners of various villages fabricated rumours to threaten the peasants. Consequently Tungmoon village, Hawoo village, etc. of the first division, Hafung, Tusheong village, etc. of the second division, Suipiu village, etc. of the third division, Shemloi village, Yeungka village, etc. of the fourth division, and Shanhow village, Tunghau village, etc. of the sixth division did not dare to inaugurate peasant unions. Therefore, this secret movement has resulted in nothing important.

When traitor Teng Pen-yin occupied Leichow, the peasants were suppressed and suffered very much. It frequently happened that these bad characters encouraged Tang Shing-suen, the accomplice of Teng Pen-yin, to pull up the potatoes from the peasants' farms and force the farmers to plant opium.

As the peasants of Shingkok village, etc. had suffered greatly, it was much easier to start a peasant movement in those places. The bogus District-Magistrate Chan Ping-yin realizing this, announced that he would arrest all those who were working for the peasant movement. In consequence, comrade Wong Kit was quite inconvenienced in his movements. Afterwards the bogus District-Magistrate was dismissed from office and comrade Wong Kit became the speaker of the Leichow Rush Baskets Improvement Association. Wong seized the opportunity of going to the various villages and markets and delivered lectures for the interests of the peasant union so that the peasants may know and understand the importance and necessity of unification.

CONDITION OF THE PEASANT MOVEMENT AFTER THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMIES RECOVERED LEICHOW: Before the Revolutionary Armies recovered Leichow, work in connection with the peasant movement was carried on secretly because at the time it would have been suppressed by traitor Tang if he had known. After the Revolutionary Armies arrived, propaganda in regard to the peasant movement could be freely circulated and peasant unions were openly organised. At the same time, the Political Department of the Fourth Revolutionary Army and District-Magistrate helped us so much in the propaganda work that the peasants became faithful to the peasant union. Consequently, the peasant movement grew rapidly.

(From a Special Report, 26-7-26)

9. CO-OPERATION OF PEOPLE AND REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS IN LIEN CHOW.

Since Lien Chow fell into the hands of our forces the people of that region have frequently cooperated with the Revolutionary Army to suppress the bandits in Sam Tong. They have organised "An Association for Bandit Suppression and

Peace Restoration" and put into effect other reforms. Recently the people of that place have been organising peasant and labour unions. Now the bandits and other bad characters have been eradicated. The people were very pleased when they heard of the victory of our forces.

During the past few days the various classes of people in Lien Chow held a meeting in celebration of the capture of Chiung-ngai. At the meeting over five thousand people were present, and three thousand people joined the lantern procession in the evening of the same day.

Yesterday the various representatives of the peasant and labour unions and merchants personally gave a hearty send off to the Political Department of the 4th Revolutionary Army which was despatched to Chiungchow. They fired crackers along the streets while the officers of the said Department were leaving.

(From Min Kuo Jih Pao, 2-17-26)

C. THE CIVIL WAR IN VARIOUS PLACES IN KWANGTUNG.

I. The Outbreak in the Chung Shan District and the Present Situation There.

A. THE CONDITION OF CHUNG SHAN DISTRICT BEFORE IT WAS OCCUPIED BY THE REBELS.

1. REPORT FROM SPIES BEFORE THE INCIDENT: On the 21st and 22nd of October, 1925, the District Peasant Association received reports from spies stating that Yuen Tai, Lam Ching-wen, Lim Ming-ngar etc. had gathered at Macao, established many organs there, and despatched men secretly to the various sections of Chung Shan District to instigate the local bandits to rebellion. It was reported also that Yuen Tai had transported from Macao over three hundred rifles to Siu Lik-mei and Wing Yick-wai in the third section; and that Yuen Tai had also instructed Lim Choi, a bandit chief of the ninth section, to gather together seven or eight hundred bandits at Kiao Po and Ta Chun to be ready to attack Shek Ki. Simultaneously, the magistracy received the same report. Martial Law was declared in the District beginning from the 22nd.

2. THE FORCES OF THE DISTRICT: The troops stationed at Shek Ki were:- One battalion under Ngai Yu-ching of the Independent Regiment of the 4th Army.

One battalion under Pang Chi-wa of the newly organised Regiment of the 10th Division. (This battalion lacked one company.)

One company of Patrol-guards of the Magistracy under Wong Chi-suan. (This company was re-organised from the gendarmes of the Headquarters of the Kwangtung Army.)

The total number of soldiers was over seven hundred and together with the Municipal militia which consisted of about 800 men and the United Defence Corps which had two or three hundred men, they were strong enough to guard Shek Ki which is but a small place. If they had been really loyal to the Government, the bandits could not have done anything despite their greater number.

3. THE OPINIONS OF THE MERCHANTS: Most of the merchants at Shek Ki were petty compradores. Inasmuch as communication between Hongkong and Macao was interrupted, their finance and trade were very much affected. Hence

they felt uneasy, and began to be disgusted with the strike. They grumbled also at the Nationalist Government which supported the strike.

As for the local traders, they usually had no concern for politics. They wanted only what was convenient for them and did not care about change, and were apt to protest against any new policies adopted and enforced by the Government. An instance of this occurred last month when the Sanitary Bureau levied an examination fee on drugs, which resulted in a general strike.

With regard to the peddlers, their business being so small, they were, comparatively speaking, more inclined towards the Revolution. But owing to the extortions of the Director of the Bureau of Industry of the District, Luk Tsing-chi, who enriched himself by making impositions and arrests under the pretext of unification of weights and measures, the peddlers bore some grudge against the Magistracy. Although this Director was afterwards dismissed, the fears of the citizens were still not appeased. Moreover, there were the big merchants Li Pung-kai, Tsang Fung-Tsau etc. who were also big landlords; they habitually occupy Commercial Chambers, control the market, and collude with the soldiers and bandits who prey upon the people. Last month the District Government dissolved the Dikes Repair Bureau which they depended upon as their source of revenue. It is no wonder that there were reactionary movements. In a word, before the incident the merchants' circle was already beclouded by evil influences.

4. **MERCHANT CORPS:** The attitude of the merchants at Chung Shan was such that the merchant corps who were under their employ and direction could not act otherwise. Besides, the Chung Shan Merchant Corps had historical relations with Lim Ching-wen. In October, 1924, when the plot of the united merchant corps for overthrow of the Revolutionary Government was exposed, the Chung Shan Merchant Corps should have been disarmed and disbanded as there were evidences against them for being in league with the rebels. However, by bribing Lim Ching-wen with a large sum of money, they escaped punishment. They therefore felt grateful to Lim and hated the Government. Favour and grudges decided their activities; they had no regard for Revolution or Counter-Revolution. Though they had changed their name to Municipal Militia and intended to change again into the Merchants Self-Defense Corps, yet in reality they are the same as before.

5. **UNITED DEFENSE CORPS:** This Corps was organised by the landowners of Chung Shan District. The leaders were Wong Lung-chang and Liang Shiu-luen. At first this Corps had over six hundred members. These members, all vagabonds, were stationed separately at the various temples and Ancestral Halls of the District and acted as hounds of the landlords. They at first decided to levy a yearly contribution of twenty cents for each mow and a commencement fee of 10 cents to

cover their expenses; but the Peasant Association strongly opposed this tax. Hence they could not carry out their intentions. Nevertheless the peasants in the sections where no peasant associations were established, were compelled to submit to this levy.

The United Defense Corps was then continued. For several months, they not only did no real good, but also placed many a stumbling block in the way of enforcing the Party policies. It was due to this corps which acted as internal coadjutors that the rebels Lim and Yuen were able to come in and occupy the District in such a short space of time, for the defense corps and the bandits were birds of the same feather.

6. LABOUR UNION: The labourers at Chung Shan are generally handcraft workers. Their organisation had not got rid of the custom and spirit of Guild Associations. Until now they have not been able to unite unanimously. There are the Union of Labour Associations; the Union of Labour Delegates; the Labour Mutual Aid Corps; and the General Labour Union. These four great organisations each hoisted its own banners. The big merchants such as Tsang Fung-tsan, etc. had also legally organised a Fruit and Vegetable Labour Union with the purpose of increasing their influence. There were also what they called labour leaders who became sub-directors and Prostitute Taxation Masters. But the lower grade of workmen did understand Revolution and were willing to support the Government. It is a pity that their leaders did not know how to incorporate them in the masses.

7. THE PEASANT ASSOCIATION: The Chung Shan District Peasant Association had already 15,000 members. There were 110 Village Peasant Associations and six Sectional Peasant Associations already established. The District Peasant Association had also been formed. Through the propagation of the delegates despatched there by the Peasant Department, the entire body of members realized what had caused their own hardships and how to obtain emancipation. Hence they earnestly supported the Government. But as they lacked training, they could only protect the rural sections and were unable to meet the enemy in battle.

8. THE ETERNAL COMPETITIVE AND PROGRESSIVE SOCIETY: This Society was a special organisation at Lung Tao in the second section of the Chung Shan District. Its nature was similar to that of the Sam Hop Hui, but it did away with the formalities of the latter. The leaders of this Society were Lau Sing, a native Chi Kok Village, Fong Kan Yu of Ho Tsung Village. The society was chiefly composed of vagabonds.

Since its establishment, its members had occupied the Military Bureau of various villages and called themselves the militia. They compelled the villagers to enlist in the Society. There was no fixed entrance fee for they charged according to the financial position of the victim, ranging from sixty cents to

several hundred dollars. If anyone refused to pay it, they would either murder or kidnap him and, when the latter is the case, they would hold him for ransom. This Society had connections in various villages and its influence was very extensive, hence the villagers looked upon its members with the same fear as upon tigers.

On the 1st of October, the District Government dispatched the soldiers of the 10th Division to eliminate this false Society. Twelve of its members were killed and over forty were arrested and put into prison. The Lung Tao people are fierce and revengeful by nature. Although the Society had been dispersed, they were secretly very active. Since Lim Ching-wen and Lim Ming-ngar were natives of Lung Tao, they utilized their fellow-townsmen and made them do pioneer work.

9. BANDITS: The bandits in the Chung Shan regarded the second, third and the ninth sections of the District as their dens. In their present attack against Chung Shan, the bandits of these sections were the central forces. The bandits of the second section used the Eternal Competitive and Progressive Society as their headquarters, while the bandits of the third and ninth sections relied on the militia for protection. With the help of the militia, the bandits openly committed unlawful acts. Besides this, the degenerated landholder such as Lan Ming-kai, etc. acted in concert with them, and dissolute men as Lim Yan-to and Lim Ming-ngar etc. were harbouring them. Presently they openly aided Yuen Tai in a rebellion. We regret that no steps had been taken to deal with these men from whose hands the people suffered these evils.

10. THE DEMONSTRATION: Owing to the menacing atmosphere before this incident, the landlords, the gentries, the militia, the vagabonds, the bandits and the merchants were all consistently hostile to the Government.

The workers' forces were weak while the peasants, although strong enough, were unable to centralize their forces. Yet, despite the crisis, they still hoped to tide over the trouble. The workers' and peasants' organisations consequently decided to hold a demonstration on the 25th to show their determination to help the Government. But the enemy's scheme was ripe, they could not be frustrated, and the District fell into their hands on the morning of the 25th.

B. THE CONDITION OF CHUNG SHAN DISTRICT WHEN IT WAS OCCUPIED BY THE REBELS.

11. THE PAST EVENTS OF THE WARFARE: On the morning of the 25th., Yuen Tai, Lim Chung-won, etc., led over a thousand bandits to attack the District in three directions. The first line attacked by the west in the region where the Lung Tao bandits of the second section were located. The second line attacked by the north and the third attacked by the south in the region of the third and ninth sections' bandits.

At the time, the forces of the District Government were strong enough to put up a resistance. But the District fell at seven a.m. just one hour after the siege of the bandits began. There were three reasons for the District falling so quickly.

First, before the incident, many bandits hid in ambush within the District and because they were harboured by the militia, they were not discovered. The bandits responded from this ambush when the attack took place.

Secondly, the Municipal Militia, which was originally the Merchant Corps possessing over eight hundred effective weapons, not only did not help the Government but instead hoisted a banner with a black heart on a white field during the attack to show that they welcomed the bandits.

Thirdly, the army of the District Government were assisted by the force of Lim and Yuen. The battalion which was stationed at the East Gate under Ngai Yu-ching surrendered without fighting. The patrols under Wong Chi-suan had also colluded with the bandits. The only resisting force was the battalion of soldiers under Pang Chi-wa; but owing to a lack of ammunitions and insufficient arms, only about one hundred soldiers did really fight with the rebels. They were attacked by the rebels on all sides, hence they could not resist. The district would have fallen quicker had the pickets at the bund and the members of the Peasants Association at the North not resisted the attack so desperately.

12. THE PERSONNEL OF THE REBELS:—The Chief personages of the rebels were:

Lim Ching-wen, Commander-in-Chief of the Chung Shan and Shun Teh United Army, Commander of the Fifth Division of the Kwantung Army, and concurrently Magistrate of Chung Shan.

Yeun Tai, Commander-in-Chief of the First Direction of the Si Kiang Army.

Wong Tsok-pui, Commander of the Fifth Direction.

Lim Ming-ngar, Vice Commander of the Fifth Direction.

Wong Hong-ting, Commander of the Seventh Direction.

Wu Chi-kai, Vice Commander of the Seventh Direction.

Li Yuk-kwan, Director of Fund Raising Bureau.

Chang Man-sheung, Director of the Sandfield Protection Bureau.

Lan Young-kwong, Director of the Educational Bureau.

And others such as Lan Kok-kun, Lau Yuk-ming, Lau Chi-him, and Lim Han-chuan, who are members of the Party and who generally boasted that they were old members, although they were in concert with the bandits and landowners.

13. CONGRATULATORY SCROLLS:—After the rebels entered the Districts, the militia and landowners expressed their delight by presenting red congratulatory scrolls to the Magistrate who hung them on the walls of the Reception Room in the Magistracy. To read some of these inscriptions would make one shudder. The inscription

on the scroll presented by Wong Wei-chuan and Lim Yuk-wa stated, "The king has come; we are saved." Another inscription on the scroll presented by Wong Lung-chang (Leader of the United Defense Corps), Liang Hung-kwong (formerly Principal of the District Middle School) and Chang Pi-ki (a Han-Lin of the former Dynasty), stated, "Our Sire has returned." There was another scroll presented by the four sub-directors of the militia of the East, West, North and South, namely Wong Wei-chuan, Lim Yuk-wa, Siu Shin-man, and Young Sum, on which was inscribed: "Our earnest longing is satisfied." Another scroll which was presented by the Lini's Clan had the following inscription on it: "Worthy of our clan."

14. THE DISAPPOINTMENT OF THE MERCHANTS: In addition to the conservative landowner there were the common merchants, who before the incident, were obstinately delusive. But as their economic condition was, comparatively speaking, better than that of the landlords the merchants did not follow their stupidity. The fact that they had not presented a single scroll to Lim might be a proof of this assertion. The reason why the merchants did welcome the rebels was because they hoped to resume communication between Hongkong and Macao in order to facilitate and continue their transactions.

Though communication between Hongkong and Macao were subsequently resumed, the merchants suffered most for, being bandits, the subordinates of the rebels Yuen and Lim disturbed the merchants every day as the aim of these rebels was but to extort or plunder. Over half of the merchant shops dared not open their doors to business.

The result turned out to be that not only persons were seized in the streets and held for ransom, but also motor cars were seized in the East market of the District. The son of Cheng Sze-chuan, a returned overseas Chinese millionaire, was held captive for a high ransom. The merchants were thus greatly disappointed.

Furthermore, immediately after his entrance into the District, Rebel Lim published a notice levying an imposition of one month's rent from the people. In addition to these extortions miscellaneous gambling prevailed. Under these conditions the merchants began to recognise the true character of what they called the 'Chen Army.'

Hence, with the exception of a few big merchants who were at the same time landlords, such as Li Fung-kai etc., and who were willing to act as the tools of the rebels, all other merchants have changed their mind and turned towards the Nationalist Government.

15. THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE REBELS, THE LANDLORDS AND THE LEADERS OF THE MILITIA: On the third day after their entrance into the district, Yuen Tai and Lim Ching-wen invited the landlords of the various sections of the district to a secret meeting to discuss ways and means of raising funds. On November 3rd, Wong Tsok-pui, and Lim Ming-ngar summoned the merchants, soldiers, students, and owners to

a meeting at the Chamber of Commerce. Over two hundred persons attended this meeting at which it was proposed that the soldiers, police, merchants and the Militia United Corps were to unite together to organise an Inspection Bureau, and that each party elect and recommend a person whom the Government would appoint as one of the Officers-in-charge. This proposal was not passed. Afterwards, Wong Tsok-pui and Ko Wei-chuan, the commander of the Municipal Militia, held a discussion at the militia headquarters. It was decided that they would publicly commission the Defence Corps to levy taxes for military expenses, and further that they would successively issue credentials of appointment to the leader of the militia. Thus the rebels did whatever they could for the militia.

16. **THE REBELS AND THE BANDITS:** The possibility of the rebels occupying the District depended very much upon the help of the bandits of the various sections. It was therefore incumbent on them to remunerate these bandits. The chief bandit leader, Lim Han-choi, who had colluded with the British gun-boat "Robin" to plunder and burn Heng Tong village, was appointed Director General of the Tung Hoi Sap Luk Sha Sandfield Protection Bureau. Wu Yee was appointed its Vice Director-General, with Fung Ying as Chief-manager. The other bandit leaders were appointed as commanders. These commanders plundered as if they had been ordered to do so.

The bandits of the second section had, however, another aim for giving help to the rebels. It was because thirty or forty of his colleagues who were arrested, had not been released; and they wanted to take the opportunity of breaking into the prison to rescue them. That was the reason why they threw open the prison door and released all the prisoners when they occupied the district.

17. **THE REBELS AND WORKERS:** Having been incited by the Hongkong and Macao Governments to disturb the place and frustrate the unification of Kwangtung, the rebels Yuen and Lim were therefore hostile to the patriotic organisations, especially to the pickets stationed there by the Strike Committee; otherwise how could they please their Imperialist Masters?

Since their occupation of the District on the 25th they had resumed communication between Shek Ki and Macao, and expelled the pickets from the district where they were without food. Not a single merchant came out to speak for them. Luckily, the peasant associations and the labour unions gave them accommodations and food, otherwise many would have starved to death.

Other labour associations in Shek Ki such as the General Labour Union, the Barber Labour Union, etc. were plundered by the rebels. The chairman of one of these Labour Unions was shot. The carcass, left on the roadside, remained as an indication of their brutality. At the time, all labour leaders who had been somewhat active in the labour movement, had to conceal themselves for the angered Rebel Lim would have butchered them.

18. **HOW THE REBELS TREATED THE PEASANTS:** Upon his arrival in the District, Lim Ching-wen issued a notice, stating: "Wang and Chiang have seized the reins of the Government, and have acted contrary to its principles. They instigated the strike and organised peasant associations, these affording ample opportunities for civil wars. They advocate the right of the equal division of land and the restriction of capital with the purpose of furthering their cunning exactions....."

The rebels, having a mind to dissolve the peasants' and workers' organisations, did their utmost to devastate the peasants and workers despite the fact that they occupied the district for only half a month. Kum Choi, a member of the Peasant Association, was arrested and shot under the pretext of a trivial matter. In the verdict they stated: "This criminal has relied on the influence of peasant associations to bully the good citizens and prey upon the villagers. His crime is unpardonable."

On the morning of the 19th, the rebels despatched a detachment of their infantry to attack, from three directions, the Mui Tui Village Peasants' Self-defence Corps. The peasants occupied a secluded spot to repulse them but were compelled to retreat owing to insufficient force. The village was at last seized by the rebels who plundered every house, confiscating over ten rifles.

At the time, the peasant associations in the 4th section at once united their defence for self-preservation. But the fact was discovered by rebel Lim who on the day before the restoration of the district by the Revolutionary Army, despatched a hundred men to the 4th section to spy on the activities of the Peasant Associations, with the intention of carrying out a massacre.

19. **THE BATTLE FOUGHT BETWEEN THE PEASANTS SELF-DEFENCE CORPS AND THE REBELS WHEN THE LATTER ENTERED THE DISTRICT:** There were always some staff and delegates of the Peasant Department stationed in the District Peasant Association. On the morning of the 25th, when they heard the shots, they knew that trouble had started and went up on the roof to fight with the rebels. Being out-numbered, they had to retreat. All their rifles and pistols, fifteen in number, were seized by the rebels.

The Na On Sha and the Wu Po Sha Villages of the 9th section were totally ransacked by the rebels. Over sixty peasant members were made captives, and several farmers were shot.

After the District Peasant Association was devastated, the Peasant Association of the Wu Sha Village was attacked by the bandit leader of that village, Wu Kwong-chuan who had also received an appointment from the rebels. He led several hundred local bandits to the village, disarmed the Peasants Defence Corps and seized many members. He also demanded a tribute of \$2,000 for expenses.

Numerous other peasant associations in other sections suffered from devastation similar to those enumerated above.

20. THE BEGINNING OF DISCERNMENT IN THE MASSES: During the period from October 25th to November 9th, when the rebels Lim Ching-wen and Yuen Tai were occupying the District, the aimlessness and the laxity of the rebels were entirely exposed. The object of their present rebellion was but to follow the instructions of the Hongkong and Macao Imperialists to disturb the peace and order of the people and the unification of Kwangtung. This incident had clearly shown the people the true character of the so-called, "Anti-Communism" partisans; it also has enabled them to realize the falseness of the past rumours. Before they longed for the coming of the "Chen" Army; but now they have changed their minds for in the past sixteen days, during the occupation by the rebels, facts have been distributed which changed their attitude toward the Hongkong and Macao Governments as well as Chen Chiung-ming.

The former hearty welcome of the merchants has been changed to a detestation of these men. The peasants being oppressed, have aroused themselves to plan for defence.

Judging from the actions of the people the doom of the rebels might be foretold. But deluded by their ambition, the rebels Yuen Tai and Lim were not aware of their position. They tried to enrich themselves by opening gambling houses and by exacting as much as and as long as they could. They held captives for ransom and carried out their atrocities while the landowners and leaders of the militia were congratulating one another that they had found the right men.

C. FROM THE TIME OF THE RESTORATION OF THE DISTRICT UP TO THE PRESENT.

21. The District fell on the 25th of October. Upon receipt of the news, the Government immediately despatched the Fifth Army to eliminate the rebels. At 4 a.m. on the 5th of November, the various troops of the Fifth Army gathered at Canton and started their expedition. General Li personally took part in the expedition, leading his guards, the cadets of the Military Institute established by the Fifth Army. I, myself, and five others who had been sent by the Peasant Department as delegates, together with three active members of the Chung Shan General Labour Union, went with the army, which consisted of eleven battalions.

The soldiers were transported in about a dozen launches and a score or more tow-boats, which sailed direct for Chung Shan. At half past seven in the morning we reached Yung Ki in Shun Teh. General Li went ashore to interview Lim Ku, Commander-in-Chief of the front. The boats sailed again at 10 a.m. and reached Siu Lam, in the third section of Chung Shan District, at noon. On the previous day the gunboats Kwong Ta and Lung Sheng had arrived there, and were waiting for orders to advance.

Upon his arrival, General Li at once held a military meeting with the various captains of the army and those of the gunboats in order to devise a plan of attack. It was decided that we were to encamp and pass the night at Siu Lam. It ordinarily takes two hours to reach the harbour of Shek Ki from Siu Lam. Assuming that the launches can make thirty nautical miles an hour, the voyage should be about sixty nautical miles.

22. RESTORATION: Our plan of attack was this: one regiment was to act as vanguards, one regiment to be held as general reserves, and one regiment to remain at Siu Lam to take care of the rear. The cadets were to maintain peace and order while the gunboats Kwong Ta and Lung Sheung were to sail first into the harbour, capture the fortress and protect the infantry while it landed. The soldiers were to attack the District in two directions: the first was to proceed from the harbour through the Chang Kai and Yuen Fung villages and enter direct into Shek Ki by the West and North gates; the second, guided by the delegates of the Peasant Department and the peasant corps of the villages, was to circle round Chang Chia Rien Village and enter Shek Ki by the South and East gates. Lam Ku was appointed the commander-in-chief of the front.

At first, the cadets and we decided to follow the vanguards of the first line. But as the fortress of the harbour only fired a round of shots and then ceased firing, the commander of the first line, seeing the favorable conditions, consequently did not abide by the original plan, but steamed the gunboats directly into Shek Ki. We and the cadets followed. The army marched on and at 9 a.m. captured the District without meeting the least resistance.

As for the rebels Lim Ching-wen and Wong Tsok-pui, some said that they went away about ten minutes before our arrival. Others asserted that the rebels fled to the Bund, and escaped without being recognized.

Inasmuch as this expedition was directed by General Li himself, and as there were cadets helping to maintain peace and order, no disturbances arose and order was soon restored. The shops after being closed for more than ten days reopened upon the arrival of the Government troops.

23. REINSTATEMENT OF THE DISTRICT PEASANT ASSOCIATION: After the Delegates and I entered the District, we went to inspect the former District Peasant Association building and what we saw were but the remnants of its collapsed walls. The Association building had been utterly destroyed. Subsequently we used the Sing Wong Temple as the Temporary Office of the Association, and posted on the Temple the following bill "Quarters for Pickets of the Strike Committee", in order to accommodate the fugitives. The District Peasant Association then issued its First Circular Note which reads, "Since the capture of this District by the rebels on the 25th, this Association has been totally ransacked. All the documents have been

destroyed and the files have been overturned. Yesterday the Nationalist Government despatched the Fifth Army here to exterminate these bandits. At the approach of the army the enemy at Siu Lam fled, and the District was recovered on the morning of the 10th. We, Yee Yuen, Taat Wen, Fu Yin and Wa Shiu, etc. arrived here with the Army. As the former office of the association has been destroyed by the bandits, we now borrowed the Sing Wong Temple for the temporary office of this Association in order to regulate the Association affairs. But, since we have to replace all the necessary office supplies, and as the reactionary forces are not totally extinct yet, unless we centralize our forces we shall not be able to cope with the situation. At present the Committee has decided that each village Peasant Association shall subscribe \$5 for buying office necessities, and that each village in the 1st and 4th sections shall send one member of its peasant corps to serve this Peasant Association. These men shall be sent back when peace and order have been restored in the adjacent villages. Please act in accordance with this circular and without delay." In the afternoon those peasants of the various villages who knew that we had arrived, came to visit and console us. The peasant corps who had acted as guides, undertook an armed patrol of the streets.

24. GENERAL MEETING HELD FOR CELEBRATING THE TRIUMPH: After the restoration of the District, the Peasant Association, the General Labour Union, the Merchant Association and the various organisations decided to hold a general meeting in celebration of the triumph and to undertake a grand mass movement to welcome the soldiers and officers of the Fifth Army.

Decision having been made, the meeting was held on the 12th at the Educational Hall outside the East Gate. Between seven and eight thousand attended. The Peasant Defence Corps of the Eastern villages who attended the meeting were armed.

It was I, Yee Yuen, who announced the reason for the meeting, and explained to the peasants that Yuen and Lim rebelled because they had been prompted by the Hongkong and Macao Governments. Therefore, the true enemy of the people is Imperialism and that Yuen and Lim were but tools. I also explained to them that the people have now awakened and that they are able to discern who are enforcing the Revolutionary policies, who really support the interests of the people, who are revolutionists and who are not. They could judge by the people present at this meeting.

Next, speeches were delivered by General Li, Magistrate Wong, and by Representatives of the Peasant Association, General Labour Union, District Party Branch, Merchant Association cadets, and those of the various classes.

Lastly, the entire body of the attendants acclaimed the following watch-words. "Unification of Kwangtung"; "Elimination of Counter-Revolutionists"; "Down with Imperialism"; "Unite together, citizens of all classes"; "Long live the Revolution." After the close of the meeting the armed peasant corps which patrolled the city dispersed.

26. THE QUESTION OF ELIMINATION OF REBELS AND SUPPRESSION OF BANDITS:

Despite the fact that our army did actually recover Shek Ki on the 10th, we may say that the Chung Shan District until now is still in the hands of rebels; for although the city is actually in our possession, yet the various sections are still under the control of reactionary forces.

Lately, we have found that the forces of the enemy are by no means extinct. They are centralizing their forces and are very active in various sections. They have forsaken the city to occupy various sections. Hence the Chung Shan District is under the control of the Government only in name, because with the exception of the city, a small bit of land in itself, all sections of the district are within the rebels' sphere of influence.

The bandits in the 2nd, 3rd and 9th sections are as unruly as before. They openly congregate and perpetrate disturbances; for instance at Shek Moon in the 2nd section, at Ta Nam in the 9th section, and at Tso Tong and Ta Shing Wei in the 3rd section.

What arouses the doubt of the masses is this, the General of the 5th army, having personally conducted eleven battalions of soldiers and over ten gunboats, recovered Shek Ki without killing a single rebel. Having recovered the city, he stationed his great forces there without attempting to give pursuit or to search the villages for rebels, thus giving the rebels ample time to make arrangements for a getaway.

What is more strange is that the village Ta Siu Wong Po which is very near Shun Teh, Yung Ki, where Commander Sim is stationed, and which is within easy reach of the Shek Ki and Siu Lam where a Regiment of the 5th army is stationed, the bandit leader Lim Choi who had been appointed by the rebels as Director General of the Tung Hoi Sap Sha Sandfield Bureau⁵⁾ still enforces black bill⁶⁾ on the farmers. At this juncture where a great force of government troops is gathered, he dares to lead several hundred bandits on board three or four landit launches to the sandfields to collect the exactions. Moreover, he even enforced the collection of a compulsory government sandfield tax and various additional taxes. He hoisted the banners of General Li's army and declared that he collects these dues for the said army.

This declaration was spread everywhere while the army concerned seemed not to have heard of it. They have neither despatched a detachment of soldiers to hunt down these rebels nor issued any notice to refute the bandits' declaration. The Chung Shan people were very much puzzled and they came to us to enquire about the matter. We knowing nothing about it, could not give any explanations to them. Consequently rumours were spread and some of them even stated that general Li's army and the bandit Lim Choi are in collusion, sharing together the exactions; the ratio of division being three to seven. Of course, these were foolish utterances, but as the people were in such a suspicious frame of mind we can hardly blame them.

Only observe the present condition. When the bandits are in the ascendancy they openly plunder and kill as if there were no soldiers in the city. For example, we state the following facts:—

On the fifth day after the restoration of the city, Pe Sha-wan, the bandit-leader Siu Kit led several hundred men ten miles out of the city, to enforce a compulsory collection of black bill fees. The Peasant Defence Corps of various villages, having received advice, immediately went to help the people. Six peasant women were captured after a hot battle had been fought.

On the next day, at Sha Hong How in Fung Ki, eight miles from the city, the bandits seized over eight peasants whom they carried off in long boats to Ta Nam. It is very strange that they could carry away several score of peasants, when on their way they had to pass the defence line of the fortress at the harbour where the gun-boats and the Fifth Army were stationed.

At Kung Kiu of Lung Tao, four or five miles out of the city, several persons were made captives. A few persons were also captured by the bandits just at East Market Maloo two or three miles from the city.

Proclamations for enforcing collection of black bill fees were seen posted at Tai Lip in the South Gate of the city, at Yin Chow Sandfield in the 1st section, at Fook Chung of Liang Tao, and at Ko Man Ting of Lung Tsun.

At present, with the exception of the Shek Ki city which is rather peaceful, the whole district of Chung Shan has become a nest of bandits.

During harvest time, the bandits collected their exactions from the peasants for each 'Mow' of land. Though there are government troops stationed everywhere, these soldiers alleged that they were stationed there for defence not for bandit suppression. Consequently cases relative to bandits are not in the sphere of their responsibility. The Government establishes Sandfield Protection Bureaux and levies Sandfield Protection fees, but there is not a single Sandfield Protection soldier.

And so the peasants have to meet the exactions of the bandits even though they pay several dollars tax on each 'Mow' of land. Seeing that banditry is a far better living than farming, for besides being able to deflect the extortions of corrupt officials into their own pockets, the bandits also have their booty to divide, many able bodied and cunning farmers have joined the bandits. That is the reason why Lim Choi can instantly summon a thousand bandits and why the Chung Shan District has become a colony of Sandfield bandits.

29. CONCLUSION: In a word, the Government of the Chung Shan District is still under the direction of reactionary forces. The bandits openly commit illegal acts while the soldiers take no notice of them. Unless a plan is devised to effect their thorough elimination, evil consequences will be the result.

In former civil wars, the district of Chung Shan was not a strategic point. But during the present Anti-Imperialist Movement it is a very important district, for by it one may reach Macao by land and Hongkong by sea. These two places are the headquarters of the enemy.

The Imperialist utilized Chen Ching-ming, Ngai Pong-ping, Lim Chung-wen and Yuen Tai, as well as the local bandits, landlords, and militia to disturb the peace and unification of Kwangtung. As the Chung Shan District is the door, it suffered from these evils.

Even now the influence of the rebels Yuen and Lim is not wholly extinguished. They are still enforcing compulsory payment of black bills upon the peasants in the various sandfields. They are capable of collecting several hundred dollars within ten days. With such big amounts, they are able to buy ammunition and instigate internal disturbances. I am afraid that their evil influences are not confined only to the Chung Shan district.

Ten days have elapsed since I was instructed to make the present trip. It is incumbent on me to submit for your inspection a detail report on the past events of my work of the warfare, the present situation, the attitudes of various parties, the cause of the trouble, and methods of rehabilitation.

Please request the Central Executive Committee of the Party to take measures to eliminate the rebels and bandits in the shortest possible time. Fix a definite rate on the field taxes; designate the proper procedure for the organs of collection and proceed to solve the problem of the militia. Then the whole district of Chung Shan may once more be restored to peace and prosperity.

(A report by Lo Yuen, Chairman of the Provincial Peasant Association, dated November 20th, 1925)

2. Intrigue of the Kwang Ning Counter-Revolutionists: Li Chai-yuan Joined the Militia And Bandits in a Plan to Declare Their Independence.

The counter-revolutionists of Kwang Ning, Li Chai Yuan and others, recently took advantage of the opportunity of the Government's giving its whole attention to the warfare in the South and the East, gathered together all the bandits and militia of the district and planned to declare an independence, so as to render assistance to Chen Chiung-ming's troops, to create disturbances in the West River District, and to hinder the revolutionary armies' military movement in the South. His plan was indeed wicked and malicious, but fortunately it was discovered by the Peasant Association of the District, which has sworn to uphold the Revolutionary Government strenuously. The following items of information from the district reveal rebel Li's wicked plans:-

(1) The counter-revolutionary leader, Li Chai-yuan, of Kwang Ning District, left his district for Canton about two months ago. He came to the city with the intention of conducting movements, with the assistance of Choy Hok-pang and Li Yee-hom, for the abolition of the Government's warrant issued for his arrest last year. After he failed in obtaining his wish he went to Hongkong and secretly joined with the rebel colleagues of Chen Chiung-ming. Afterwards, when rebel Chen started the rebellion in Tung Kiang Li was appointed by Chen to be Commander of the Boundary Armies in Hsin Hui and Kwang Ning, with orders to return to Kwang Ning to declare independence in that district. Later on after the Chung Shan Affair, rebel Li left Hongkong for Macao, and from there he travelled on to Chung Shan District. After staying in that district for one or two days, he secretly returned to Kongkuk, Kwang Ning District, in the company of his cousin, Li King-sun. In Kong Kuk, he met the rebel Lui Hing-ho. On October 30th, he left Kong Kuk for Tai Lo via Tiu Sha, and in Tai Lo he put up in the house of one of the corrupt landlords, namely Fung Wah-yuen. On the following day, he left Tai Lo and went to Fung Kai via Mou Kong in the 8th division, and in Fung Kai, he put up in the house of a great landlord name Luk Chi-lung. On the 1st of November he was escorted by ten militiamen despatched by the militia chief, Luk Chiu-fung, to his own house in Lo Wo. Every day, dozens of people, most of whom were his former subordinates, landlords and bandit chiefs, went to his house to inquire after him and to hold meetings.

(2) Before Li Chai-yuen's return to Kwang Ning, rumours were prevalent in that district. Afterwards, when Weichow City was captured by the revolutionary armies, a general meeting of citizens was convoked by the Kwang Ning District Kuomintang Branch and the Peasant Association to congratulate the armies on their victory, and at that time all the rumours were killed. But when trouble later started in the South and in the Chung Shan District, Li Chai-yuan again took advantage of the opportunity by sending some persons to the district to spread such rumours as "The Party Troops have been defeated by their enemies in the South", "The Eastern Expeditionary Armies have fallen into the trap of their enemies" and "The districts of Lo-ting, Chung Shan, Tai-shan, and Shun Teh have declared their independence", etc. Affected by these fabrications, the people of the district were greatly frightened. Because of this the District Peasant Association has now issued circulars to the peasants of various villages, ordering them to hold meetings to congratulate the revolutionary armies on their victories, and has also joined with the District Kuomintang Branch in carrying out political propaganda so as to enable the members to understand clearly the truth of the political situation. Nevertheless, these people dwelling in regions which were not within the sphere of influence of the peasant association, still did not believe what our comrades told them in regard to political and military affairs. For they, being affected by the fabrications of rebel Li,

thought that what the members of our Kuomintang Branch and the Peasant Association told them were not true facts but simply fabrications.

(3) Regarding Li Chai-yuan's plan for rebellion, he has resolved first to gather together all his former subordinates, the bandits, the disbanded soldiers, and the militiamen, and to re-organize them all into a militia corps. He has also decided that those soldiers, bandits, or militiamen, newly enlisted, shall be gathered together at Hau Kai while his former subordinates who were (after being disbanded) employed by the magistrate Luk and the merchants as militiamen shall stay in the district city to protect the citizens. They shall remain in the city and serve as traitors to their employers when their former master comes to attack the city. Rebel Li also appointed the militia of Kong Tuen, Foo Kai, and Tong Kok to watch the peasant corps, which had declared their intention of assisting the Nationalist Government. He, too, stationed the militia of the 8th division in Nam Kong and Pai Sha so as to cut off connections between the peasant corps of various regions. Rebel Li has made all the preparations for his rebellion and he has resolved to launch attacks upon the district city as soon as the bandits of the Tong Hill between the districts of Kwang Ning and Wai Chap and those of the Chat Sing Ngam Hill at the junction of the three districts of Kwang Ning, Wai Chap and Tak Hing arrive at the district.

(4) The rebel followers of Li Chai may be divided into four classes, viz., his former subordinates, the disbanded soldiers, the bandits and the militia. Regarding his former subordinates, about seventy or eighty of them had been employed by the magistrate Luk and the merchants as militiamen before the return of the rebel Li. They were Kong Sau, Seung Tak, Leung Wah and Leung Fat, and were secretly under the direction of Leung Wai-fan, a faithful supporter of Li. Some of Li's former subordinates, numbering about two hundred were at that time enlisted as militiamen in the 17th division under the control of Ching Yiu-tung and Li To-sang. As to the disbanded soldiers, rebel Li, on his return to Kwang Ning had passed the region of Kong Kuk and there made an agreement with more than one hundred disbanded soldiers formerly under the direction of Chow Hon-ling of the 3rd division of the Kwangtung Troops, to co-operate with him when he started any movement in his district. Rebel Li also convoked more than two hundred robbers of the regions of Shun Tung and Ying Fung of the Kwang Ning district, and those bandits have now all arrived in Hau Kai, Lo Wo. He also called the bandits (more than three hundred in number) of the Chat Sing Ngam Hill at the junction of the three districts of Kwang Ning, Wai Chap and Tak Hing, and bribed with \$500 the bandits (about five hundred in number) of the Tong Hill between the districts of Kwang Ning and Wai Chap, to help him. As to the militia, about seventy or eighty members of the United Militia Corps of the 3rd, 7th, and 8th divisions have gathered at the Mau Kong village in the 8th division since the 4th instant. Rebel Li has

made preparations for the organisation of militia in the villages of Shek Ma Tau, Tam Kon Tung and Yee Tung etc., and has proposed the appointment of Lao Sau-hung as leader of the foregoing militia corps. He also recently sent rebel Lui Hing-ho to Foo Kai, Keng Tuen, and Tung Kok to bribe the militia of those regions to help him. On the whole Li Chai-yuen has now about 1,500 or 1,600 rebel followers under him.

(5) With regard to finance, Chen Chiung-ming has promised to supply Li Chai-yuen with all the funds which he has need of. Consequently rebel Li openly declared that he would not raise any funds from the people and that he conducted his movement only for the purpose of helping his comrades in Tung Kiang and for the sake of communications between Kwang Ning and the East River Districts. Nevertheless, the funds which Li Chai-yuen spent, were, in fact, supplied by his colleagues—the rich merchants, the corrupt landlords and the counter-revolutionary landlords who were opposed to the peasant associations. The money spent by Li for the maintenance of the bandits and militiamen who have been and still are assembling together in the regions of Hau Kai and Lo Wo, was acquired by extorting "protection fees" from the owners of various boats and ships which sail along the rivers of the district. The militia of the 3rd, 7th, and 8th divisions also forcibly levied cattle tax, subscription to militia and various other impositions upon the people for their own maintenance. In the 8th division, the militia has now commenced their extortion of taxes from the peasants.

(6) From the above-mentioned facts, it may be concluded that Li Chai-yuen has his former subordinates, the bandits, the disbanded soldiers, and the militia, to act as his faithful followers in his rebellion, that he has the counter-revolutionary landlords, the depraved gentries and the bullies who cherish great hatred towards the Kuomintang, the Nationalist Government, the Kuomintang Branch and the Peasant Association of the district as his colleagues, and his aim is to occupy Kwang Ning and Hsin Hui districts and to create disturbances in the West River Districts.

Depending upon Chen Chiung-ming and Teng Pen-yin for support, rebel Li planned a revolt in the hope of overthrowing the Government. These men, depending upon Li Chai-yuen for support, wanted to take advantage of his movement to check the Revolution and be able freely to massacre the peasants. Li's former subordinates and the bandits helped him because they wanted to make use of the opportunity to plunder the villagers. These three groups of counter-revolutionary forces united together, and a strong and violent party was formed. Now although the Eastern rebels have been eradicated and reports of victory have been repeatedly received from the South, the people of those regions where peasants' associations have not as yet been organized, are all deceived by the rancours of the rebels; and moreover, since Li Chai-yuen himself is a fierce and insolent fellow, it

is quite certain that he will take advantage of our Government's preoccupation in military affairs in the East and South, to start a revolt and create a disturbances in the West River Districts.

The above information was obtained from a letter from Kwang Ning dated the 16th of November.

(From "Chinese Peasant" No. 1, January 1926.)

3. Yang and Liu Rebellions.

A. PEASANT SUPPORT NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT TO ERADICATE REBELS LIU CHEN-HUAN AND YANG HSI-MING.

Some time ago when Liu Chen-huan and Yang Hsi-min were violating the principles of the Nationalist Government, some responsible comrades in Tung Kuan and Pao An were ordered to assemble peasants to arrange some military preparations. The headquarter of the peasant corps was established in Shao Pin. Watch houses were built on the peaks of hills or mountains and high places. Detectives were sent to Tung Kuan, Pao An and Tseng Cheng and sent their report on the military affairs of the enemy to the Kuomintang troops in Bocca Tigris. At that time the Kwangsi troops under Lam Shu-ngai, were garrisoned at Pao An and Tung Kuan. The peasants more than once intended to disarm them in order to frustrate the power of the Kwangsi militarists. At last Lam Shu-ngai showed his intention of severing his relationship with Liu Chen-huan and of obeying the orders of our Revolutionary Government. Therefore the peasants ceased their attempts to disarm his troops. When the Kuomintang troops marched to Shek Lung by way of Tung Kuan these peasants made good their support by serving as coolies to carry military supplies, etc. so much so that our Kuomintang troops were able to drive out Liu and Yang within half a month.

(From a Special Report, 8-4-26)

B. ANTI-YANG AND LIU MOVEMENT AND THE PEASANTRY.

During the Anti-Yang and Liu Movement, the peasants of the whole province rose up unanimously and a general strike was declared jointly by the workers of the three railways.

1. The peasants of the East River Districts in order to help the Whampoa Party Troops to drive away the rebels Yang and Liu, organized some Transportation Corps, consisting in all of more than 3,000 members who carried on the work to enable the Party Troops to speedily come to Canton to suppress the Rebellion.

2. The peasant corps of the Fan Yu district and the suburbs of the City assisted the Party Troops in spy work and disturbed the rear of the enemies' troops in various regions along the Canton-Kowloon Railway.

3. The peasant corps of Nam Po and Nan Hai District disarmed some of the Yunnanese Troops under Woo Shi-sun and protected the firearms of the Canton-Samshui Railway Co. from being confiscated by the enemy.

4. All the peasant corps of Kwang Ning District gathered at Kong Tuen for the purpose of preventing the rebel followers of Yang and Liu from fleeing westward when they were defeated by the Government troops. But unexpectedly the landlords of the regions, taking advantage of the occurrence of the Shakee Affair, carried out reactionary operations and attacked the peasant corps. Under seige and suffering from the want of ammunitions and provisions, the peasant corps seeing that nobody was coming to their rescue, attempted a sortie order to save themselves. During their charge, eight of their members were killed.

5. The peasant corps of Shun Teh and Pao An Districts made preparations for assembling and starting for Canton to participate in the fighting against the rebels.

6. More than two hundred peasants of the Ching Yuan District served the revolutionary armies by assisting them in transportation work. But in rendering assistance to the armies, one of their members, Comrade Lai Sing-chau, the chairman of the committee of a certain village peasant association, sacrificed his life for the soldiers.

(From the Special Report, 12-5-26)

C. THE PEASANT ORGANISATIONS' (PEASANT UNIONS) WORK DURING THE REBELLION OF YANG AND LIU.

1/- When Yang Hsi-min and Liu Chen-huan's designs were known, the active members of ten different departmental PO held a special council. It was decided to send out twelve propagandists to carry on the agitation. All the students from the Peasant School were put to work under the direction of these propagandists and in their respective departments.

2/- The responsible comrades had to call general or representative meetings in their respective departments to make agitation and propaganda according to a specific plan.

3/- They were to carry on political agitation, and move the sending of public telegrams supporting the Revolutionary Government.

4/- Those departments in which military events may take place were ordered to execute the following commands.

a—To hamper the enemies' movement by

- (1) not selling food to them,
- (2) not giving them information,
- (3) not working for them,
- (4) destroying railroads to prevent them from advancing,
- (5) cutting telegraph wires to stop their communications,
- (6) attacking their rear or robbing them of their military materials.

b—To assist the Party Army by

- (1) giving them information,
- (2) carrying things for them,
- (3) defending their rear,
- (4) giving them guides.

Nine PO have sent telegrams supporting the revolutionary Government. But there are those PO who have done practical work :

1/- *FAN YU*: *Where the enemies had important units and trenches.* Members of the PO acted as spies and gave the Party Army very much valuable information about the enemy.

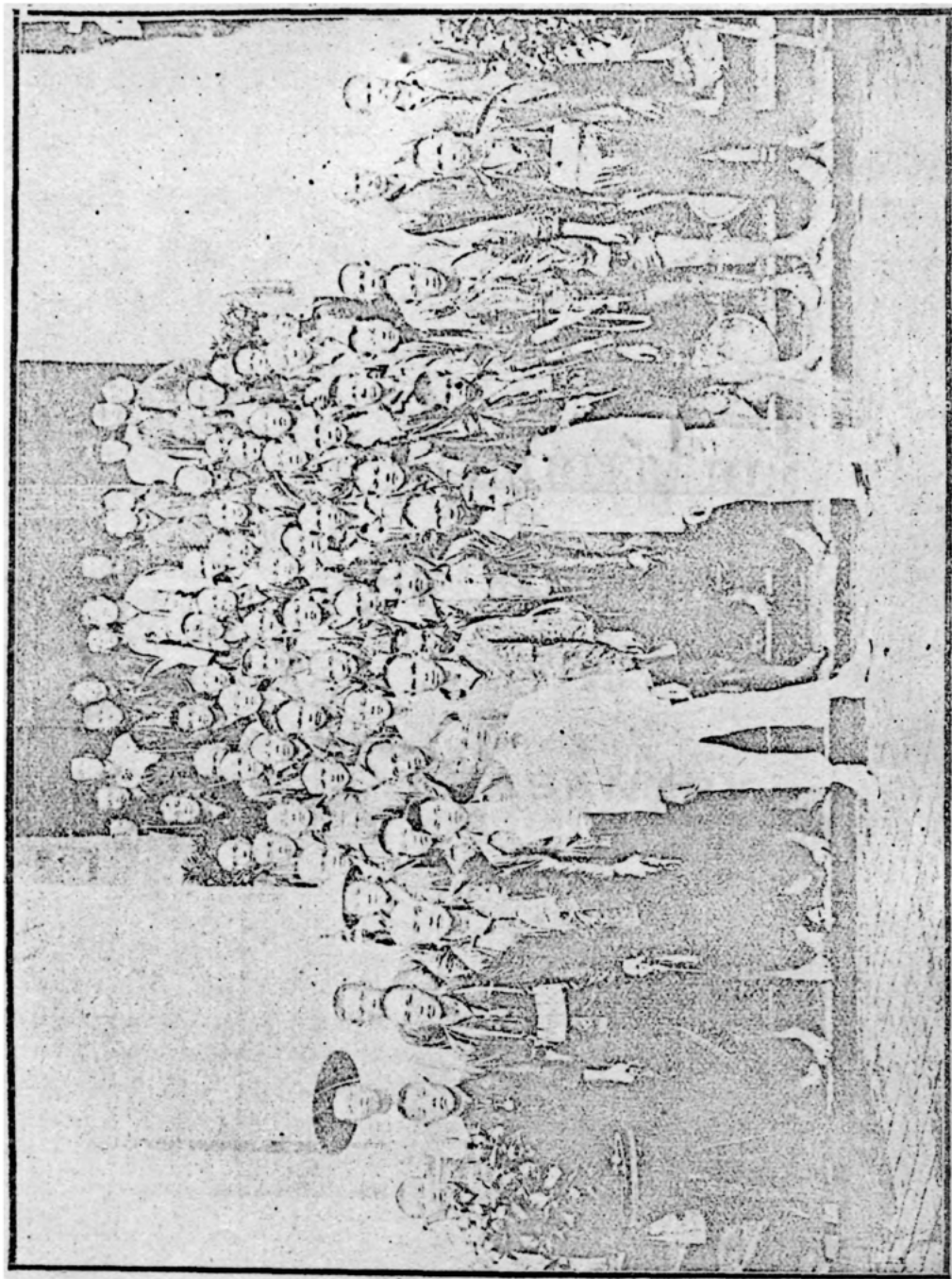
During the fiercest fighting between our army and the enemies, two hundred of the 2nd district PO in one night called out 2,000 armed peasants to disarm five hundred soldiers. These soldiers got wind of it, and ran away to their headquarters at Sun-ko where two thousand Yunanese soldiers were stationed.

Members of the 3rd district PO went out in a body to help the Whampoa Army: some of them kept guard at the rear, some carried materials and some led the troops as guides. On June 12th, eighty-nine peasant militiamen, led by several comrades came along with the Party Army to Canton. They put up at the headquarters that night. One of our comrades went there for a conference with them.

There were some enemy soldiers in this place. One hundred peasant militiamen started to disarm them, but the Fuk soldiers got there one hour earlier than they, and did the job.

2/- *TUNG KUAN PO*. This body had organized an emergency war council and recruited three hundred peasant militiamen. They asked five of our comrades from the military school to do the training, thus preparing to cooperate with the Party Army. When the Party Army crossed the section, PO members did all the guiding and transportation work.

3/- *CHING YUAN*: When Chu Pei-teh, the commander of the revolutionary troops, needed corvee, 130 PO members volunteered to do it. The journey was so long that many of them became sick and one of them, the president of Ma-kin



A GROUP PHOTO OF THE PEASANT SELF-DEFENSE CORPS OF HAYNANCHU VILLAGE, PAN YU DISTRICT, AFTER

CHAPTER III.

THE KUOMINTANG

AND

PEASANTRY.

A. RESOLUTIONS AND DECLARATIONS OF THE KUOMINTANG PARTY).

1. From the Declaration of the First Congress of the Kuomintang of All-China.

The two most important factors in the Theory of the People's Living of the Kuomintang are (1) Agrarianism and (2) Restriction of Capital. The chief reason which causes inequality in economic organization is that the right to hold land is monopolised by the minority. Hence it is necessary for the state to enact Land Laws, Law of Land Utility, Law of Levies on Land, and Law of Taxation on the Value of Land. Concerning land in private possession, the landlords should appraise their value and report to the Government, which will then levy taxes on the lands in accordance with the appraised value reported, or take over the lands at this value, if it is necessary to do so. This is the cardinal principle of agrarianism.

All enterprises undertaken by natives or foreigners, which have the nature of a monopoly, or which are beyond the capacity of individuals, should be operated and administered by the Government, so that private capitalism may not influence the people's livelihood. Examples of such enterprises are banks, railways, and shipping. This is the cardinal principle of Restriction of Capital. By virtue of the enforcement of these two principles, the progress of the Theory of the People's Living may have a solid base. In this, however, we have to appeal to the peasants.

China is an agricultural country, but the peasants are the most oppressed of all the suffering classes. The advocacy of the Kuomintang is this: towards the farmers who, lacking lands of their own, have become tenant farmers, the State should give lands to them to plow, and should furnish all irrigation facilities, and make transplantations to equalise the productivity of land. Towards those peasants who have no capital, and who, on account of the high interest loans they have contracted, cannot clear their debts, the State should establish financial organs such as Farmers' Banks to meet their urgent need. Then and not before then, will the peasant be able to enjoy the comforts to which every man is entitled.

Of late, under the economic oppressions of the Imperialists, and the extortions of the domestic militarists Imperialists, and the the extortions of the domestic militarists and officials, unemployment is becoming prevalent. Forced by cold and

hunger officials, unemployment is becoming prevalent. Forced by cold and hunger, many people have been driven to plunder and many have become soldiers in order to maintain their living. Thus good and honest peasants have been forced to become soldiers or bandits, who are directly under the oppression and command of the militarists and indirectly utilized by the Powers. The basis of domestic industry has therefore tended towards dissolution.

In regard to this aspect of the dissolution of national industry, and the hardship of the people's livelihood, the First Congress of the Kuomintang Delegates of All-China acknowledges that the present age is the greatest moment in the history of China since the downfall of the feudal system, and advocates the concentration of the efforts of the Party to propagate and put into reality the following:—

1. Measures should be taken, not only to put down the local bandits and bullies, but also to convert and accommodate them, giving them a chance to work for the common welfare.
2. Efforts should be made to do propaganda work among the soldiers so that they may understand their own position and evolve from reactionary to revolutionary forces. As for those Revolutionary soldiers who fight for the people, protect the Country, and put down enemies of the people, the State should give them good treatment. After the success of the Revolution, the state should give them adequate lands so that they may become honest peasants again.

Hard toiling workmen and poor peasants are found everywhere in China, from north to south, from commercial ports to poor villages. Their position and sufferings are alike, and they are most eager for emancipation.

Their support for Anti-Imperialism is most earnest. Therefore the National Revolutionary Movement depends upon the participation of the peasants and labourers of the country as a whole before it can succeed. There is decidedly no doubt about this.

With regard to this point, the Kuomintang should, on the one hand, use its whole effort to further the development of the peasants' and workers' movements, and support their economic organisation in order to increase the actual force of the National Revolutionary Movement. On the other hand it should induce the peasants and workers to enlist in the Kuomintang to strive together continually for the progress of the National Revolutionary Movement. The Kuomintang is now working for the emancipation of the peasants and workers, and is directing its efforts to oppose Imperialism, Militarism, and those special classes which oppress the peasants and workers. In short, the Kuomintang is striving for the peasants and workers, which fact means that the peasants and workers are fighting for their own interests if they enter the Kuomintang.

(January 1924.)

2. Resolution Concerning the Peasant Question.

(Passed at the 2nd. All-China Kuomintang Congress)

(I)

For several thousand years China has been an agricultural country, and for several thousand years to come, it will still be an agricultural country. The production of the peasants form about 90% of the total production of the country. Hence, in order to realize our late Leader's Principle of Socialism, we must first emancipate the peasants. Since the peasants comprise about 75% of the whole population of China, we have about 300,000,000 peasants in the country. Judging from this, the National Revolution in China may be called the Peasant Revolution. In order to strengthen the basis of the National Revolution, the first step is to secure emancipation for the peasants. Therefore the Kuomintang should, at all places, make the peasant movement the basis of its work, no matter whether it is a political or an economic movement; and, throughout its policy, attention should be directed towards the peasants' interests. The Government in its activities should also stand for the peasants' interests, and for their emancipation, the accomplishment of which means the realization of the Nationalist Movement at large and also the foundation of the realization of the Three Principles of Sun Yat-sen.

(II)

It has been only seven months since the peasant movement was started in Kwangtung, but we have peasant associations in thirty-seven districts with about 620,000 members and 30,000 well-organised peasant soldiers. In the last war against Yang Hsi-ming and Liu Cheng-huan and in the present war for the unification of this province, the peasants effectively participated in the hard struggle, thus furnishing concrete proof of the progress of our peasant movement, and of the earnest desire of the peasants for emancipation and their strenuous efforts in supporting the nationalist movement. At present, we have started peasant movement in Kwangsi, along the Pearl River Districts, in Hunan, Hupeh, and Anhui, along the Yangtze River provinces, and in Shantung, Hunan, and Chihli along the Yellow River provinces. Owing to lack of organisation, no good results have been obtained. If the Party wishes to have all the peasants in China participate in the political struggle, it must give special attention to the central and the southern parts of China, or otherwise it will be impossible to bring about the organisation of all the peasants in China. Therefore, it is necessary for the Party to work out some plan for the unification of all peasant movements in China and provide the necessary expenses so that such a plan can be carried out at an early date.

In accordance with the above-stated reasons, the Conference has passed, regarding the peasant movement, the following resolutions, political, economic and educational:-

1) Political Resolutions :

- (a) To direct all the peasants and make them an organised mass to participate in the nationalist movement.
- (b) To dispel all those detrimental to the peasants' interests—the militarists, compradores, corrupt officials, vicious gentry and local rowdies.
- (c) To dismiss all armed bodies oppressing the peasants, such as the Kwangtung militias.
- (d) To establish the principle of self-protection for the peasants.
- (e) To urge the Party Government to stand for the peasants' interests at all times.
- (f) To enact laws for the protection of peasants.
- (g) To establish uniform measures and scales.

2) Economic Resolutions :

- (a) To enforce rigid prohibition of high interest loans to peasants.
- (b) To reduce the rate of rent paid by tenant farmers to their land owners.
- (c) To decrease the hours of work of employed plowmen and to increase their wages.
- (d) To abolish all exorbitant taxes and extra duties, and to forbid all collection of taxes of money and grain in advance.
- (e) To forbid the contract farming system.
- (f) To establish agricultural banks and bring about the co-operation of peasants.
- (g) To regulate all farming lands, to develop irrigation and to improve agriculture in the shortest possible period.
- (h) To investigate all public barren lands and to distribute them among the poor unemployed peasants.
- (i) To forbid compradores to monopolize and control the price of articles.
- (j) To improve the treatment of children and women employed as plowmen.

3) Educational resolutions :

- (a) To urge the Party Government to develop rural free education and supplementary education.
- (b) To appropriate local public funds to establish peasants' supplementary schools.
- (c) To urge the peasants to establish different kinds of schools by themselves.

With a view to relieving the pain and sufferings of the peasants and to make them an organised force to hasten the accomplishment of the Revolution, the Party will give special attention to the internal organisation of the peasant movement. The Party acknowledges that the movement has recently achieved much progress but that it should continue to strive as before. The progress of its work shall be as follows:—

- (1) The Provincial Party organisations shall each establish a Peasant Department in order to be in close connection with the Central Peasant Department and to carry out the processes of the unification movement planned by the Central Party organisation.
- (2) Under the direction of the Central Party organisation, a Peasant Movement Institute shall be established in all suitable localities of Central and North China with a view to enlarging the peasant movement in the country.
- (3) All expenses for the peasant movement shall be fixed and increased.
- (4) The Propaganda Department of all Provincial or municipal party organisations shall remain in close connection with their Peasant Department, and especially with the Central Peasant Department, so that a unification movement may be effected throughout the Party.

(January 1926)

3. Resolutions Relative to the Peasant Movement.

(Passed at the 2nd. All-China Kuomintang Congress)

(I)

The Chinese Nationalist Revolution will be accomplished only by uniting all the people of the country in a common struggle. As the peasants comprise about 80% of the entire population of China, they form the majority of the Chinese people. If this body does not participate in the Chinese Nationalist Revolution, the revolution will never be accomplished; if it does, its success will be assured. This is because the foundation of the revolution must be built on the majority of the people before its processes can be carried out and its success accomplished; if this is not so, nothing but complete failure can be the result. If we look back into the history of our revolution, we see that the chief cause of its failure in the past fourteen years of the Republic was for want of this foundation; in other words, the revolution was not participated in by the majority of peasants. When our late Leader discerned this defect, he bravely and resolutely re-organized the Party, passed the Peasant Policies in order to start the peasant movement, and established the Peasant Department in the Central Executive Committee to take sole charge of the movement.

Since the re-organisation of the Party and the establishment of the peasant movement policies, the Peasant Department of the Central Executive Committee has undertaken absolute responsibility for this movement, while the Party Government has published two declarations regarding the peasant movement. As our peasant policies are carried out, peasants in various places come up to organize the peasant associations. Moreover, our Party is the only political party which undertakes to lead the Chinese Nationalist Revolution and to advocate and uphold the peasants' interests. In the last two years, thanks to the strenuous efforts of our comrades engaged in the

peasant movement, the assistance and support of the Party Government, and the hard struggle of the mass of peasants, considerable progress has been made. On May 1st, 1925, in Kwangtung Province, 117 Delegates from 22 Districts representing 210,000 organised peasants came to Canton, the Capital of our Revolutionary Party, and participated in the Second Labour Congress of All-China. At the same time, the First Peasant Delegates Conference was held and the Provincial Peasants Association was organised.

Since the Provincial Peasants Association was established, the peasants in the province have become a systematic organisation, which is more easily directed and which enables the peasants to understand the Party more clearly. Our comrades engaged in the peasant movement have also made even more strenuous efforts. In the past seven months from last May up to the present time, peasant associations have been organised in 37 districts in Kwangtung Province, and the number of members has increased to 720,000. The districts in which peasant association have been organised are sixteen in number: Hai Feng, Lu Fung, Pao An, Wu Hua, Pu Ning, Pan Yu, Tung Kuan, Pao An, Chung Shan, Shun Teh, Hua Hsien, Nan Hai, Wei Yang, Chiu Kiang and Tsing Yuan; while those in which the peasant association will soon be organised are: Cheng Hai, Tze Chin, Tseng Cheng, Kao Yao, Teh Ching, Lo Ting, Yu Nan, Ho Shan, Yun Fou, Hsi Hua, Tai Shan, Kae Ping, Ying Teh, Tsung Hua, Weng Yuan, Hui Lai, Chieh Yang, Lung Chuan, Yang Kiang, Sui Chi and Nai Kang. Even in the district Chiung Ya, which is under the oppression of Teng Pen-yin, there is some secret organisation of the peasant association; while in the provinces of Kwangsi, Hunan, Hupeh, Honan, Shangtung, Anhui and Chihli, which stand beyond the influence of the Party Government but are under the oppression of the militarists, there are also open and secret organisations of the peasants. All these are good omens for the Nationalist Revolution.

Since the peasant movement was started in Kwangtung Province, the peasants have practically all supported the Nationalist Revolution and the Party Government. Two years ago, when our Leader Dr. Sun started on his Northern Expedition²), the Peasant Self-Defense Corps and the Labour Corps escorted him to Shao Kuan. On the tenth of October, when the Canton Merchant Volunteers rebelled, the Canton Peasant Self-Defense Corps and the Labour Corps supported the Government, while the Chung Shan Peasant Self-defense Corps took up arms to prevent the Chung Shan Militias from attacking the Canton Government. In a few days they had defeated and driven away Chen Lien-pai, the hunting-dog of British Imperialism who had plotted against the Party Government.

Last year, in the First Eastern Expedition to Tung-kiang, the peasants in Tung Kuan, Pao An, Hai Feng, and Lu Fung Districts rose up to help our Eastern Expedition Party Army and other troops under the Party Government, while the Fan Yu Peasant Self-Defense Corps and the Tsing Yuan Peasant Transportation Corps assisted

the Party Army to advance into the city of Canton. In less than half a month, they drove away Yang Hsi-min and Liu Cheng-huan, the hunting-dogs of the British and the Japanese Imperialists, who also had plotted against the Party Government.

Soon the disobedient troops and traitor Chen Chiung-ming in Tung Kiang again rebelled against the Government; the Pao An and Tung Kuan Peasant Self-Defense Corps took up their arms to fight against them and drove away Lin Shui-wei, Cheng Ying-chih and Mo Hsiung. The Hai Feng Peasant Self-Defense Corps advanced into the city of Canton to protect the Government while other Peasant Self-Defense Corps in the districts of Pao An, Wu Hua, and Lu Fung, all rose up to help the Nationalist Revolutionary Army to fight against the rebellious troops. Judging from these facts, we can easily understand that our peasant policies have performed their mission and that the mass of peasants can adequately serve as the principal force of the revolutionary troops.

(II)

Judging from our two years' experience in the peasant movement in Kwangtung, we realize that the mass of peasants is very rich in revolutionary spirit and occupies a very important position in the program of the Chinese Nationalist Revolution. It is necessary for our Party to get the assistance of the mass of peasants so that we can accomplish the Nationalist Revolution, and this has been amply confirmed by numerous facts. At present, the mass of peasants suffers from under cruel political, economic and cultural oppressions, and the Party must find some means to relieve their suffering. The Party struggles for the benefit of the mass of peasants instead of merely expecting them to assist in our revolutionary work at the expense of their own benefit. Moreover it is for their own benefit that the peasants help in our revolutionary work. We know that it is essential for the mass of peasants, who form about 80% of the entire population of the country, to participate in the Chinese National Revolutionary Movement. Hence, it is necessary that our Party find some means to relieve all the pain and sufferings of the mass of peasants. Unless this is done, we can hardly make the peasants sympathize with the Party or strengthen their revolutionary efforts.

With a view to relieving the peasants' pain and sufferings under political, economic and cultural oppression and to improving their organisation, the Conference has passed the following resolutions, based on two years' experience in the peasant movement as well as on present facts:—

(A) POLITICAL PROBLEMS:

The political oppressions are the most cruel and aggressive of the pains and sufferings of the peasants. The greatest stumbling-block to the peasant movement is the militia which is jointly organised by local rowdies, wicked gentry, and land

owners. They utilize the peasants as their tools and suck their blood in order to protect and nourish themselves. All expenses of the militia come from local public funds, and exorbitant taxes are extorted from the peasants. For instance, in Pao An District, Kwangtung, the local rowdies, wicked gentry, and landowners extort \$100,000 a year from the peasants by establishing a United Militia Headquarters (The West United Militia Headquarters). They even exact poll taxes; every person, whether rich or poor, must pay six cents a year. The village Militia Bureau in Tung Kuan and Huai Teh exact a little more than \$1,500 a year in field taxes at the rate of two cents per mow; the Bureau also raises about \$3,300 in field rent taxes (Yeomen) annually at the rate of three cents per picul. In addition, they levy about twenty more kinds of taxes such as swine tax, poultry tax, potato and tar tax, from which they collect tens of thousands of dollars every year. All these taxes form the income of the Militia Bureau and enter the private pockets of the local rowdies, the wicked gentry, and the great landowners. Thus, the Head of the Village Militia in Huai Teh usually gets a profit of several tens of thousands of dollars a year. Other districts, such as Chung Shan, Nan Hai, and Fan Yu are almost under the same conditions as Pao An and Tung Kuan. The Militia not only gives the peasants no protection, but even oppresses them with their arms so that they may extort them the better.

In the past when there was no peasant movement, they comfortably took charge of the United Militia Headquarters and extorted the peasants at their will, while the peasants very submissively spent their melancholy livelihood under heavy oppression and dared not make any attempt to resist. But, since the peasant movement was started, the peasants have secured the protection of our Party Constitution and have organized peasants' associations, thus freeing themselves from the yoke of their evil oppressors and resisting to pay all the exorbitant taxes. The local rowdies, wicked gentry and great landowners were then greatly disturbed. They utilized the armed forces of the militias, seduced the local garrisons and instigated the local officials to kill the peasants and attack the peasant associations. Thus, in a period of two or three months, many efforts were made by the Militias to destroy the peasant associations, and many tragedies occurred. In May and June, 1924, the Militias in Kwang Ning destroyed the Peasants' Associations in the two sections, Kiang Chun and Tan Tuan. In July and August, the Peasants' Associations in Nan Hai and Nan Pu were also devastated by the Militias acting in conjunction with the local garrisons. In January of the same year, the Peasants' Association in the Third Section of Tung Kuan District was attacked by the Militia; the compound was destroyed and the members were arrested. In December, the executive members of the Peasants' Association in the First Section of the District were assassinated by murderers employed by the local Militia. In the same month, the militia in Hua Hsien destroyed the building of the Peasants' Association, burned the

houses of the members, and killed the Vice-chairman of the Executive Committee, at the same time the Peasants' Association in the First Section of Fan Yu District met with the same misfortune and the chairman of the Executive Committee was murdered.

Accidents similar to those mentioned above have happened continually. In the rent-reduction movement in Kwang Ning, the wicked gentry, the local rowdies and the land owners even employed the militia to fight desperately against the troops of the Party Government for several months. In the rebellion of Yang Hsi-ming and Liu Cheng-huan, the Peasants Self-Protection Corps in Kwang Ning went to Kiang Chun to protect the Party Government and to check the rebellious soldiers from escaping westward, while the gentry, rowdies and landowners led the militias and employed bandits in Tang Shan and Tsing Yuan Districts to fight against the Peasants' Self-Protection Corps. They broke up the Peasants' Association and organised the bandits in Tsing Yuan into their militia. In order to support these bandits, they extorted exorbitant taxes from the peasants. Last May, the local rowdies and wicked gentry in Ning Chih employed the Militia and the local garrison to attack the Peasants' Association in Hsia Kang Village in the district of Tung Kuan. The whole village was robbed and burned, ten officials of the association were killed, and all the women in the village from fifteen to fifty years of age were raped. In addition, they arrested many members of the Peasant Association and demanded large ransoms. On December 27 of the same year, the captain of the Peasants' Association in Teh Lung Section of the Chung Shan District was killed by the militia of Chang Chia Pin Village. On December 30, the Executive Committee chairman of the Peasants' Association in Ma Tsi Village in the Third Section of Chung Shan District was murdered by the wicked gentry and the militia. On January 1, 1926, the Peasants' Self-Protection Corps of Ti Tien Village in the Fourth Section of Nan Hai District marched out to aid their fellow-peasants. They were blocked by the San Yo Militia in Shih Wan, and three members of the Peasants' Corps were wounded. On January 7th the Peasants' Association in the Second Section of Chung Shan District was attacked by the Militia of Ying Tai village, and the guns of the Peasants' Army in Ying Pin, Ying Tai and Yuan Shan Villages were all taken by the local Militias. From January 1st and 2nd to January 8th and 9th, the First Section Peasants' Association of Kao Yao was attacked by the United Militias of Kao Yao, Teh King, and Kwang Ning together with the local bandits directed by the wicked gentry, local rowdies and landowners. More than ten villages were burned, over two hundred members of the Peasants' Association were killed, more than one hundred were wounded, and several thousands were obliged to take refuge in the mountains. In other districts, such as Shun Teh, Tsing Yuan, Ho Shan and Hsi Hua, there have been numerous cases of similar outrages brought about by the local rowdies, gentry, and landowners.

From the above-mentioned facts, we may conclude that the militias are formed exclusively to oppress the peasants. Moreover, they are largely made up of bandits and vagabonds. For instance, although the Militias in Chung Shan and Shun Teh Districts do not exclusively oppress the peasants, they are unable to maintain good order in their respective districts. They have also committed anti-revolutionary actions against the Nationalist Government. For instance, in the Tung Kiang campaign of last year, when the Hunan troops went to Hui Feng, they were attacked by the Militia and lost many guns and bullets, and when the United Armies withdrew to Shih Pai, the Militias of the neighbouring villages all hoisted white banners to welcome the rebellious troops. In the campaign against the Merchant Corps, the Nan Hai Militia served under the direction of the rebel, Chen Kung-shou. During last October, when the Nationalist Army attacked the rebellious troops in Chiu Kiang, the local Militia offered great resistance. As a result, many persons died in the battle and the city was destroyed. This was a great stumbling-block in the execution of our peasant policies.

In places where there are organisations, the majority of peasants can unite to protect themselves and their villages. Moreover, they are able to support the Party Government and to strengthen the foundation of our Revolution. Hence, in order to relieve their pain and sufferings the Party Government should disband the Militias in the various districts and especially the Headquarters of the Kwangtung Militias, which is a great obstacle to the carrying out of its policies. In order to carry out the project of armed peasants as planned by the Party Government, and to promote the self-government of the villages, Peasant Self Defense Corps should be organised by the Peasants' Associations in accordance with the regulations and the declarations of the Party Government. As for the Militias and Sand Field Guards organised by the Sand Field Self-protection Bureau and the Sand Field Defense Bureau in the districts along the coast, as Chung Shan, Shun Teh, Tung Kuan, and Pao An, they are mostly hand in hand with the local bandits and oppress the peasants in a terrible way. Therefore, all such militias and guards should be disbanded and the Peasants' Associations should be urged to take steps for their own self-defense.

The peasants also suffer political oppression at the hands of the local garrisons and officials under the control of the Party Government. These garrisons and officials are only revolutionists in name and call themselves old Party members; but in fact, their only aim is to get promoted to higher positions and to get more money. They do not observe the Party constitution nor do they obey its discipline. Wherever they go they collude with the bandits and the wicked gentry to oppress the peasants and to destroy the Peasants' Associations. The results achieved by the Party in its peasant movement have been practically destroyed by them.

In confirmation of the above statement, the following examples may be cited. In the Kwang Ning District, General Tsai Ho-ming, the Commander-in-chief of the Third Division of the Kwangtung Troops and Li Chih-an, the Magistrate, colluded with the local rowdies, the wicked gentry and the landowners to oppress the peasants. They were wholly responsible for the two desperate battles between the peasants and the landowners which subsequently followed. In Shun Teh District, the troops of Fu Chun and the magistrate, Teng Hsiung colluded with the local rowdies and wicked gentry to harm the peasants; the tragedies which occurred in the villages—Li Chiao, Yu Ying, Li Ti Chih, Yun Lu, Ta Chou and Pu Chou, were the evil consequences of their activities. In Chung Shan District, Wu Che-li, the Third Defense Commander-in-chief, Yoh King, commander of a regiment of the Second Division, and the troops of Fu Chun entered into a league with the local rowdies and wicked gentry and, under the pretext of exterminating bandits, they turned and robbed more than thirty villages, destroyed the Peasants' Associations and arrested its members, while the magistrate, Lu Chia-chu, took notice whatever. In Fan Yu District, the troops of Fu Chun colluded with the gentry and the rowdies. They arrested the officers of the Peasants' Association and confiscated the arms of the Peasants' Self-Defense Corps, while the militias of Chung Wen and Liang Pao villages extorted exorbitant field taxes and killed the officers of the Peasants' Associations. The magistrate Lo Pong did not take any action regarding such violations.

The magistrate of Hua Hsien, Tan Yun-shen, colluded with the Landowners Association and led the militias, the Merchants' Corps, and bandits to attack the Peasants' Association. They burned Chiu Fu and Yuan Tien villages and killed several officers of the Peasants' Association. In Tung Kuan District, the garrison captain, Tan Chi-siu, colluded with the Militias in Lien Chi, killed the peasants in Huai Teh, Hsia Kuan and Hsiao Pien villages and destroyed the Peasants' Associations, while the magistrate Liang Chu-san kept silence from first to last. In Pao An District, garrison captain Tan Chi-sui, and the magistrate Chung Tze-chih, colluded with the West United Militias and pillaged the peasants in Lo Tieu, Yen Chuan and Lou Tsou-tsun villages. Recently, the commander of the Supplementary Regiment of the First Nationalist Army, Chang Ao, and the magistrate of Tung Hsing, Liang Shu-hsiung, colluded with the militia, bandits, rowdies and gentry to attack the Peasants' Self-defence Corps; they burned and pillaged several villages and killed a large number of the inhabitants. In Hui Yang, the garrison captain Liu Hai-shan, oppressed the peasants and destroyed the Peasants' Association in almost the same manner.

In all places where there are peasant movements, such actions have occurred from time to time. They cause the peasant to doubt the Party and, hence, are great stumbling-blocks to the carrying out of our peasant policies. In order to relieve the the pain and suffering of the peasants and to make them believe in and co-operate

With our Party, all those false revolutionary troops and officials should be severely punished, while the local rowdies and wicked gentry, who collude with the local prisons and officials to monopolize all public affairs in their respective districts and to extort the peasants, should also be strictly dealt with so that the peasant's organization may be developed and the peasant policies of the Party be realized.

The peasants should be allowed to participate in the various local administrative, judicial, educational, bandit-exterminating, and self-governing organs, so that they may have opportunities to advocate their own interests. The Party Government should also quickly enact Peasant's Protection Laws in order to protect the interests of all peasants at large.

(B) ECONOMIC PROBLEMS:

In the field of economics, the peasants also suffer most miserable pains and this is the commonest of all their distresses. The more common forms are listed below. First, the high interest loan: the creditors lend out money at the rate of 10% per month, with high interest. In most districts of Kwangtung Province, the rate of interest is three cents for a tael per month; in Kao Yao, it is six cents per month; in Dei Chou, it is nine cents per month. Worst of all, sons are responsible for the payment of their fathers' debts and this gives rise to bankruptcy for several generations. Second, the high interests of the pawn-shops: In various districts in Kwangtung, the rate of interest in pawn-shops is three cents for a tael per month. Third, the monopolizing and profiteering of the compradore class: the price of all agricultural products sold by peasants are reduced by the compradores as the products are usually weighed with large scales and measures. On the other hand, the price of all consumption goods (fertilizers and farming instruments) purchased by peasants are increased by the compradores and these goods are usually weighed with small scales and measures. Moreover, they intentionally increase the price of rice in order to overburden the peasants. Fourth, the exorbitant taxes and duties. The employed plowmen, tenant farmers and yeomen also suffer from all kinds of oppression.

(1) THE EMPLOYED PLOWMEN: All the year round, the employed plowmen lead a life of hard labour and toilsome drudgery. The highest wages they receive per year amounts to only one hundred dollars. Women and children employed as plowmen perform almost as much work as the male adults, but they receive much less.

Sometimes, a young employed plowman may work for a whole year and receive nothing for his labor.

(2) THE TENANT FARMERS: The amount of rent the tenant farmers pay to their owners, is at least 60% of their crops while the balance of 40% belongs to themselves. At the time of contract, the landowners require a large sum of money as deposit rent. In Kwang Ning and Hua Hsien it is forty dollars per mow; in Lingshan it is ten dollars per mow of corn field, and twenty dollars per mow of



The placard also contains a resolution on peasants passed by the Second National Convention of the Kuomintang, namely, to prevent price monopoly by unscrupulous merchants and to prohibit the agricultural contract system.

The cartoon at the top shows the merchant protecting his evil gains and the large tenant squeezing the life-blood out of the sub-tenants.

mulberry field. It is provided in the contract that, besides the rent and the deposit rent, the tenant farmers should also pay to the landowners chickens, duck, rice and wine as a kind of rent. Usually the rent is paid in grain in the first period of the year. This is the condition in Pao An, Chung Shan and Tung Kuan districts. If the farmers fail to pay their rent during the first period, they will be required to send the grain to their landowners without any wages for their labour. At the time of contract, the tenant farmers must also entertain the landowners with a big feast. (All these are unequal treaties.) At the time of rent payment, the landowners use their largest measures and scales (in Kwang Ning and Hai Feng, measures are used; in Hua Hsien, scales are used) to measure and weigh their grain and thus cheat the farmers.

In a barren year, when there is a failure of crops, the landowners still compel their tenants to pay the original amount of rent. Moreover the landowners may at any time, increase the amount of rent, transfer the fields of their tenants, or ask them to pay money taxes, grain taxes, and other duties. As a result, the farmer's income is not enough to meet his expenses. So, in order to maintain their living, tenant farmers in various districts have made demands for rent reduction. Such demands have often given rise to armed struggles as those in Kwang Ning and Hua Hsien. The Peasants' Association in Hai Feng was broken up by the landlords because it made such demands.

The greatest obstacle to the welfare of the tenant farmers is the contract farming system (a system of double landowners). In Chung Shan, Shun Teh, and Tung Kuan districts, this system is widely prevalent, especially in Chung Shan District where many capitalists have organised a number of companies. At first, the companies rent lands and fields from the landowners through contract and then they indirectly lease out these lands or fields to the tenant farmers. Sometimes, when the farmers have rented some lands or fields from the owners, these companies would take them away by force and then urge the farmer to rent the same indirectly from the company. The amount of rent by direct lease from the landowners is only twelve dollars per mow while that by indirect lease from the company is sixteen dollars. In the ninth section of Chung Shan District, several capitalists organised with a capital of \$160,000, two companies called the Hsing Yeh Company and the Agricultural Company. These two companies took away lands and fields from the farmers and then indirectly leased the same to them. Consequently, many tenant farmers have been thrown out of employment. To cite an example, the majority of the members of the Peasants' Association in Lung Ku Hsiang lost their employment under the oppression of this contract farming system.

(3) THE YEOMEN: The yeomen are required to pay every year many additional taxes besides the regular field tax. In Chung Shan District, there are the following additional taxes: the military tax, the North Expedition tax, the self-government

tax, the Peace Preservation Corps tax, the lunatic asylum upkeep tax, the militia tax, the Boxer Indemnity tax, the Defense Corps tax, the Self-Protection Headquarters tax, the Self-Protection Subdivision tax, the watchmen tax, the sand field tax, the police tax, the sand coolies tax, the duck market tax, and the fruit-tree tax, about thirty kinds in all. In addition, there are other extra taxes such as likin. Another evil practice is the collection of money and grain taxes in advance. In Hai Feng and Lei Chow districts, taxes due in the year 1930 have been collected in advance, while in Pao An District, the amount obtained from taxes other than land taxes is almost equal to the amount gotten from taxes on the land itself.

Some of the economic sufferings of the peasants are quite general while others are limited to special areas. To eliminate these sufferings, the following steps must be taken: prohibit high interest loans and high interest mortgages; abolish the obligation of children to pay their parents' debts; nullify old unpaid rent; prohibit the manipulation of the price of articles by the compradors; abolish all exorbitant taxes and extra duties; establish Peasant Banks, Credit Co-operative Societies, Purchase Co-operative Societies, Dealers' Co-operative Societies and Agricultural Co-operative Societies; improve irrigation; relieve famine and other natural calamities; develop agriculture.

The following steps must be taken to improve the condition of the employed plowmen: (1) increase their wages; (2) demand a reduction in the hours of labour; and (3) better their treatment. Women and children employed as plowmen should be given the same wages and the same treatment as the men.

As for tenant farmers, the following improvements should be made: (1) abolish the contract farming system; (2) fix the maximum amount of rent; (3) provide public measures and scales; (4) abolish rent deposits, payments of rent in advance, and all other extra duties and presents; (5) exempt all payment of rent in barren years and (6) forbid landowners to increase rent at will or to transfer the lands and fields of their tenants without sufficient cause, or to ask their tenants to pay taxes and duties for them.

For the yeomen, the following improvements should be made: (1) fix the legal amount of the regular land tax and abolish all other extra taxes and collections; (2) prohibit the collection of taxes in advance; and (3) regulate the demarcation of lands.

Furthermore, the Peasants' Associations in the various districts should submit to the Party Government a list of the public funds and public estates taken away by militias, Defense Corps, Village Corps, and the Sandfield Protection Bureaux. That they should be authorized, by mandate of the Party government, to control and

distribute these funds and estates and carry out measures beneficial to the peasants. As for public barren regions and other wasted lands, they should be allotted, by mandate of the Party Government, to the local Peasants' Associations for purposes of cultivation and forest building, while parcels of farming land should be given to all poor peasants without any land.

(c) RURAL EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS:

Judging from present social conditions in the rural villages, peasants do not occupy any position in educational circles; most of them are illiterate and have become labouring machines. Children of poor peasants are excluded from educational circles. The more ignorant the peasants are, the more they will fail to understand nationalism and therefore the more easily will they be employed and utilized by the anti-revolutionists. Therefore, the most important thing in the peasant revolutionary movement is to plan for rural education.

Rural education may be subdivided into the following two kinds, viz: supplementary education and free education. The object of supplementary education is to relieve the ignorance of all illiterate peasants. At present, our urgent task is to educate illiterate peasants in the villages. Hence, attention should be directed to a special kind of reading education. The aim of this educational movement will be to enable all illiterates to read, to write and to think, so that the understanding of Nation, alism and Revolution may be increased. The principal methods to attain this will be to utilize the peasants' leisure time and to establish night supplementary schools or public lecturing institutes in the rural schools, public places and temples. The aim of free education is to offer a general education to the sons and daughters of poor peasants, giving them all the knowledge necessary in their sphere of life so that, when they grow up, they will understand their responsibilities to society and to the nation and, above all, obtain a better knowledge of themselves and of their own interests.

In order to carry out the above-stated two kinds of education, the Party Government should endeavour to develop free education in rural villages by appropriating funds for rural education, by emphasizing the importance of education, and by urging the peasants to establish schools by themselves so that their sons and daughters may not grow up idle and ignorant. A good way is to appropriate the public funds and public estates of all temples and ancestral shrines for rural education expenses.

The Imperialists often seize lands and fields in rural villages to establish churches and various kinds of missionary schools. They try their best to allure the children of peasants, and many simple and honest young peasants very easily fall

into their snare and lose their conception of Nationalism. Hence these churches and missionary schools should be strictly prohibited. Similarly, the private schools established by tutors in the villages are no better than machines for fettering the young peasants and so they also should be suppressed.

At present, the Party undertakes to relieve the pain and sufferings of the peasants and to enlarge their organisation so that National Revolution may be accomplished at an early date. The responsibilities are very great, and all processes should be carefully planned. The Conference acknowledges that much progress in the peasant movement has been achieved in the past two years but that continued efforts should still be made. The essential steps in this task are as follows:—

(1) All provincial and sectional Party organisations should establish a peasant department and keep in close connection with the Central Peasant Department. In the past two years, the peasant movement in our Party was confined to the Peasant Department of the Canton Central Executive Committee. Scarcely any efforts were made in the provincial, sectional, or municipal party organisations, nor were peasant departments established in any of these party organisations. Though due partly to environment, the chief cause was that these party organisations have not yet clearly understood the importance of the peasant movement. Party organisations in Chihli, Charhar, Shantung, Honan, Anhui, Hunan, Hupeh, and Kwangsi occasionally participate in peasant movements and have established peasant departments, but they have not kept any connection with the Central Peasant Department. Consequently, the Central Peasant Department does not understand the conditions of the peasant movement in these provinces and cannot give them its direction. This is a great deficiency in the movement. Hereafter peasant departments should be established in all party organisations in the various provinces and sections to work for the peasant movement and these peasant departments should keep in close connection with the Central Peasant Department so that the latter may give them its guidance and thus secure united progress throughout the movement.

(2) To train more experts for the peasant movement. The Peasant Movement Institute was formerly established in Canton to train experts for the movement. The Institute was carried on up to the fifth class and it invited students in other provinces to come to Canton to attend the Institute and satisfactory results were obtained. But, since the power of the Party grew larger and its influence became wider, the task of the peasant movement has become more important. Hence, it is of the utmost important that the Party train more experts for this movement. To meet these urgent needs, the Canton Peasant Movement Institute should be re-established and, if possible, similar Institutes should be established in Central and North China, because communications between Canton and these two parts are rather

inconvenient and there is no other way to effect a universal training of experts for the peasant movement throughout the country. These institutes should be directly controlled by the Central Party Organisation so that all expenses can be easily raised, trained experts properly distributed, and unification in principles and methods be effected.

(3) To fix and enlarge the appropriations for the peasant movement: In the past two years, there has been no positive development in the peasant movement of the Party. This was chiefly due to the fact that the Central Party Organisation failed to fix beforehand the expenses of the movement. Hereafter, it should regulate all appropriations for the peasant movement in the various grades of party organisations.

(4) The Propaganda Departments of the Provincial Party Organisations should keep in close connection with their respective Peasant Departments, and especially with the Central Peasant Department, because Party propagation has a direct influence on the peasant movement. If the propaganda department does not co-operate with the peasant department, then that harmony between speech and action which is so necessary to the success of any enterprise can never be brought about.

(January 1926)

B. PEASANT DEPARTMENT OF CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE KUOMINTANG AND ITS ACTIVITY.

1. The Organisation of the Peasants' Department of the C. E. C. of Kuomintang.

I. THE DUTY AND ORGANISATION OF THE PEASANTS' DEPARTMENT.

At the 4th meeting of the C. E. C. of the Kuomintang, it was decided that a Peasants' Department should be organised because at that time work in connection with the peasants' movement was about to begin. At first the affairs of this department were very simple. There were altogether only three persons on the staff:—

One Director,
One Secretary,
One Assistant.

At the 7th meeting of the C. E. C. of the Kuomintang in February 1924, the duty of this Department was regulated as follows:—

1. To carry out a close examination of the condition of peasants, the area of land in the various provinces and the rules of distribution.
The following shall be the principal subjects of examination:
 - a. Lands owned by peasants: the total area and the number of landowners.
 - b. Lands not owned by peasants: the total area and the number of landowners.
 - c. Lands of tenant peasants: the total area and the number of tenant peasants.
 - d. Public lands: the total area, the number of inhabitants and their condition.
2. To investigate the point of view and the nature of peasants' organisations.
3. To investigate the system of taxation now enforced in various provinces.
4. To fix appropriate measures for the peasants' movement.
5. To issue pamphlets and handbills illustrating the condition of the peasants.
6. To devise measures to get peasants to hold meetings; to establish a land platform for our party; to strengthen the foundations of the Department so that it may struggle more vigorously in the interests of the peasants.

7. To issue, together with the Propaganda Department, a newspaper for the peasants.
8. Before the Peasants' newspaper is issued it is necessary that at least every fortnight the results of the investigation of the condition of the peasants be reported to the Propaganda Department. These reports should be made known to the public through the newspapers or through the propaganda organs of the Party.

MEASURES IN THE FIRST RESOLUTION ON THE PEASANTS' MOVEMENT, PASSED AT THE 15TH MEETING OF THE C.E.C. OF THE KUOMINTANG ON MARCH 19, 1924.

It was decided that in order to make secure the peasants' movement, organisations must first be formed. The following should be first established :

1. Peasants' Association,
2. Tenant Peasants' Association,
3. Employed Peasants' Association,
4. Peasants' Self-defence Union.

In every locality where there is a Kuomintang Division Branch, a General Peasants' Union should be established. In every place where there is a Kuomintang Sub-division Branch, a Peasants' Association should be organized. The Kuomintang Branches should be assigned the duty of forming these organisations.

II. THE IDEA OF ORGANISATION.

To improve the livelihood of the peasants and to deliver them from their miserable sufferings, the Three Principles of Sun Yat-sen^a) must be put into practice. To put the Three Principles into practice, strong and united organisations must be established. Therefore we are now organising associations for the peasants.

In places where peasants' associations exist, organisations for the intellectual improvement of the peasants should also be established, for instance :

1. Peasants' Night Schools,
2. Peasants' Winter schools,
3. Peasants' Lecture Institutes.

The object for establishing Peasants' Night Schools is to give illiterate peasants an opportunity to get an education during the night time. Books for use in these schools shall be edited by this department. In addition to common knowledge, ways and means for improving agriculture and the Three Principles will also be taught. Winter

schools are established so that peasants may utilize their leisure time to increase their knowledge. The object of the lecture institutes is to supplement the efforts of the schools.

If we could carry out the above plans for a whole year, there would soon be a strong and strenuous peasants' movement in our country.

III. ORGANISATION OF A COMMITTEE FOR THE PEASANTS' MOVEMENT.

(Passed at the 26th meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang on 5th of May)

REASON :

The reason why the foundation of the National Revolution should be based on the peasantry is because nearly 80% of the Chinese population are peasants. The peasants' movement of to-day forms the main force of our National Revolution and is therefore the most important current problem. This committee is organised to devise better methods in order to secure quicker progress for this movement.

PROCEDURE :

The temporary regulations of the Committee for the Peasants' Movement :

1. The object of the Committee for the Peasants' Movement shall be to supplement the work of the Peasants' Department of the Central Kuomintang. The committee shall be under the direct control of the Peasants' Department.
2. With the exception of the members of the Peasants' Department, who shall be members of the Committee *ex officio*, the members of the Committee shall be introduced by the Peasants' Department or appointed by the Central Executive Committee.
3. A Director and a secretary shall be elected by the Committee.
4. Meetings shall be held once every week. Provisional meetings may be held under unusual circumstances.
5. Suggestions proposed by the Committee shall be presented to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang through the Peasants' Department.
6. The above regulations may be revised at any time to correct any defects that may be found.

According to Art. 2 of the above regulations Messrs. Liao Chung-kai, Dai Chi-to, Tan Ping-san and Fa Long-kwong were recommended by the Peasants' Department to participate in the Committee for the Peasants' Movement.

IV. RESOLUTION REGARDING THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE FIRST STEP OF THE PEASANTS' MOVEMENT.

(Passed by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang at its 39th meeting on June 30.)

1. Begin work in those districts near Canton, which are of political and military importance and having previous experience in the history of the peasants' movement, such as Kwongling, Shun Teh, Hok Shan, Tung Kuan, Fatshan and Chung Shan.
 2. Organize a Committee of twenty special delegates to be responsible for the work in the various districts.
 3. Organize a training school for the peasants' movement, the students to be graduated in one month and sent as special delegates to the various districts.
 4. Establish regulations for the organisation of a training school for the peasants' movement.
 5. Organise peasant associations throughout the province of Kwangtung before September of this year.
 6. Compose songs for peasants.
 7. Fix the form of flags for peasant associations.
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V. THE PRESENT ORGANISATION.

In July 1924 regulations for the organisation of Peasant Association were issued, the first graduation of the Training School for the peasants' movement took place, and practical work was begun in the various villages. Because the peasants endured miserable sufferings, they have come to realize, within a remarkably short period, that the Peasant Association is endeavouring to work for their good. Consequently peasants in the various districts have demanded the establishment of these associations. The work of this Department has grown so much that the staff has increased twenty times (including special delegates). Measures for the peasants' movement have been circulated in the different districts, and even in Chiung Ngai, the stronghold of the reactionist, Teng Pen-yin, peasants' associations have been secretly organized.

In the past few years the Director of the department has been changed several times. After the reorganisation of the Party the first Director was Comrade Lam Cho-ham. But Comrade Lam resigned at the 21st meeting of the Kuomintang to go

to Hankow to manage Party affairs there. Comrade Peng So-man was appointed as his successor but unfortunately he passed away in September of that year. Then Comrade Lee Tat-cheong took charge of the Department but not long after he resigned. At the 56th meeting of the Central Kuomintang Comrade Wong Kui-so was appointed to the post but in a short time he also resigned. President Sun then appointed the Director of the Labour Department, Comrade Liao Chung-kai to concurrently take the post, but unfortunately Comrade Liao was assassinated in August. Since then Comrade Chan Kung-pok has been in charge of the Department.

2. A Summary of the Report on the Work of the Peasant Department of the C.E.C. of Kuomintang.

OUR POLITICAL PRINCIPLES IN CONNECTION WITH THE PEASANT MOVEMENT.

(1) INTRODUCTION.

The Chinese Kuomintang is a National Revolutionary Political Party whose aim is to overthrow Imperialism and Militarism, to carry out the emancipation of our nation and to restore the independence of our country. National Revolution is the only way by which the suppressed Chinese, who have long been misruled by Imperialists and Militarists, may shake off its yoke. The Chinese Kuomintang, leads our suppressed people to become members of the struggling Revolutionary Political Party. In the midst of the struggles of the suppressed people of the East against the foreign yoke of Imperialism, the Chinese Koumintang was born. Therefore its points of view, its political principles and its ways and means of acting are all in harmony with its background of revolution and struggle.

The Three People's Theory of our late President Sun (Nationalism, Democracy and Socialism) is the main principle of our Party. The true meaning of the principle of Nationalism is to unify the people of China to establish an independent and united country. The meaning of the principle of Democracy is to establish the country in the interests of the people. The meaning of the principle of Socialism is to devise ways and means to promote the greatest economic interests of our Chinese people. This in brief is the main principle of our Party.

A political party cannot be said to be complete if it has only fine principles and high ambitions. It must also have definite policies and practical ways and means to realize these principles and ambitions.

A political party is like a locomotive. If the locomotive is travelling along a slippery, uphill track it will experience much difficulty. So with the political party may have fine aims and sound principles, but if it lacks definite, practical policies, will not produce energetic members, nor will it gain the confidence of the people.

At present during the period of the National Revolution, our Party must be a strong and powerful locomotive and our Party members must be the strong rails over which the locomotive can travel safely and rapidly.

More than 85% of the Chinese people are peasants and the next numerous class are the workers. They form the two great toiling classes. Their work is very hard while their wages are very low, yet the revenue of the country is mostly drawn from them. Moreover they have been robbed of their rights by oppression and suppression, and have consequently become miserable victims of the ravages of Imperialism and Militarism.

The economic foundation of China is agriculture. A majority of the Chinese people are peasants and so in the National Revolutionary Movements of the East, the peasants play a very important part. For this reason, it is imperative that we assemble the Chinese peasants under the flag of our Party. If we fail to do so the revolution will certainly be a failure. So whether the peasants participate in our Party or not depends the success or failure of the National Revolution. Theoretically speaking, we have little hope of converting peasants to our revolutionary policy, because most of them are conservatives. The peasants live in separate villages while the workers work together in a factory or within a city. Moreover, on account of their environment and economic relationships, many peasants still keep in mind the feudal system with its manorial relations, individualism and superstition.

But, from the practical point of view, many peasants are being rapidly reduced to a state of bankruptcy and unemployment, because of the exploitations of the Imperialistic capitalists, and the penetration of foreign goods into every corner of the country. After the revolution of 1911, Chinese militarists, supported by foreign Imperialists, have been incessantly fighting with one another all these years. Consequently the peasants suffer from over-taxation by militarists, economic invasion by foreign capitalists, disturbances by soldiers and bandits, calamities due to famines, and suppression by bullies and gentries. Therefore they are forced to be radical and to revolt against Imperialism, Militarism, high rents, excessive taxes and usurious rates of interest.

During the Opium War the peasants of Kwangtung organised an Anti-British Union in opposition against the cruelty of British Imperialism. This was the first time the peasants had risen up against the foreigners and this movement was of great political significance. When Kowloon was occupied by British troops our peasants fought against them strenuously. Until 1900, when the Boxer movement affected the whole country, the peasants of North China had not taken any prominent part in this reaction Imperial Capitalism. But at present, owing to their miserable condition, all the peasants are demanding rent reduction and the abolition of excessive taxes. The

peasants of Siu-shan in Chekiang, peasants of Han Shan in Honan, peasants of Ma Ka Chuen in Kiangsi, peasants of Wei Nan in Shensi, peasants of Yen Tin in Tsingtao, and peasants of Kwang Ning, Hai Feng and Fa Hsien, in Kwangtung have fought vigorously for their rights, and have established Peasant Associations. This revolutionary spirit in the Chinese peasants leads us to draw the following conclusions:

1. The peasants are in a state of misery and suppression, and so must fight for their liberty. Consequently the history of the Chinese Revolution will be stained with the blood of peasants in its struggle for existence.

2. As the peasants gain more experience, they will gradually learn to form stronger organisations and to adopt better measures. Moreover they will come to understand which Party is really struggling for their interests and who is really able to guide them in their struggle against their oppressors.

3. As more than 85% of the Chinese people are peasants, they form a very powerful force. They have experienced many terrible sufferings, and so they will, by and by, become the main force of the Chinese Revolution.

4. Shouldering the important historical mission of carrying out the National Revolution, the Chinese Kuomintang aims to establish a united and independent China to be governed in the interests of the majority of the people. The Kuomintang recognizes that, to carry out the National Revolution, it must not depend solely upon the bourgeoisie, for in China this class is not powerful. It is rather the toiling classes—peasants and workers—on whom the Kuomintang should depend. In order to fulfill the task of the National Revolution, we must immediately lay a firm track built on peasants and workers. Only then shall our locomotive be able to travel steadily to her destination.

5. Both theoretically and practically, the duty of the Kuomintang is to direct the peasants and workers to fight for their own interests and liberation, so that the ill-organized efforts of former days may be replaced by well-organized movements for economic and political emancipation.

In short, the peasants have become a powerful influence in the revolutionary field. If we wish the National Revolution to be successful we must first work for the peasants' movement. Therefore the peasants' movement of to-day is connected directly with the National Revolution and indirectly with the very existence of China.

Since the Chinese Kuomintang depends on the peasants to form the main force of the National Revolutionary Army, it must protect their interests: economic and political, for, if the difficulties of the peasants are not solved or their demands

satisfied, they would hardly have time or inclination to participate in the work of our Party. For this reason, the 1st Kuomintang Congress spent much time in drawing up the policy of the Party on this important question.

(2) POLITICAL PRINCIPLES.

All these years the exploitations of the foreign Imperialists and the devastations of the civil wars waged by the Chinese militarists has become more and more formidable. Fortunately the racial consciousness of the Chinese masses and the power of the National Revolutionary Movement have also been rapidly increasing. The movement of May 4, followed by the killing of workers on February 7 in Peking and Hankow, proved that from the Student Movement sprung the emancipation movement of the toiling classes for political freedom. The Seamen Strike of 1922⁴) was the first struggle of organized workers against Imperialism. From that time the Chinese Revolution entered on to a new path. This new road is the participation in the revolution by the toiling classes. In order to direct these toiling masses to the goal of success, we must establish a strong National Revolutionary Political Party. In view of this the Chinese Kuomintang re-organised its Constitution in 1924 and during the 1st. Kuomintang Congress in Canton policies in connection with the peasants' movement were decided upon. The declaration regarding peasants reads as follows:

"China is an agricultural country. But the peasants suffer more distress than any other class. The object of the Kuomintang is to enable all peasants to secure fields for cultivation from the government. A better drainage system will be provided so that waste lands may be developed. The Government will establish agricultural banks to lend money to peasants at low rates of interest so that they may be freed from the usurious extortions of money-lenders.

"The success of the National Revolution depends on the participation of workers and peasants. In view of this, the Kuomintang exerts all its strength to develop the peasants' and workers' movements and support their economic organisations, so that their strength may be increased and they may struggle more strenuously in the National Revolutionary Movement. The duty of the Kuomintang is to overthrow Imperialism and Militarism and also to emancipate those peasants and workers who are now under the control of other classes. In short, the Kuomintang is struggling for the interests and liberation of the workers."

The important points in the peasant policy of the Party are:

"Standardize the value of rice fields and determine the amount of taxation; abolish and prohibit likin and all other extra taxes.

"Take a clear census; improve means of cultivation and regulate the production and consumption of foodstuffs in order to provide enough food for all citizens.

"Reformation of the organisation of villages. Improvement of peasants' livelihood.

"The government will regulate the land-distribution system and the land-taxation system. The landowners will report to the government the value of their land, and then the government will tax it according to its value. In times of need, the government may buy back the land by paying the reported value."

At the 1st Kuomintang Congress the following resolution was passed :

"China depends chiefly on agriculture. So it is a pity to find that in all these years many peasant have been forced out of employment because of the economic exploitation of the Imperialists and the excessive taxation of the militarists. Suffering from cold and hunger, many of them have become robbers or soldiers in order to earn a living. Thus, because of the direct misrule and deceitful policy of the militarists and the indirect oppression of the Imperialists, good peasants have been forced to become violent bandits. As a result, China has been brought to the verge of bankruptcy. The Kuomintang Congress recognizes the danger of the situation and considers this to be the most critical period in Chinese history since the establishment of the feudal system two thousand years ago. Hence it has determined that the Kuomintang shall undertake the task of propaganda, and emphasize in particular the following two measures:—

1. Besides establishing adequate measures for the eradication of bandits, the government should also find proper employment for vagabonds and bandits so that they may have opportunities to work for the good of the community.

2. In order to revolutionize the reactionary soldiers, propaganda work must be performed in their midst. The revolutionary troops who are under the flag of the Kuomintang fighting against the enemies of the people should be well treated by the Government. After the revolution is completed the government should appropriate lands to these soldiers so that they may become honest peasants."

The above are the fundamental points in the peasant policy of our Party. The Peasants' Department of the C.E.C. of the Kuomintang will devise practical and definite measures for the realization of this policy.

3. Condition of the Work Done by the Peasants' Department of the Central Kuomintang for the Past 2 Years.

(A report made by Lin Tzu-han at the 2nd All-Kwangtung Peasants Delegates Conference)

Peasant Friends, Delegates and Comrades!

To-day I am going to explain to you the policies and declarations of the 1st and 2nd Congress of the Kuomintang as well as the work done by its Peasants' Department during the past two years. Before speaking on these points, I must first mention the peasants' position in our history. The present need of the Chinese people is the National Revolution. This is a policy which was left us by Dr. Sun. It consists of the emancipation of the Chinese people and their attainment of freedom and equality. For several thousand years, China has suffered from the evils of feudalism. In addition to this internal handicap, she has also been subjected to the external oppression of the Imperialists. The revolutionary spirit of the people was then aroused, and their demand for emancipation became stronger as the years went by. Although there are no exact statistics, we know that the peasants occupy over 80% of our population and form the majority of the Chinese people. We may say that the revolution in China is a revolution of the peasants. 80 years ago, the peasants were the first to carry out the National Revolution in China. We know that China has fallen into a position of inequality because of the bondage of the unequal treaties. The first link in this chain of unequal treaties was the Opium War. At that time, there was in South China an organisation of peasants called the Anti-British League which carried out a revolutionary demonstration against the Imperialists. Another revolutionary movement in which the peasants played a very important part was the Taiping Rebellion. The peasants took part in these revolutionary movements because they were intolerably oppressed and found it extremely difficult to earn an honest living. In North China, there was also an uprising of peasants—the Boxer Trouble. This was caused by the imperialists' endeavour to side with the missionaries and clergymen in oppressing the peasants. In recent years, the many riots in various places have been due to the opposition of the peasants against their oppressors. These are likewise indications of the emancipation demands of the peasants. Peasants have raised their opposition in such places as Fa Hsien, Pao An, Hai Feng, and Lu Fung in Kwangtung; the Red Rifle Corps of Honan and other peasants in Hupeh and Hunan have also carried out similar movements.

Peasant Comrades! All these deeds have been performed not merely for individual interests but for the cause of the emancipation of the Chinese people. They may have been sorrowful failures, but such failures do not matter much. The more we fail, the more we become consolidated. We must know that in order to secure the emancipation of the Chinese people, it is necessary for the peasants to rise up and bear the responsibility. We want good training, so we need systematic organisation. As regards plans and policies, the Kuomintang has already determined them for us. The Kuomintang, fully alive to the close relation between the National Revolution and the peasantry class, has resolved for us the declarations of the 1st and 2nd congresses, and decided upon various sorts of plans. It has also specially instituted a Peasants' Department for the management of peasants' affairs. Now, let me return to my report on the work done by this Department for the last two years:

I wish to tell you something about the work of the Peasants Department of the C. E. C. of the Kuomintang as well as that of the party branches in the various provinces. Let me begin with the organisation and service of the Central Peasants' Department. There are eight Departments in the C. E. C., one of which is the Peasants' Department. When the 1st Peasants' Delegates Conference was held in 1924, only a director, a secretary and some organising assistants were sufficient to attend to all the affairs of the Department. Afterwards matters became more complicated. In order to commence activities in Kwangtung, the Central Executive Committee at its 27th session decided upon its work in this direction: first, to make an investigation of the general aspect of the province; and secondly, to send special men to begin work in the rural districts. In order to awaken the peasants and to arouse their interests, a Peasant Movement Training Institute and an Agricultural Products Exhibition were started, and the peasants were helped to organise defence corps and peasant unions, all with good result. The peasant unions are of three grades: district, division and village. Owing to the diversity of opinions, the Chinese people cannot cooperate in action. Moreover, local prejudices and the clan or family system exert a powerful influence. The peasant unions, in overthrowing these bad customs, not only benefit the peasants but also play an important part in the National Revolution. The Peasants' Defence Corps is the military force of the peasants for the protection of their organisations against the aggression of native bullies, wicked gentry, and bandits. In Kwangtung alone, there are no less than 30,000 members of these defence corps. They form a sound basis for further development.

Now we must touch upon the condition of the peasant movement in the various provinces. On observing the good results of the peasant movement in Kwangtung, the 2nd Congress of the Kuomintang decided to extend the movement to the other provinces. Although we cannot say that every province has formed peasant unions,

it is a fact that there are such organisations in several provinces. The peasants in the district, division and village unions of Honan, Hunan and Hupeh are convinced of the significance of economic and political struggle. The Hupeh warlords Wu Pei-fu and Hsiao Yao-nan have oppressed the peasants very severely. In this tyrannical environment, the peasants were still able to form unions secretly in Sang Yang and King Chow. The province of Honan also underwent military suppression, first by Wu Pei-fu and then by the 2nd Kuominchun Army. Since the peasants have formed "Red Rifles" organisations they are greatly oppressed by the militarists. In spite of this, the peasants of Sin Yang, Ming Yang and other districts have succeeded in the establishment of their unions with a membership of at least 20,000. In Shantung, Anhui and Chihli the peasant movement has also been started and peasant unions are being formed.

Peasant Comrades! The peasant movement in the territories controlled by the Nationalist Government has already had very good results. We have a bright future before us. But our Kwangtung peasants must not be satisfied because they have obtained a certain amount of freedom. We should spiritually and materially help the peasants in the Yangtze valley to struggle for a similar freedom. It is fortunate that the work of our National Revolution is directed by the good leadership of the Kuomintang as exemplified in the declarations of the 1st and 2nd Delegates Conferences of the Party.

Let us begin with the declaration of the 1st Congress. In this declaration, there is a passage which concerns our peasants. It reads as follows: "China is an agricultural country and yet the peasants suffer more hardship than any other class. The Party's policy is that the Government should grant land to those peasants who own no land and have become tenant farmers to landlords. Facilities for irrigation and soil improvement should be provided. For those peasants who lack capital and have to borrow money at high interests, the Government should institute agricultural banks to meet their needs so that they may be freed from the usurious extortions of moneylenders. The 8th, 9th and 10th articles of the Internal Policy of the Party are also connected with peasants. The 8th article provides for the strict regulation of the land tax system, the prohibition of extra levies, and the abolition of Likin. The 9th article aims at the taking of a census, the regulating of arable land and the adjustment of the production and consumption of foodstuffs. The 10th article prescribes the improvement of rural villages and the uplifting of the peasants' livelihood.

The declaration of the 2nd Congress has greatly supplemented the declaration of the first. Its peasantry resolution consists of three parts:—(1) Political; (2) Economic and (3) Educational. As regards political matters, there are six important points: (1) We should lead the peasants to participate systematically in the National Revolution. As I have stated before, the peasants form the majority of the

population and, unless they are well-organised, they will not be able to bear the responsibility of the National Revolution. (2) We should eradicate the oppressors of the peasants, i. e., corrupt officials, avaricious public servants, local bullies and wicked gentry. (3) We should, by armed force, eject the corrupt officials who are directly or indirectly oppressing our peasants. (4) The peasants should, on their own initiative, take steps against their aggressors. (5) Steps should be taken to prevent the local bullies and wicked gentry from seizing the local political organs. (6) At all times, the Kuomintang will stand for the peasants' interests. Such are matters on the political side.

How is it in connection with economic matters? Many village capitalists lend money to peasants at an interest of 30 or 40 cents per dollar. We must abolish this bad practice and adopt means to stop their exploitation. The maximum amount of rent and the price of grain should be fixed by law. The other economic measures are the abolition of the hired-farmer system, the adjustment of arable land, the improvement of irrigation, the opening up of waste land, the prevention of a monopoly of market prices and the improvement of the treatment of young peasants. In time of dearth, our peasants are very much grieved at the failure of crops and it is the intention of the Kuomintang to remedy this by scientific means. So much for economic matters.

As regards the educational side, the Party intends to carry out free education and supplementary education in rural villages, to establish schools by making use of public funds instead of letting them be seized by local bullies and wicked gentry, and to urge the peasants to raise money to manage supplementary schools. Hitherto, there had been no concrete plans. But now the Kuomintang has adopted practical measures for peasant work.

Peasant Comrades! Since the Kuomintang intends the peasants to be the center of the revolution, it has devoted 20% of its plans to work among the peasants. The Central Peasants' Department has despatched a number of men to help in organising peasant unions at various places. At the same time, peasants' departments in other provinces have also rendered assistance to the peasant unions.

Peasant Comrades! We cannot see how our forefathers suffered from a thousand years of oppression. But we can both see and hear how the Kuomintang is endeavouring to seek freedom for us. Comrades! We have a bright and far-reaching future before us. But we must rise and organise on our own initiative. The Kuomintang only serves as our leader: Let us push forward at our best!

(May 9, 1926)

C. THE KUOMINTANG AND THE PEASANTRY.

1. The Provincial Delegates Conference of the Kuomintang.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE.

1. To discuss the proposals of the delegates of various districts according to the program for the day:—

The chairman declared that the proposals of the delegates of various districts which have been investigated by the Presiding Committee shall be reported first, and the results of such investigations shall be discussed and decided upon by the General Meeting. Those proposals that have not been investigated shall be reported and discussed after being investigated.

2. An impromptu report by the chairman stated that Comrades Chung Sum-wing, Chu Hek-sin and Tse-po, delegates of the representatives of the Political Department, the Nationalist Revolutionary Army and the various Cadet Schools were attending the Conference to tender a greeting speech and to make two proposals. They were first invited to give the greeting speech. The Conference accepted the proposal passed at the meeting of the Political Department, the Nationalist Revolutionary Army and the various Cadet Schools, stating that they hoped this Conference would arrive at an adequate settlement to the question of the Peasants Movement, that it would afford special support to the political work of the Nationalist Revolutionary Army.

3. Proposals and Discussions:—

- (1) Proposal of Tam Keng-ham, delegate of Hok Shan District—That the various Kuomintang district branches be instructed to establish Kuomintang Training Schools within a limited time.

Resolution: To be sent to the Provincial Executive Committee for Execution.

- (2) Proposal of Tam Keng-ham, delegate of Hok Shan District—That the various magistrates be instructed to thoroughly co-operate in Party affairs.

Resolution: To request the Provincial Government to issue a circular order instructing all magistrates to thoroughly co-operate in Party affairs.

- (3) Three proposals of Ng Yee-woh, delegate of Shun Teh District:
- (a) That the Director system be abolished in the Village Councils of the 200 villages in the 10th Division of Shun Teh District, and that a Committee System be established in its stead.
Resolution: To be sent to the Provincial Executive Committee for execution.
 - (b) That all private schools in the district be disbanded and primary schools be established on approved lines.
Resolution: To be sent to the Board of Education for execution.
 - (c) That all publishers be formally instructed to append the principles of the Kuomintang and the Nationalist Government, the Three Principles of Sun Yat-sen and the Five Power Constitution to the almanac for the succeeding years.
Resolution: To act in accordance with the result of the investigation.
- (4) Proposal of Hau Mun-yat and other delegates of Tai Shan District.
- (a) That the various District Kuomintang branches be permitted to carry out subscription campaigns in order to extend their scope of work.
Result of investigation: As this is a financial question it should be referred to the Provincial Government which should issue a circular order to the officials of the various districts to carry out the resolutions of the Central Executive Committee and appropriate a monthly subsidy of \$270 to the District Party Branches.
Resolution: To act in accordance with the result of investigation and with the additional condition that in the case of the respective officials failing to appropriate such subsidies they should be dealt with according to the law of the Government and, if they are Party members, they should also be punished by the Party.
 - (b) That adequate punishment be meted out to Chin Hon-yat and other Party traitors.
Resolution: The proposer proposed to reserve the case for discussion at the next meeting.
- (5) Lee Hon-sang, delegate of Kao Yao District, proposed that the District Assembly expenditure be appropriated into the Party Budget.
Resolution: To act in accordance with the result of investigation.
- (6) Proposals of the delegate of Shun Teh District.
- (a) That, in order to execute the last Will of our Late President, a conference of the people of the whole nation be immediately called to overthrow Imperialism and to abolish all the unequal treaties.

- Resolution: To present the proposal to the Central Executive Committee,
- (b) That Kuomintang Training Schools and reading societies be established in the various Party branches, the expenditure of which to be defrayed from the receipts of the respective branches.
- Resolution: To be presented, together with the proposals of Tun Keng-ham, delegate of Hok Shan District, to the Provincial Executive Committee for execution.
- (c) That, should there be any bad elements on the staff of the divisional and sub-divisional Party branches who take advantage of the Party to work for their own ends, the Provincial Kuomintang should detail deputies to examine them and to direct the Party affairs.
- Resolution: To be presented to the Executive Committee for execution.
- (7) Proposals of the delegates of Hai Feng District—Pang Yuen-cheung, Chan Fin-ah and Yu Chong-che.
- (a) That the administration of the various districts should be reorganised on the Committee system.
- (b) That the Central Executive Committee be requested to hasten the Nationalist Government to effect the abolition of unreasonable taxes.
- (c) That the Central Executive Committee be requested to subscribe to and appropriate the regular funds of the various district and city branches.
- Resolution: Item (a) and (b) to be presented to the Central Executive Committee for execution. Item (c) to be annexed to the expenditure bill.
- (8) Proposals of the delegates of Tung Kuan District.
- (a) That in localities where Peasant Unions have been established the Militia be abolished and their funds and arms be given to the Peasant Unions for use by Peasant Defence Corps.
- Resolution: To be discussed together with the bill for Peasants' Movement.
- (b) That the word "Kuomintang" be added to the names of all schools in Kwangtung province.
- Resolution: To be postponed till a later date.
- (9) Proposals of the delegates of Pao An District, Wong Shun and Man Hung.
- (a) That the Conference request the disbandment of the Militia Union of Pao An District.
- (b) That the Conference request the removal from office and the punishment of the present magistrate, Leung Shu-hung.

(c) That a Land Tax Law be enacted.

Resolution: Item (a) to be discussed together with the bill for the Peasants' Movement. Item (b) to be sent to the Provincial Government with a request that they deal with the matter seriously. Item (c) to be presented to the Central Executive Committee.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING ON NOVEMBER 26TH.

1. THE DECLARATION.

Put forth for approval and unanimously passed.

2. THE RESOLUTION OF THE PEASANTS' MOVEMENT.

The chairman stated, that on account of the excessive length of the resolution, there was no time to have it printed for distribution and Comrade Yuan was requested to read it to the audience for discussion. The most important point in the resolution is the abolition of the militia and the unruly troops garrisoned in the various districts. The cancellation of oppressive rules is a negative scheme while the establishment of co-operative societies is a positive one. The demands of hired-farmers and tenant-farmers are also important. The establishment of educational organisations in agricultural villages is also a necessary undertaking.

Delegate No. 272 entirely agreed with the resolution and found it very satisfactory.

Delegate No. 189 asked for an early enforcement of the resolution.

Delegate No. 72 requested that protection be accorded to farmers when they resume work.

Delegate No. 187 proposed that the law courts be advised not to allow any traditional beliefs of "Fung Shui" superstition obstruct such mining undertakings as may be undertaken by the peasants.

The above resolution presented at the 2nd General Meeting of the Peasants' Movement of China was unanimously passed.

(November 1925.)

2. Kuomintang and the Peasant Union

(From "The Plough" No. 54)

There are three current sayings very often in the mouths of certain people, especially landlords and gentries after they have joined the Kuomintang. (1) The peasants are ignorant people and consequently are not qualified to be members

of the Kuomintang. (2) The peasants, after joining the Kuomintang, need not join the Peasant Union. (3) The Peasant Union and the Kuomintang are similar organs; any person can join either or both of them.

Those who spread the first saying are really disobeying the last Will of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, for they refuse to recognize the fact that peasants comprise the majority (over 85%) of the masses of China. No matter whether the peasants are ignorant or not, and no matter whether they form the majority of the masses or not, they have certainly rendered valuable assistance to the revolutionary forces and have been very serviceable to the Government. If you look at the peasants of Hai Feng and Lu Fung who bravely assisted the Government in their first expedition against Chen Chiung-ming, at the peasants of Southern Districts, the North River Districts, the East River Districts and the West River Districts who strenuously participated in the campaign for the overthrow of Yang Shih-min and Liu Chen-huan, and at the peasants of the various districts who courageously helped the Revolutionary Armies in their Eastern and Southern Expeditions, you will find that the "ignorant" peasants have indeed rendered invaluable assistance.

Those who spread the second and third sayings are completely ignorant of the attitude of the Kuomintang towards the various vocational bodies, and have not read the Policies of the Party nor the resolutions passed at its Delegates' Conferences. They also do not understand the aim and the system of organisation of the peasant association.

Now, let us make an analysis of some slogans most popularly acclaimed in the Southern Districts, the East River, North River, and West River Districts. In those regions, many people say: "The Kuomintang is the father, while the Peasant Association is the son. We must join the Kuomintang so that we may become fathers and control the children." Others say, "The Kuomintang members are those who sit on a sedan chair and the peasants are those who carry the chair. We must join the Kuomintang, so that we may be carried by the peasants." Whether such sayings be correct or erroneous, the wickedness of the oppressors of the peasants may be seen from them. The corrupt avaricious officials, depraved gentries, bullies, and landlords seeing that Kwangtung is being unified by the Nationalist Government on a foundation of the worker and peasant masses, no longer dare to openly oppress the peasants. But because their interests are in conflict with those of the peasants, they must think out new methods whereby they may oppress them as before. As a result, they want to join the Kuomintang in order to use their membership to oppress the peasants. This, then, is the origin of such sayings as "To become fathers to control the son" and "To join the Kuomintang so as to be carried by the peasants."

But, as a matter of fact, the Kuomintang is a Party whose aim is to arouse the Chinese masses, especially the workers and peasants who, when joined together, comprise more than 90% of the whole population of the country, to rise up to work for revolution. It will not allow the corrupt, avaricious officials, depraved gentries, bullies, and landlords to utilize it as a tool for oppressing the peasants. Its highest organ the Central Executive Committee, and the Kwangtung Provincial Branch, which are responsible for the development of the Party, will strictly prohibit violations of its labour and peasant policies by wicked Party members who would besmirch the honor of the Party for their own personal interests.

As for the peasant associations, their members, after overthrowing Chen Chiung-ming in Tung Kiang, driving Compradore Chen Lien-pai and militarists Yang Hsi-min and Liu Chen-huan from Canton, conquering Teng Pen-yin in the south, overcoming the landlords in their rent reduction movement in Kwang Ning, Hua Hsien, Kao Yao, Hai Feng and Lu Feng Districts, and defeating the militia in their movement for the abolition of extortive impositions in Tung Kuan, Pao An and Chung Shan, have become greatly strengthened and are able to carry on a systematic political and economic emancipation movement. They have become firmly united and are strong enough to protect themselves and their peasant associations, which are struggling strenuously for their interests. However wickedly and furiously their enemies may attack them, they are unafraid for they are sure that the final victory will theirs.

Peasant comrades! If we want to overthrow the corrupt, avaricious officials, the depraved gentries, the bullies and the great landlords, our first step is to overthrow Imperialism and the Militarists, for they are the supporters of the landlords and our other enemies. To do this we must join the Kuomintang and carry out the last Will of our Late President. Then, when we wish to carry out our revolution, no one will be able to stop us.

After we have entered the Kuomintang and joined hands with the masses of the country to overthrow Imperialism and the Militarists, if we are still oppressed by the avaricious officials, depraved gentries, bullies and great landlords, then, to protect our own interests, we must rise up unanimously to oppose them. For this reason, we must unite and join the peasant associations. The saying that our peasants, after joining the Kuomintang, need not join the peasant association is a falsehood fabricated by our enemies to deceive us. If we believe it we will be misled.

The peasant union is an organisation established for the purpose of protecting the interests of the peasants. As the capitalists are now allowed to join the labour unions of the workers, so the corrupt, avaricious officials, the depraved gentries, the bullies and the great landlords, whose interests are in conflict with those of the peasants, are not permitted to join our peasant unions. If we should allow them to

join our organisations, we would be leading wolves into our houses. If the landlords say to us, "We are revolutionists. We will not oppress the peasants", then we would answer, "Yes. Let us join the Kuomintang and cooperate against the Imperialists and the Militarists. The peasant union is an organisation of peasants and it would do you no good to enter, just as it would not be right for us to join your Land Owners Supporting Society or other similar bodies."

(March 1926)

3. Letter of the Peasants' Conference, Urging the Kuomintang to Clean Out the Counter-Revolutionists.

To the members of the C. E. C. of the Kuomintang of China:

Under the oppression of the Imperialists, Militarists, great landlords, compradores, covetous officials, native bandits and wicked gentries, there is no other way for us to accomplish our emancipation, other than to rise up and resist our enemies with united effort. The peasant class forms the greater part of the oppressed people of China and so, in order to resist our oppressors and work for our emancipation, we have found it necessary to join and cooperate with the Party which aims at obtaining freedom and independence for the Chinese race. Hence the Canton Peasants' Association, in the interests of the peasants and in the interest of the Chinese Emancipation Movement, has decided to urge the peasants of the whole province to join the Kuomintang and to stand with your Party on the of Anti-Imperialism and Anti-Militarism battle line, so as to achieve our final success.

Formerly, we were under the oppressive rule of Lung Chi-kwang of Yunnan, Luk Wing-ting of Kwangsi, and Chen Chiung-ming of Kwangtung, and were therefore granted no liberty. So although being class-conscious, we could not rise up and struggle for our emancipation. After the defeat of Chen Chiung-ming, and since the recovery of power by and the re-organisation of your Party, a policy of protection for the workers and farmers was determined upon and has been in execution for one year. As a result the Peasants' Movement has made rapid progress, for which the Conference sincerely and respectfully expresses its thanks.

But there is still something which we do not clearly understand. When we struggled with our oppressors, those local officials and garrison soldiers who helped our opponents and disbanded our Peasants' Associations, always declared themselves to be members of the Kuomintang or soldiers under the Revolutionary Government. We do not know whether there are among the members of your Party persons who act against its principles and policies. But our experiences have been such as to arouse our suspicions. Hence the Conference has decided to ask your Party to carry out a strict investigation on this matter and to expel, according to your regulations,

any unruly member that may be found. We feel that such a step is imperative, if the principles and policies of your Party are to be carried out without hindrance and if the peasants are to unsuspectingly co-operate with your Party to work for the revolutionary cause.

(Sd.) 117 Delegates of the Kwangtung

Peasants' Conference.

(May 1925.)

4. The Peasants' Attitude Towards the Kuomintang

(From a report of the Pao An District Peasant Union)

Preparations for the establishment of the Pao An District Kuomintang Branch were carried out after the development of the peasant movement in that district. After the resolution that all peasants should join the Kuomintang was passed at the General Delegates' Meeting of the Peasants of the whole district, the establishment of Kuomintang branches was commenced. In those regions where peasant unions had been organised, one Kuomintang sub-division branch was established in each village and one Kuomintang division branch was established in each division. The members of the various village peasant unions all enthusiastically joined the Kuomintang. But unluckily the Kwangtung Provincial Kuomintang Branch despatched some right-wing members of the Party, Chan Yuk-naui and others, to this district to undertake the task of organising Party branches. As soon as they arrived in Pao An, they at once joined with the enemies of the peasant unions, the depraved gentries, the native bullies, and the landlords. They established organisations in Sha Chang to oppose the Peasant Unions and the Party branches which were organised by the peasants. Before their arrival, the Pao An District Kuomintang Branch had already been inaugurated. But after they reached the district, they again established in Sha Chang a Preparatory Department for the District Party Branch. In the 4th Division, a Kuomintang Division Branch had already been inaugurated but when they came to the district they established separately another 4th Division Kuomintang Branch in one of the villages. The slogans which they used in calling the people to join their Party branches were:—(1) The Kuomintang is the father while the Peasant Union is the son; the son must obey his father, and (2) The Kuomintang members are those who sit on a sedan chair while the members of the Peasant Unions are those who carry the chair; then those who sit

on the chair must rule over those who carry the chair. (Such actions of the right-wing members of the Party and such slogans are to be found not only in the district of Pao An but also in many other districts in Kwangtung Province.)

The peasants of this district were very much displeased at such actions of the Kuomintang members, but knowing that they were all right-wing members of the Party, they did not blame them.

(April 1926.)

**5. To the Kuomintang Central Executive Department,
the Canton Nationalist Government, and the
Provincial Peasant Association**

A conference was held on New Year's Day to celebrate the pacification of Kwangtung. At that meeting a proposal was moved to extend the influence of the Peasant-Volunteer to support the Kuomintang Central Executive Department, and the Nationalist Government of Canton, and to abolish the taxations of the fields so as to relieve the taxation burden of the peasants. The funds of the public welfare which were "squeezed" must be returned, and peasants urged to cooperate with the Nationalist Government.

The revenue from the Field Protection Tax of the ninth district of Chung Shan District is about 50,000 dollars per year, but this sum was "squeezed" by Kwock Mun-hing and Yeung Keed. The "squeeze" money must be recovered and 50 per cent of this sum must be given to the Soldier's Aid Club for the cementing of soldiers' and peasants' cooperation, and the other half of which has to be allotted to the Ninth District Peasants' Club of Chung Shan for the purpose of buying arms for the Peasants Self-Defense Corps. The arms have to be bought from Kwangtung Military Arsenal. Moreover, although Kwock Mun-hing has been arrested by the Government, Yeung Keed has escaped to Macao, so that the Government ought to request the Macao Government to transfer him to Canton so as to get back the public welfare funds.

*From the Chung Shan Peasant Union,
(April 1926).*

**6. To the Kuomintang Central Executive Department,
the Canton Nationalist Government, and the
Provincial Peasant Association**

The Chung Shan Peasant Union held a conference on the 2nd instant to demand the Nationalist Government to abolish the taxes for the Field Protection, and to relieve the taxation burden of the peasants. The Field Protection Tax was enforced in the last dynasty, and the ruffians of the Field Protection Bureau make the Chung Shan peasants suffer immensely, and they oppressed the peasants together with the great landowners.

The Field Protection Tax had once been abolished by the last Minister of Labour in 1924, but it was restored by the last Minister of Finance pretending to hold it back under the management of the Government. In fact it was placed in the hands of the former ruffians and great landowners who had oppressed the peasants. But this time the matter is worse, for the rice boats were robbed at the end of last year, some of the peasants were also killed, and houses burnt down as reported by telegrams last year. Now when the Revolutionary Government aims to abolish the cruel taxes and relieve the peasants, it must be remembered that the Field Protection Tax is a means of oppressing the peasants and thus it must also be cancelled. If the Government needs money, it may collect the field tax from the landowners, for the rents of fields are now much higher than before, and it would be only fair to collect the taxes from them. For this reason the Government ought not to collect taxes from the peasants nor to restore the cruel Field Protection Policy which had oppressed the peasants, as well as not to deliver its management to the ruffians and great landowners. It is necessary to unite all the peasants in order to fulfil Dr. Sun's teachings and to ask the support of all the people so as to achieve freedom.

From the Chung Shan Peasant Union.

(April 1926.)

2. Circular Telegram Sent by the Kwang Ning District Peasant Union to the People of China.

To

Generalissimo Sun, Peking; Acting Generalissimo Hu; the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang; Director of Peasant Department Liao; Chief Commander Hui of Kwangtung Army; Principal Chiang of Military Cadet School; various peasant unions, labour unions, student unions, educational associations, various organisations, and various news agencies, Canton.

"A year has elapsed since the inauguration of our Peasant Union. The counter-revolutionary landlords and depraved gentries have repeatedly tried to suppressed our union. They have become very much bolder of late, and have even murdered many of our peasant comrades. All our members were filled with anger and determined to resist our enemy with the whole force of our peasant corps. During that time the strength of our enemy was still quite great. Fortunately, Generalissimo Sun ordered the Armor Car Corps to come Kwang Ning to relieve us, and to unite with our Peasant Corps to besiege the stronghold of our enemy. But they still offered great resistance. On the 9th of January, Acting Generalissimo Hu ordered Captain Lo Chan-lau to lead his troops here and protect the Kwang Ning peasant unions. Upon hearing of this, we were extremely glad. We thought that he would

solve the rent-reduction problem, punish the ringleaders and maintain the safety of the union. But his actions were just the contrary. The following are a few of his evil deeds:—

(1) He violated the Peasant Policy of the Kuomintang. The Peasant Policy of the Party provides for the reorganisation of peasant villages, the improvement of the living conditions of the peasants and the overthrow of their enemies. The Party has also issued regulations for the formation of peasant unions and a declaration regarding the Government's attitude toward the peasant movement. But when captain Lo arrived at Kwang Ning, he compromised with the counter-revolutionists instead of cooperating with the peasants, and thus violated the principles of the Party.

(2) He disobeyed the Generalissimo's order and conspired with the counter-revolutionary landlords and depraved gentries against the peasant. A military officer should unquestioningly carry out the orders of his superiors. Lo Chan Lau received orders to come to Kwang Ning to solve the rent-reduction problem, to punish the ringleaders, and to protect the Peasant Union. But after arriving at Kwang Ning, he did not carry out any of these orders. Moreover, he was fooled by Adjutant Fung Kwong-chiu and Instructor Lan Yuet and acted against the Generalissimo's order. He communicated and co-operated with the ringleaders, Wong Ngog-tong and Wong Shi-san to oppress the peasants.

(3) He forced the Peasant Corps to withdraw their sentries and thus afforded the bandits an opportunity to rob the peasants' villages. After Lo Chan-lau had conspired with the counter-revolutionary ringleaders, great landlords, and depraved gentries, they instigated the bandits of Chap Sam Hong, Pong Ki, Kong Tun, and Fu Ki to besiege Chak Shek and She Kong, to rob the peasants, and to cut off the communications of the Peasant Unions.

(4) He disbanded the armed patrols of the peasants and thus permitted the bandits to rob the peasants' villages at their will. The aim of the organisation of Peasant Corps was for self-defense. During these troublous times, if the Peasant Corps are not allowed to patrol, it would be impossible to protect the Peasant Union. Therefore when Lo Chan-lau stopped the armed patrol of the Peasant Corps, it was equivalent to disarming the Peasant Corps. This made the peasants in Sui Sing village, Tsoi Tung village, Wong King village and Muk-ko Tong village, and some other villages suffer a great deal because of the ravages of the bandits.

(5) When the counter-revolutionists destroyed the Fifth Division (Muk-ho Muk-cho) Peasant Union, he did nothing to help, although the Union requested his assistance many times. After Lo Chan-lau had conspired with the counter-revolutionists, the bandits and the unlawful militias, who wished to suppress the

Peasant Union, became very cocky. On the 18th of January, the bandits and soldiers occupied the office of the Muk-ho Muk-cho Division Peasant Union, carrying off five of the staff and many rifles. Although our Peasant Union repeatedly requested Captain Lo to punish those counter-revolutionists, he did not deal with the matter.

From the above, we may conclude that Captain Lo Chan-lau is not only an enemy of the Peasant Union, but also a counter-revolutionist and an enemy of the Party. If such anti-revolutionary elements exist, how can we achieve our National Revolution and how can we arouse the peasants' enthusiasm to join our ranks. Since the declaration of the First Kuomintang Congress provides for the overthrow of the enemies of the peasants, we hereby declare that we will resist him until death. As Lo Chan-lau is a military officer of the Nationalist Government and a member of the Party, he should have respected the last will of the late President and obeyed the principles of the Party. But he has done neither and has brought only greater sufferings upon the Peasant Union. So we request the Generalissimo, Director of Peasant Department Liao, and the Central Executive Committee to discharge and punish Captain Lo Chan-lau in order to relieve public resentment and to console the peasants. Moreover, the Party should expel him from its ranks so as to clear out all the reactionary factors and maintain and uphold the policies and discipline of the Party. We hope the various organisations will support us in our movement.

(Sd) Kwang Ning Peasant Union.

(February 1925.)

3. A Circular of the Fat Shan Kuomintang Department.

To the C.E.C. of Kuomintang, the Nationalist Government, the Kwangtung Provincial Government, the Convention of Representatives of Kuomintang Branches of Kwangtung, the Leaders of the National Revolutionary Armies, the Press Association and the various organisations:

The "Tai Fui Tong" in Fatshan, a granary whose grain is to be distributed to the poor in times of need, is one of the public properties of the town. It has long been occupied and managed by the corrupt gentries, the native bandits, and the retired officers of the former Dynasty; and the money obtained from the granary has been embezzled by those wicked persons. Moreover, they have used much appropriated money to bribe the local officials to cooperate with them in oppressing the weak and poor peasants. Their crimes and misdeeds were so intolerable that the people became greatly enraged. Hence, on the 19th instant, the peasants and working classes of the town sent representatives to our Party Department to request that we send delegates to join their representatives and some policemen from the 5th Station to go to Tai Fui Tong and examine the accounts of the corrupt gentries and their accomplices. When we reached the granary, the corrupt gentries

refused to submit their accounts for investigation. So we were obliged to arrest and hand them over to the Municipal Bureau of Fatshan. The granary was then taken charge of by 4 members of the Peasants' Self-protecting Corps and some police from the 5th station, and the important documents and articles were carefully preserved for investigation. Unexpectedly, at 4 o'clock on the 20th instant, several tens of soldiers of the Self-Defense Corps, lead by Ko Kut-wan, a corrupt gentry, rushed into the granary, drove out the members of the Peasants' Self-protecting Corps, and forcibly took away all the bills, accounts and other documents of the granary. Though they were warned by the members of the Peasants' Self-protecting Corps, they paid no attention, but went on with their lawless actions. Afterwards, the peasants and workers sent representatives to see Sum Sung, the special delegate sent by the Government to take charge of the affairs of the town, to inquire into the matter. The reply of Sum Sung was very unreasonable; he said that, since he had been ordered to take charge of the affairs of the town, the peasants and workers should not interfere with his actions. In our opinion, Sum's actions were high-handed, because since the granary was in the hands of the police and the representatives of the peasants and workers, Sum should have consulted them before taking anything away from the granary. At present, the members of the Peasants' Self-protecting Corps have been sent away by the Self-Defence Corps and have been replaced by some other police despatched by Sum Sung. We have determined on the 24th instant to convoke a mass meeting of the citizens of the town, to discuss matters concerning the management and improvement of the affairs of the granary, so that the public property may be returned to their rightful owners. Being informed that the corrupt gentries have spread false rumours about the actions of the peasants and workers, we hereby publish the true facts so that nobody may be misled.

(sd) *The Executive Committee of the Kuomintang
Department of Fatshan.*

(October 1925.)

9. Kuomintang and Peasants

(Collection from various reports)

1. PEASANTS AND THE KUOMINTANG IN CHIU KIANG DISTRICT.

Formerly many peasants thought that the Peasant Union and the Kuomintang had no connection with each other, one being an organisation of the people and the other for the revolution. Being afraid of revolution, they looked upon the Kuomintang as a thing to be dreaded. Others thought that the Peasant Union and the Kuomintang were one and the same thing and that, having joined the one (i.e. Peasant Union) they need not join the other. Such thoughts remained in the minds

of the peasants for a long time, and even now some of them still possess such ideas.

But after explanations had been made by our Comrades concerning the relation between the Peasant Union and the Kuomintang, and the necessity for the members of the Unions to join the Party, many peasants have acknowledged that their former opinions were wrong and have entered the Party.

(From the report of Chiu Kiang Peasant Union, December 1925)

2. THE ATTITUDE OF THE PEASANTS TOWARDS THE KUOMINTANG IN PAO AN DISTRICT

Formerly many actions of the Kuomintang were fraudulent and so the peasants did not place their entire confidence in it. But now that the Peasant Union has shown them the merits of the Kuomintang, they are beginning to regain their confidence and are eagerly awaiting the support of the Peasants Department of the Kuomintang and the despatch of Kuomintang troops to garrison the district. The new enrolment in the local Party Branch is 150.

(From the report of Pao An Peasant Union, October 1926)

3. THE VIEWPOINT OF THE PEASANTS TOWARDS THE KUOMINTANG.

Formerly the people of Sin Hui were afraid to join the Kuomintang, because they thought that they would have to suffer greatly if they joined the Party. But now we have informed them of the true state of affairs and many now understand the aims and policies of the Party.

There are several peasants who are not members of the Kuomintang, but they co-operate with us in the peasants' movement. They are very enthusiastic and their thoughts are very sound.

(From the report of Sin Hui Peasant Union, 9-12-25)

4. PEASANT AND THE KUOMINTANG IN SHUN TEH DISTRICT.

The peasants of Shun Teh formerly took no notice of the movements of the Kuomintang. But, at present, after we have done much propaganda work in the villages, they are beginning to understand the principles and aims of the Party, and branch departments have been established in more than twenty places.

(From the report of Shun Teh Peasant Union, 24-11-25)

5. THE PEASANTS AND THE KUOMINTANG IN TSENG CHENG DISTRICT.

The peasants of that region have a very clear understanding of the Kuomintang. They have no suspicions whatever regarding the actions of the Party.

(From the report of Tseng Cheng Peasant Union, 9-12-25)

6. PEASANTS AND THE KUOMINTANG IN SAN SHUI DISTRICT.

The peasants of the region do not know what the Kuomintang is, and no Party members are to be found in the villages of Ma Che and Shek Ha. But the peasants are certainly not in opposition against the Party.

(From the report of San Shui Peasant Union, 27-10-25)

The peasant movement 12
Peas
in Kwangtung
(materials on the agrarian problem
in China).

In two parts.

Part 2.

CHAPTER IV.

NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT

AND THE

PEASANTRY.

Canton, 1927.

THE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT AND THE PEASANTRY.

A.—Official Declarations and Notifications of the Government and Peasant Organisations.

I.—THE GOVERNMENT'S MANIFESTOS AND DECLARATIONS.

1.—THE FIRST MANIFESTO OF THE GOVERNMENT ON THE PEASANT MOVEMENT.

The Nationalist Government, as a representative of the people, seeks their welfare by carrying out the Three People's Principle. It is hoped that as many as possibly can, will join and take part in this Kuomintang movement. So far the majority of those who have taken part in the Movement have been peasants.

From the very beginning China's greatest source of wealth has been derived from agriculture. Since the advent of Imperialism, however, this has not been the case. Land which was formerly cultivated was now utilized for the building of houses and shops. Then foreign capitalists came into China, and established small businesses in all the important towns and ports of the country. As the years went by these small businesses became great factories and large firms. At the same time foreign goods came into the market and absorbed our gold and silver. A system of Customs Duties was established, which, while facilitating the import of foreign goods, hindered and checked the export of local goods. As a result, Chinese peasants and merchants have suffered hardships beyond the power of words to express. Local products are rapidly diminishing in value, while the price of foreign goods is increasing day by day. Under such circumstances, it is but natural that the peasants find it impossible to make both ends meet, and are forced to become bandits or beggars. The situation is rapidly changing from bad to worse and is affecting not only the peasants but also the people of the whole country. The foreign capitalists are only too happy to see this state of affairs, because they are looking forward to lending money to China at high interest. The chief aim of the capitalists is to crush China by means of heavy debts. Moreover the foreign capitalists are in league with the Northern Militarists, who are still full of plans of unifying China by military force.

For the last ten years, China has been suffering from civil war and its attendant evils. Who bears all these hardships? The peasants. As a result of these constant wars, robbers are prevalent from one end of the country to the other, and such crimes as murder, robbery, and kidnapping have become matters of everyday occurrence.

Realising all the hardships that the poor peasants have to undergo, the present Government has taken special steps for their protection by organizing a Peasant Movement. The tentative regulations for this movement are as follows:—

(1) In order to free themselves from all sufferings and oppressions, the peasants in each district should unite and form a peasant association.

(2) For protective purposes, peasants may, with the permission of the Government and in accordance with the following rules, organize a "Peasants Self-Defence Corps."

(a) The Peasants Self-Defence Corps shall be organised on a system independent of the military system.

(b) Only members of the Peasant Association may become members of the Peasants Self-Defence Corps.

(c) The Peasants Self-Defence Corps shall obey the rules and orders of the Government. Each Corps shall protect its own villages and shall not interfere with corps of neighbouring villages.

(3) The Peasant Association shall have the right to cancel and collect land taxes but shall have no administrative power. The Peasant Association shall be divided into the four following classes:—Village Association, Section Association, District Association and Province Association. Disputes between Associations shall be settled by the Association immediately above it, with the Generalissimo as the final court of appeal.

(4) The flag of the Peasant Association and the Peasants Self-Defence Corps shall be the Revolutionary Flag (red flag with the white sun on a blue field in the upper left hand corner) with the addition of a hoe and a yellow flag crossing each other at an angle of 45° on a red field. The flag shall have the name of the Province, District, Section and Village marked on it clearly.

(5) There must be twenty or more peasants over the age of sixteen before an association is formed. The following classes of persons shall not be eligible for membership:

(a) Those who own one hundred or more acres of land.

(b) Those who oppress peasants for their personal benefit.

(c) Those who are in league with the Imperialists.

(d) Those who smoke opium or gamble.

(6) Property and money of members of the Peasant Association shall be protected by the Government.

(7) The Peasant Association shall have the power to recommend the dismissal of corrupt officials, if three-fourths of its members vote for such an action. Such recommendations shall be brought before a court composed of the District Magistrate (chairman), two representatives of the Peasant Association, and one each from the Merchants Guild and the District Kuomintang. All decisions of this court must receive the sanction of the Government before being put into action.

(8) The aims of the Peasant Association shall be according to those prescribed in the Three People's Principle, and the duty of its members shall be to carry out these aims in order that the peasantry may become an independent body.

(9) The Peasant Department or the Central Government shall send men with experience in agricultural work to help the peasants to organize their associations.

(July, 1924)

2. THE SECOND MANIFESTO OF THE GOVERNMENT ON THE PEASANT MOVEMENT.

The peasant policy of the Kuomintang is to support the Peasant Associations to become independent organizations. In the sphere of agriculture, the Government shall also attempt to carry out the following improvements :

- (a) Fixation of land taxes ; abolition of likin and obnoxious taxes.
- (b) Taking of an accurate census.
- (c) Reclamation of waste land.
- (d) Regulation of the output and export of foodstuffs.
- (e) Improvement of rural villages.
- (f) Reorganization of the land system.
- (g) Regulation of the value of private lands.

The above plans were formulated by the Peasants Department of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, and have been approved of by the Government, who thereupon issued the first manifesto on the Peasant Movement. Although hardly a year has elapsed, there are in Kwangtung to-day no less than fifteen Peasant Associations. This is a very hopeful beginning. Of course reaction has been aroused, and we often hear of the murders of prominent members of the Peasant Associations, because those who are against the movement will do anything to try and put a check to it. In Kwang Ning, Hua Hsien and Tung Kuan trouble was created by the garrisons stationed there. Some of the village gentry went even as far as to work with the bandits, who are always willing to start disturbances for their own benefit. But there is no doubt that the Government will deal with this class of men severely if they should be found guilty of such acts.

The highest aim of the Kuomintang is to carry out the Three People's Principle, but in order to do this, men are needed. The number of those who are willing to carry out the Three People's Principle is estimated to be eighty per cent of the total population of China and this number is largely composed of peasants. The country's food supply also depends upon the peasants and so their importance is very evident. The policy of the Government is to supply land to all peasants, and also to reclaim and irrigate waste land so that they may be cultivated. Since the advent of Imperialism, the number of peasants and the number of acres of ploughed land have both rapidly diminished. Today there are more than 4,000,000 acres of unploughed land. The number of bandits and beggars have increased tremendously, due to the many peasants who have been forced to become such because they were unable to earn a living by honest work. This proves clearly that agriculture is on the decline, a fact of tremendous significance, not only to the peasants, but also to the whole country. Other enemies of the peasants are lawless soldiery, heavy taxes, corrupt officials, village gentry, bandits, and natural disasters as flood and drought, making a sum total of sufferings beyond the power of words to express. Should fighting in the East River be stopped and the soldiers be better disciplined, the peasants would undoubtedly be much happier. Since the levying of high taxes, the peasants have had to lead a hand to mouth kind of an existence. Recent investigations have shown that the hardships of the peasants are due chiefly to war, natural calamities, and trouble from bandits. Land was given to man by Nature and there is no reason why he should have to suffer so much in attempting to earn a living through tilling it. If a man owns land, he ought either to till it himself or rent it out at a cheap rate to persons who are able to do the tilling. There is no reason why he should let the land lie waste or rent it out at such a high rate that the peasant finds the results of his labor insufficient to live upon.

Since native products have been unable to compete with imported goods, the peasants have naturally become downhearted and have changed to other occupations. Thus more and more fields are lying waste, and the country is becoming poorer and poorer. Investigations show that the peasants in Kwang Ning and Hua Hsien begin to work at the age of nine and continue till an age of sixty. During their lifetime they can only afford to live on potatoes and beet roots. In such a state of poverty, the peasant finds it impossible to pay his rents except by borrowing from rich men at high interests, which eventually makes him a slave until the last days of his life. These conditions are common in other provinces as well, and that is the reason why peasants are demanding the reduction of rents. The rich man would not be seriously effected even if he were to make such reductions, but he refuses, and thus forces the peasant to become a bandit or a beggar. Unless the Government is strong enough to put a stop to such unfair treatment, the peasant's life will never be a happy one. The aim of the Peasant Movement is to show the peasants how they may escape from

their present miseries, and reach that happier and higher state of life which the Government is planning for them. The corrupt gentry will of course oppose the movement and spread all sorts of rumors, but if the peasants will only rise and unite, all their efforts will be of no avail.

The Peasant Associations must be independent organisations, and must be organised according to the regulations prescribed by the Government's First Manifesto.

(March 1925.)

3. THE THIRD MANIFESTO OF THE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT ON THE PEASANT MOVEMENT.

Two years ago, the Revolutionary Government issued two declarations concerning the peasant problem. Today, the Nationalist Government deems it necessary to make the following third declaration :

Under the guidance of our late President, the Kuomintang and the Revolutionary Government aimed at leading the masses, especially the peasant masses, to participate in the Revolutionary Movement against Imperialism and Militarism, in order to make China free and equal. The Party and Government knew that, without the assistance of the suffering and oppressed masses, it would be impossible to defeat our enemies, internal and external. For that reason, in its first declaration, the Revolutionary Government encouraged the peasants to develop their forces. In order to enable the peasants to better their conditions, the Government gave them the right to organize Peasant Unions and Peasant Corps. Since the first declaration, the peasant organisations have developed rapidly.

The Government cared not only for the betterment of the peasant masses, but also for the welfare of all classes of the population.

The organised peasants have given the Government much help. This is proved by their fight against the counter-revolutionary and militaristic elements. During the East River Campaign, the peasant union of the various districts rose spontaneously to cut off Chen Chiung-ming's communication with Hongkong, and to prevent his followers from creating disturbances. Thanks to this peasant support, the Government was able to crush the rebels within a short time.

It was the same during the Southern Expedition. The peasants helped the Government to quell the Liu and Yang rebellion. After the Liao assassination, the peasants and other classes unanimously pledged to avenge Comrade Liao, and to punish the reactionaries. The Peasant Corps of Tung Kuan and Pao An were especially valuable in helping the Revolutionary troops to drive out the reactionaries.

In short, the peasants have been of invaluable assistance to the Government. The unification of Kwangtung and the consolidation of the foundation of the Revolution are the results of that cooperation.

The peasant participation in the National Revolutionary Movement is not limited to that only, for they further support the Hongkong-Shameen anti-Imperialistic strike with all their might. Besides moral support by demonstrations and conferences, the peasants cooperate effectively in the boycott of Hongkong Imperialism.

Their activity gives them an important place in the Revolutionary Movement. Their struggle against the militarists have proved their capacity and worth. The courage they showed, and the sacrifices they made prove their political consciousness and their loyalty to the Nationalist Government. The sincere cooperation between the peasants and the Government certifies that the policy of the latter is just. It also certifies that the National Revolution will be victorious, and the principles of our late President will be realized.

Their support to the Government is great. Their sacrifices for the cause of Revolution have not been small. Yet their miseries and sufferings have not diminished! Besides the economic oppression of the Imperialists, the land sharks, and other ruling and oppressing classes, the peasants have had to suffer from the high cost of living, heavy rent, and devastation and ruin caused by wars fomented by Imperialists and Militarists.

At present, as constructive work is becoming possible in Kwangtung, the peasant problem is of still greater importance. Helped by the government, the peasants have obtained the right of organisation; but the gentry, the land sharks, and the corrupt officials are jealous of that small right, and want to destroy it. The big militarists have been crushed, but reactionary officials and petty militarists are still in existence all over the province. They are waiting for opportunities to regain their lost position. They help the bandits against the peasants. They aim at the destruction of the peasant organisations. Every day, there are news about bandits attacking peasant villages. Being weak in their defensive forces, the peasants are usually defeated by the bandits.

The counter-revolutionists not only want to destroy the peasant organisations, but they also wish to weaken the forces of the Nationalist Government and to weaken the cooperation between the people and the Government.

In the present declaration, the Nationalist Government wishes to renew the promises contained in the former declarations. It will continue to do everything to protect the peasants' interests, and to help the development of their organisations.

Once again, the Nationalist Government solemnly declares that it will lead the masses to fight their common enemies until the National Revolution is accomplished.

When the Revolution is accomplished, and the strength of the Nationalist Government is enlarged, it will use all its power to ameliorate the economic conditions of the peasants and to settle the agrarian problem in order that the peasants can have the free use of the land, according to the principles of our late President. Meanwhile the Government will help the peasants in their struggles for rent reduction, for just and honest taxation and for participation in village politics.

The prosperity of the nation depends upon the conditions of the peasants. Therefore, the Nationalist Government will strive to eradicate all that is unequal and unjust. On the other hand, the peasants must continue to support the Government against their enemies. The Government must have the hearty cooperation of the Peasant Worker, Merchant, and intellectual classes before it can attain final victory, and realize the principles of our late President.

Long live the Nationalist Government!

Long live the cooperation between the Government and the masses!

(*Canton Gazette*, 9-7-26)

4. PROCLAMATION OF THE GOVERNOR ORDERING EVERY DISTRICT TO ASSIST IN THE ORGANISATION OF THE PEASANT ASSOCIATION.

(Issued July 24, 1924)

Although the peasants form the majority of the Chinese people, they have had to endure all sorts of hardships owing to the constant wars happening in every part of the country. In order to escape from such sufferings the peasants should form organisations for self-defence. And further, as the Three People's Principle of the Generalissimo¹) seeks the welfare of the peasants, the Government should assist the peasants to form their organisations. Attached to this order will be found copies of the regulations and manifestoes of the Government on the peasant movement. Each district magistrate shall explain them to the peasants, and also assist them to form a Peasant Association and a Peasant Self-Defence Corps, as stated in the regulations.

5. DR. SUN YAT-SEN ON THE PEASANT MOVEMENT.

(*Speech delivered at the Peasant's Movement Training Institute, August 21, 1924*)

Students, you are now graduating, and will go to the villages to co-operate with the peasants. This is the first step in the Peasant's Movement of our Kuomintang. Hitherto very few peasants have taken part in our revolutionary enterprises.

because of their lack of education and their ignorance of national affairs. Their attitude towards their country was very cold, and they took no notice whatever of the affairs of the nation. Therefore when you graduate and go to the villages to cooperate with the peasants, the first thing you must do is to make them understand their responsibilities towards their country, and the privileges which they should receive from her. This Revolutionary Government aims to create a country which shall have the people as its foundation. Peasants form the majority of the population of China. So if peasants do not come and participate in our revolution, our revolution will not have any foundation. Since the reorganisation of the Kuomintang, we have added the Peasant Movement to our program. This is because we wish to make the peasants the foundation of the revolutionary movement to be carried out by our Party. This is our responsibility. If we can take up this responsibility, and cooperate with the peasants, we will be acting in unison with the government. We must carry on the affairs of our country regardless of success or failure. In this way our foundation will be firm and our revolution will be successful. If the foundation is not firm, our revolution will surely fail.

You have studied here many months, and know that our revolution is based on the Three People's Principles. When you go to the villages to do propaganda work, you must spread the Three People's Principles to the peasants, and awaken them. As the peasants form a majority of the population, they are a very big class in China. We must awaken the members of this big class, and make everyone of them understand the Three People's Principles and practise them before our revolution can be completed. If we cannot awaken the members of this big class and make them practise the Three People's Principles, then, though our revolution may be successful for the time being, it cannot be called thorough. When we go into the villages to do propaganda work, what methods have we for explaining the Three People's Principles, so that we can awaken the peasants? If we wish to awaken the peasants, we must speak in terms of the peasants. We must speak about the interests of the peasants before they will pay any attention. If as soon as we open our mouths, we begin to talk about national affairs, our ignorant peasants will not be interested at all. We must talk about the interests of the peasants, the advantages of having a country, and the advantages that will be obtained if the peasants take up their responsibilities and reorganise the country. It is only in this way that we can awaken the peasants, and make them feel interested in national affairs.

You all know that in China, society is divided into the four classes: Scholar, Peasant, Worker, and Merchant. If we compare these four classes, we shall find that the peasants are the hardest working, enjoy the least privileges, and carry the largest share of the national burden. The peasants regard this suffering and these duties as a matter of course, as some fixed thing which can never be changed, but which is handed down from generation to generation. Their forefathers were

peasants and endured these sufferings; their descendants will also be peasants, and will also endure these sufferings. The system remains unchanged from generation to generation. These are the old-style thoughts of the peasants. At present we must use the force of politics to uplift the peasant, and the force of the nation to break down these old-style thoughts. We must make the peasants lose their faith in this old way of thinking, and acquire the new way of thinking. They must acquire this new way of thinking before they can liberate themselves from their old sufferings. So the first step in the awakening of the peasants is to make them acquire a new way of thinking so that they may be able to save themselves from their own sufferings.

At present many people say that the agricultural society of China is different from that of Russia. In Russia, there were formerly big landlords and peasant slaves, and wealth was very unevenly distributed between the big landlords and the peasant slaves. But in China there are no big landlords. There are only small landlords and peasants, and the distribution of wealth between these two classes, when compared with that which obtained in Russia, appears to be very even. To a certain extent, this appears to be true. But if we carry out an exact investigation, and compare present conditions in China with the former condition of Russia, we shall find that the Chinese peasants enjoy less happiness, or that the big landlords of Russia were more autocratic? According to my opinion, the property of the big landlords in Russia covered many hundreds of square miles, sometimes even many thousands of square miles. Therefore they were unable to care for all of their numerous peasant slaves, and their treatment of them would be rather liberal. But our small landlords are very covetous of money. When they collect rent, they will take into account a pint and even a spoonful, a cent and even a cash. On every occasion and in every place, they ill-treat the peasants. Whether these conditions are real or not, you may investigate for yourselves. According to my personal, theoretical comparison, I would say that the present-day sufferings of peasants in China are far greater than those endured formerly by the peasant slaves in Russia. After the improvement of the agricultural system in Russia, the large landlords were overthrown, and the fields of the whole country were divided among the peasants, who did the actual work of farming. The peasants had only to pay taxes to the country, and there were no landlords to come and collect rent. This is a very just system. At present we are in a state of revolution. We must follow this just system of Russia, and give the fields to the peasants who do the actual work of farming. It is only in this way that we can make our revolution thorough. If the peasants who do the actual farming do not own the fields, but have to pay rent every year for the use of the fields, then our revolution will not be thorough. The people of China are classified into the four classes: Scholar, Peasant, Worker, and Merchant. Except for the peasants, all these classes are composed of small landlords. If, without any preparation, we adopt the radical method of Russia and divide the fields of the

country among the peasants, these small landlords will be sure to rise in opposition. So even though our revolution may be successful for the time being, these small landlords will sooner or later be sure to rise in revolt against us.

If, at this moment, we immediately put into practice the "Min Sheng" Principle²⁾ and divide the fields among the peasants who do the actual work of farming, then naturally the peasants will be benefited, but the landlords will lose their lands and thus suffer heavy losses. Now these landlords are intelligent men and understand national affairs, while the peasants are entirely ignorant. So if a conflict were to arise between the landlords and the peasants, the peasants would not have any power to resist. In order to avoid this conflict and to increase the resisting power of the peasants, we must do propaganda work among the peasants, and make them realize the sufferings that they are enduring. When the peasants realize their own sufferings, they will be aroused, and will ask the government to help and relieve them. For instance, we recently organised a Peasant Movement in Hsiang Shan District in order to relieve the sufferings of the peasants. Many peasants asked the government, "If the government wishes to relieve our sufferings, why does it levy taxes on sandfields³⁾? Is this not increasing our sufferings? What is the real way to save us from our sufferings?" If we meet with these questions, we will not find them easy to answer. This Revolutionary Government maintains a very large army. In order to pay the soldiers, it must necessarily levy many taxes. These taxes come chiefly from the poor people, while the rich people bear only a very small share. If we do not explain this to the peasants, they will not understand. But when they understand this, they will realize their own sufferings, and will try to find means to get rid of them. So when you go out to do propaganda work, you will almost certainly get results very contradictory to your expectations. What means have we to deal with these contradictory results? The only means is the awakening of the whole peasant class. For instance, if the peasants of the districts of Kwangchowfu can unite, they will be able to get rid of their sufferings. The same thing applies to the peasants of the whole province of Kwangtung. So if you meet with contradictory results or conflicts in your propaganda work, the only method of settlement is to urge the peasants to unite and form organisations. The peasants are in the majority, while the landlords are in the minority. So the actual power is in the hands of the peasants. If all the peasants in a district, a province, and the whole country can unite and form a strong organisation, they will soon be able to find good methods to get rid of their sufferings. The government will be able to rely on the peasants as its foundation, and it can levy heavy taxes on the fields, according to their value. If the landlords refuse to pay the taxes, the government can confiscate their fields, and give it to the peasants who do the actual work of farming. Thus rent will not be paid to private individuals, but to the public. If we immediately try to put this plan into operation, there will sure to be a great deal

of reaction. So when we go to do propaganda work, we must be very careful. We can only speak about the sufferings of the peasants, and teach them to unite, first a village, then a district, then a province, and finally the whole country. The work of uniting and organising must all be done by the peasants themselves. You are to act only as guides. You must also guide the peasants to co-operate with the government, and slowly consult on means to settle the relations between peasants and landlords, so that the peasants will be benefited, while the landlords will not suffer any loss. This is the peaceful method of settlement. If we wish to have this peaceful method of settlement, the peasants must first co-operate with the government.

The only real way to relieve the sufferings of the peasants is to put the fields into the hands of those who do the actual work of farming, so that they will get the result of their labour and not be robbed of it by someone else. At present the peasants only get 40% of the result of their labour, while 60% goes to the landlords. The taxes levied by the government are all paid by the peasants and not by the landlords. This is a very unjust state of affairs. Formerly we did not do any propaganda work to expose this injustice. The propaganda work which you are going to do will be our first trial. When you go to do actual propaganda work, your hearts must be sincere, you must be diligent, and you must really desire to promote the happiness of the peasants. You must, in the shortest time possible, and with the best methods, unite the peasants of Kwangtung Province and get them to co-operate with the government. Before the peasant class is united, they can only endure and be patient, in the hope of obtaining happiness in the future. If we wish the peasants to obtain happiness in the future, we must rely on your propaganda work. It is only after we have united the peasants that our revolution can be thoroughly and really successful.

II. NOTIFICATIONS AND DECLARATIONS OF THE PEASANT ORGANISATIONS.

1. MANIFESTO OF THE FIRST CONFERENCE OF THE PEASANT ORGANISATIONS OF KWANGTUNG.

Under the Revolutionary Government of Kwangtung, our workers and peasants have obtained the right of organizing unions and calling meetings. For several thousand years we have been treated more harshly than the worst of slaves, and could do nought but keep silence. At last, however, we have obtained the right to form organizations for the protection of our interests. But, at the same time, those who maintain their living only by oppressing and squeezing money from our workers and peasant — namely the evil gentries, the compradores, the corrupt officials, the Militarists, and the Imperialists — are aware of the fact that the awakening of the workers and peasants is disadvantageous to themselves and consequently have united

to oppose, directly or indirectly, our protector, the Revolutionary Government. Such an action is tantamount to a declaration of war against our oppressed classes. Our peasants have suffered much through a long period of external oppression and internal dissension, and they long for peace and order. Aware of this fact, the policy of the Government has been to bring about peace in the shortest time possible. Owing to the countless obstacles, however, war continued and the policy of the government could not be put into practice. Indeed, the Government itself was on the verge of destruction several times, on account of the rebellion of Shun Hung-ying, invasion from the north by Fang Pen-jen ^(*), the campaigns of Chen Chiung-ming and Lin-hu, the occupation of Leichow and Kiang Chow by Teng Pen-yin, and the rebellion of the Merchants' Volunteers. Thus it was forced to concentrate all its energy on resisting its opponents, and constructive work stood temporarily at a standstill. Because we hoped that the Government, after routing all its enemies, would put into practice at least some of its policies, we all tried our best to help. In the battle in which Shun Hung-ying and his followers were expelled from the North River, the success of the Government was due chiefly to the assistance of the peasants. The recent defeat of Chen Chiung-ming and Lin-hu at the East River was also largely due to the help of the peasants. Those who guided the government soldiers, hired coolies for the Armies, spied on the conditions of the enemy, and protected the regions at the rear, were mostly members of the Peasants' Associations. As for the miscellaneous taxes and levies, the peasants disliked them greatly, but for the sake of furnishing the government with money to carry on its wars, they paid them as best they could. At present the enemy is gradually being driven from the province, and peace and order will soon become a reality. So the peasants are naturally looking forward to a lightening of their burden.

What are the expectations of the peasants? To describe them in detail would be impossible, but the most important are the following:

(1) Concerning taxes—(a) Prohibition of preliminary collecting of taxes (b) Abolition of miscellaneous extra levies (c) Abolition of Bureau management of the guarantee of tenant farmers (d) Fixing the rate of land-taxes (e) Determination of the boundaries of fields (f) Abolition of taxes levied on lands which have been lost.

(2) Concerning civil affairs—(a) Determination of the maximum rent (b) Strict prohibition of high interest loans (c) Strict supervision of village gentry (d) Prohibition of the levy of taxes for the expenses of the Militia Corps (e) No peasants to be forced to join the Militia Corps (f) Stricter enforcement of qualifications for membership in Peasant Unions (g) Reorganisation of the Militia Corps (h) Grant of lands to poor peasants.

(3) Concerning officials and soldiers—(a) Prohibition of the commandeering of coolies, impromptu military levies and forced occupation of peasants' dwellings (b)

Severe punishment of those officials, militarists, gentries and bandits who destroy the peasant unions (c) Dismissal of those officers who neglect the commands of the Government.

(4) Concerning finance and culture — (a) Promotion of agricultural co-operative enterprises (b) Improvement of irrigation system; provisions for flood and famine relief (c) Prohibition of the occupation of peasants' lands and houses for the building of churches (d) Extension of rural education (e) Establishment of farmers' banks.

The above are the most urgent of the demands of the peasants, which they hope the government will be able to put into practice as soon as possible. All our sufferings must be relieved before peace can be mentioned. What we mean by peace, is not to suffer in silence but to arise and work actively for emancipation. In order to make such a peace a reality, we must depend upon a government which really seeks to work for the welfare of the peasants. It would be impossible to obtain such a peace from the militarists and officials, who only know how to oppress the people, or from the counter-revolutionists, who seek only their own personal gain and glory.

At present, the Imperialists are contriving to overthrow our Revolutionary Government. They are making use of Tang Chi-yao, the tyrant of Yunnan province, in the west, of Tuan Chi-jui, the traitor of China, in the North, and of Chen Lim-pak, compradore and hunting-dog, in the South. These persons, having been bribed by the Imperialists, instigate and direct the counter-revolutionists, who have no other aim than personal glory, to work against and overthrow our Revolutionary Government. They want to deprive us of our long-expected peace and throw our province again into a state of confusion and disorder. Thus Tang Chi-yao has invaded Kwangsi, Tuan Chi-jui has assisted Chen Chiung-ming and Chan Lim-pak and his compradores have become the agents of the Hongkong Imperialists. These persons are not only the opponents of the Revolutionary Government, but also deadly enemies of the peasants. Hence, in order to obtain peace and protect our own interests, we swear, at this important crisis, to cooperate with the Revolutionary Government. We have decided at our general meeting to urge the peasants of the whole province to take up their hoes and plows to support the Government in its fight against those who, now or in the future, work for its overthrow.

(First Conference of the Peasant Organisation of Kwangtung, May 1925.)

2. RESOLUTION PASSED AT THE JOINT CONFERENCE OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS.

1. The only way for the Chinese people to free themselves from the severe oppressions of Imperialism and its tool — the militarists — is the National Revolution. In order to achieve the National Revolution, we must first have a

Revolutionary Government. The present Nationalist Government in Kwangtung is the only Government which can represent all the oppressed classes of the country to struggle for external independence and internal peace.

2. At present the whole of China, with the exception of the Two Kwang Provinces (Kwangtung and Kwangsi) where the Nationalist Government is established and where the people are enjoying various sorts of political freedom, is under the rule of reactionary politicians. The Northern Militarists, Chang Tso-lin and Wu Pei-fu have become active again since the withdrawal of the Kuominchun Armies from Peking and the Imperialists have, for the second time, interfered in the internal affairs of our country. The people should immediately rise to support the Nationalist Government, and urge it to launch a Northern Expedition so as to unify China and establish a representative Government for the whole country.

3. This Joint Conference considers the anti-Imperialism and anti-Militarism Movements which the Nationalist Government has performed in the past, or is carrying on at present, to be right and correct. Again, this Joint Conference is willing to lead the 1,120,000 organized workers of the whole country and the 820,000 organized peasants of Kwangtung to cooperate with the Nationalist Government to struggle for the overthrow of Imperialism, the Militarists, the compradore class, the village bullies and all other counter-revolutionists. Our slogans are—

Support the Nationalist Government!

Long live the success of the National Revolution!

(The Joint Conference of Workers and Peasants in Kwangtung, May 1926)

3. THE DECLARATION OF THE PROVINCIAL PEASANT ASSOCIATION.

We know that Imperialism and Militarism are utilizing despotic generals, lawless soldiers, corrupt officials, compradores, bandits, and evil gentries to oppress our people, and disturb the peace and order of the country. This is especially true in Kwangtung.

The Government is not to be blamed for this. The blame lies rather on the people because they do not unite to supervise the Government or to carry out a National Revolution.

At present the Nationalist Government in Kwangtung is protecting the people, not by mere words, but by actual deeds as the support of the Hongkong Strike, the prohibition of gambling and opium-smoking, the eradication of counter-revolutionists, the disbanding of unruly soldiers, the severe punishment of village bullies and corrupt gentry, the promotion of peasant and worker movements, and the protection of education and merchants. These facts are widely known and are undeniable.

Fellow citizens of Kwangtung: We must hereafter not only be the support of the Nationalist Government, but also be her advance-guards, because the success or failure of the Nationalist Government means the success or failure of our national movements.

Fellow citizens of Kwangtung! Unite and continually strive to help the Government to abolish all exorbitant taxes, to sweep away all hindrances to the unification of Kwangtung and of the military and financial systems, to make agriculture, industry and business in Kwangtung progressive and prosperous, and thus to strengthen the foundation of our revolutionary movement!

(September 1925.)

4. RESOLUTION REGARDING THE KEROSENE MONOPOLY.

Since the Nationalist Government represents the people and struggle for their interests, anything of advantage to the citizens may be considered as also to the advantage of the Government, and likewise anything of disadvantage to the citizens will be to the disadvantage of the Government also. On the whole, the people and the Nationalist Government have co-operated with one another and are closely united together. Consequently, what is considered beneficial by the Government should be strenuously supported by the people and what is regarded as disadvantageous by the citizens should be removed through the earnest cooperation of Government and populace.

The Kerosene Monopoly was originally adopted by the Nationalist Government for the purpose of increasing its revenue and avoiding the trouble of collecting taxes from foreign merchants. Since it was adopted for such purposes, the people have tried their best to support it. But unexpectedly this system is more disadvantageous to the people than beneficial to the Government. The Government received only very little additional revenue from the monopoly but the people had to suffer much from the high price of kerosene. Before the adoption of the monopoly, kerosene was sold at \$2.50—\$3 per can. After the monopoly was adopted, the price per can rose to \$10—\$17, which is about 6 or 7 times as much as its former value. Moreover, there are stamp duties, license and transportation fees to pay, to the amount of ten dollars or more. These conditions have forced many of the merchants dealing in kerosene to close their shops. Moreover, the officials of the Kerosene Monopoly Bureaus in the various regions, such as Tien Pai, Mei Lu, Lien Kiang, Sui Chi, Hai Kang, Pao An, Wu Hua, Chao Yang, Wei Yang, Fung Shun, Jen Hua and the suburbs of Canton have repeatedly disturbed the merchants under the pretext of searching for smugglers. Whenever they find a small quantity of kerosene in a shop or meet a person carrying a small quantity on the street, they would charge the shop or the passer-by with selling or buying kerosens secretly and illegally, and force the shop or person to pay a fine of from ten to four hundred dollars. They sometime tell the

kerosene merchants to sell within 3 days all the kerosene they have in their shops, stating that if they were found still in possession of some of it after the fixed period, they shall be considered guilty of selling kerosene clandestinely. The merchants are thus forced to sell their kerosene at a low price to the Kerosene Monopoly Bureau, which then raises its price and sells it out again. Some corrupt officials would, furthermore, mix the kerosene with water and thereby make more money for themselves. Another evil result is that kerosene is secretly transported into the province from Hongkong. Cases of this smuggling of kerosene from Hongkong are very prevalent in Wei Yang, Po Lo, Yang Kiang, Sui Chi, Wan Fo, and Hai Ping districts. Thus the kerosene monopoly has, on the one hand, brought harm to the common people, and, on the other, constituted one of the many causes for the violation of the Strike. Moreover, it has greatly affected the livelihood of the people and the peace and order of various regions. For, owing to the high price of kerosene, many who earned their living by working at night, were obliged to stop work and consequently to starve. The factories in Wei Yang, Tung Kuan, Chao Chow, Lei Chow and other regions, employing many handicraftsmen at night, have been forced to close their doors, and this fact was made use of by the bandits of Nam Shan to speak evil of the Nationalist Government with the intention of instigating the people to revolt. Many of the villagers were deceived by their words and a rebellion was nearly started. It was prevented only by the Wei Yang Peasant Union explaining strenuously to the villagers that what they had heard were all baseless fabrications. In spite of this explanation, the peasants still bore a deep grudge against the Nationalist Government. In Hsing Ning District, the kerosene monopoly has still not been enforced, but the price of the oil there is just as high as in the other regions. On account of this, the peasants were unable to work at night, and consequently have grumbled all day long. In various other districts, such as Shun Teh, where the silk industry is very flourishing, the peasants, who have to attend to their silk worms at night, were obliged to borrow money to buy kerosene. In still other regions, such as Tao Ping, the people have substituted wood flames for oil lamps, thus easily giving rise to fires and causing great loss to the populace. In Swatow, on account of the absence of street lamps at night, robberies became very prevalent. In Chao Chow and Wei Hsien, thousands of women are engaged in spinning. They can earn only about 10 cents per day and are therefore obliged to work at night also. But as the price of kerosene is so high, they cannot afford to buy it, and consequently have had to stop night work, with the result that they are now unable to earn enough to meet their wants. Again, in the regions of Lung Tong Hui and Chow Sam Hui, in Ching Yuan District, protests were repeatedly raised by the citizens against the Kerosene Monopoly. The people, being ignorant of the wickedness of the profiteering merchants, who are authorized by the Government to deal in kerosene, attribute all unpleasant results arising from the monopoly to the harshness of the Nationalist

Government. At the same time, the counter-revolutionists take advantage of the opportunity to spread rumours to the effect that the Government will soon levy a poll-tax and establish a rice monopoly. They do so because they wish to stir up bad feeling between the people and the Government. Moreover, the merchants authorized by the Government to deal in kerosene always wrote on their signboards the words "Soviet Russian Kerosene Monopoly." When their action was opposed by any person, they would say "This is the Government's policy of uniting with Russia. If you oppose the kerosene monopoly, you will be considered as opposing the union with Russia." They say so in order to stir up ill-feeling between the people of our country and that country which has shown its attitude towards us by abolishing all the Unequal Treaties.

On the whole, there are innumerable instances of disadvantages arising from the adoption of the monopoly, and the people of various classes are all suffering from these disadvantages. So, for the sake of strengthening the Nationalist Government and bringing about the welfare of the people, we cannot but request the Government to abolish the kerosene monopoly as soon as possible.

(The Second Conference of the Peasant Unions, May 1926.)

5. NOTIFICATION OF THE KWANGTUNG PROVINCIAL PEASANT ASSOCIATION.

At the Joint Conference of Peasants, Labourers, Merchants and Students, it was decided to make the following seven demands to the Government:

(1) Abolish the Kerosene Monopoly (2) Settle the Canton-Hongkong Strike, (3) Eradicate bandits, (4) Organize an Arbitration Board for the Settlement of disputes between Capital and Labour, (5) Punish corrupt officials, (6) Prohibit rumour fabrication, and (7) Construct public roads and reform education.

These demands have been accepted by the Nationalist Government and an official mandate has been issued ordering their execution. Moreover the Government has ordered that no private organisation is allowed to take matters into their own hands when disputes occur, but should refer them to the Government for settlement.

We must bear in mind that these demands are the result of the cooperation of Labourers, Peasants, Merchants and Students and we must also understand that the Nationalist Government is the People's Government. The Government has accepted the demands of the people, which shows that the people and the Government are cooperating. Since we have such a good Government, we should support it more strenuously and vigorously participate in the National Revolution. In order to facilitate the carrying out of the above eight undertakings, we must have self-control

and not go beyond our rights. This is especially true of the kerosene monopoly. We must wait for the Nationalist Government to abolish it by official decree, and should by no means act boisterously. The same attitude should also be maintained with reference to the settlement of disputes among organisations. We must be very careful to maintain the present harmony between the people and Government, and not give the reactionaries any chance to spread false rumours.

Our Peasant comrades must understand the significance of the Nationalist Government's acceptance of the seven demands. They are:

(1) The 7 demands were brought forth by the Peasants' and Labourers' Conferences, which are struggling not only for the welfare of peasants and labourers, but also for the welfare of all classes.

(2) The fact that the Peasants and Labourers directed and cooperated with the Merchants and Students to present 7 demands to the Nationalist Government means that all classes are co-operating in a common cause.

(3) After the Nationalist Government has put the 7 demands into practice, the relation between the Government and people will be closer, thereby consolidating the revolutionary foundation and securing the success of the Northern Expedition.

(4) After the 7 demands are realized, our peasant-comrades will obtain the benefits which were demanded by the 2nd Kwangtung Peasant Delegates Congress. This is of real value to the Congress, for it proves that it can really fight for the material welfare of the peasants.

(5) The realization of the 7 demands is due not only to the strength of the Kwangtung Peasant Congress but at the same time to that of the 3rd China Labour Congress and the Joint Conference of Peasants, Labourers, Students and Merchants.

(6) The bringing forth of the 7 demands and their acceptance by the Nationalist Government indicates the necessity of maintaining a united fighting front and also shows that the labourers and peasants are the forces that direct the National Revolution. Moreover, they show that the Peasant Organisations are striving not for the interests of their own class but for the welfare of all the oppressed classes. Hereafter we must settle in the same way problems of common interest to all classes.

(7) We must support the 2nd Kwangtung Peasant Delegates Congress.

(8) We must support the 3rd All-China Labour Congress.

(9) We must also support the Joint Conference of Peasants, Labourers, Students and Merchants.

(10) We must support the Nationalist Government, because it can cooperate with the people.

(Sd) *Lo Yi-yuan, Yuan Hsiao-hsien,
Pang Pei, Chou Chi-chien and
Tsai Ju-ping*

Members of the Executive Committee.

May 1926.

III. MISCELLANEOUS.

1. AN OFFICIAL LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR FROM THE PEASANT
DEPARTMENT OF THE C. E. C. OF KUOMINTANG.

Cherished and protected by the Kuomintang, Peasants Organisations have sprung up in provinces, sections and villages until the peasantry has become an independent body. Recent investigations show that in many places the militia, are forcing the peasants to join them, under the threat of having to pay poll-taxes or increased land taxes. Therefore the peasants have found it necessary to form "Self-Defence Corps" for their own protection. In many places a poll tax of forty cents per head is being levied, while in others the militia are ransacking the villages and holding people for ransom. Such acts are very common in the districts of Chung Shan, Shun Teh, Fan Yu, and Nan Hai. The militias are supposed to protect the people, but really they are no better than robbers. They use their power to oppress the peasants. So it is very essential that the peasants form Self-Defence Corps for their own protection.

In the recent East River campaigns the Peasant Self-Defence Corps were a great help to the Revolutionary Army. The Tung Kuan Organisation helped to transport supplies and the Pao An peasants helped to create disturbances in the rear of the enemy. Again when the Canton Merchants' Volunteers rebelled, they tried to get the village militia to attack Canton, but because the peasants were all loyal Party members, the negotiations failed. In the interests of the peasants, we hope that the Government will authorize the forming of Peasants Self-Defence Corps, prohibit the illegal actions of the militia, and abolish all poll-taxes and illegal increases on land tax. We also hope that you will order all district magistrates to prohibit the militia from forcing peasants to join them.

2. THE MANDATE OF THE GOVERNOR IN ANSWER TO THE ABOVE LETTER.

Recent investigations show that the militia in many places are forcing the peasants to join them, under the threat of having to pay poll tax or increased land tax. These actions only serve to increase the bitterness of the peasants against the militia. Acting under instructions from the Central Executive Committee, I hereby prohibit all such actions. No peasants are to be forced to join the militia, and no additions in taxes are to be made. Unless these instructions are obeyed, the militia will be disbanded.

(Sd) *Hu Han-min,*
Civil Governor).
(November 1925.)

3. A NOTIFICATION ISSUED BY THE PROVINCIAL PEASANT ASSOCIATION
PROHIBITING PEASANT UNIONS FROM INTERFERING IN
THE AFFAIRS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The chief aim of the peasant movement is to unite all peasants under the direct control of a strong organisation in order to work for emancipation. If anything endangers the rights of peasants, it is the duty of the Peasant Unions to devise ways and means of resistance. For the movement to be successful, the peasants should all be firmly resolved to struggle to death. In order to secure this result, propaganda is necessary, for the success or failure of the peasant's emancipation movement depends chiefly upon the strength of the peasants themselves. Whether success will come soon or late also depends on whether the strength of the peasants is increasing or decreasing. Consequently, if the peasants interfere with government administration, they are exceeding their rights and are liable to severe punishment for violating the law. We have already notified our Peasant Unions that the scheme of organisation should always be one of centralisation. Each Peasant Union must obey the orders or instructions of the association immediately above it.

Recently we have heard that the Peasant Unions are repeatedly interfering with government administration. They arrest persons at will and imprison them without handing them over to the courts of justice, but bring them to the Provincial Peasant Association for trial. Such an action is not only contradictory to the law, but also to the aims and motives of the peasant movement. Moreover it is very dangerous to transport culprits over a long distance, for they might die, fall or escape during the journey. In view of the above facts we hereby prohibit the Peasant Unions from interfering in government administration. Peasant Unions shall not arrest or imprison persons at will, but shall act according to the law and hand them over to the local authorities for trial. Any Peasant Union violating the above order will be disbanded and dealt with strictly.

(sd) *Provincial Peasant Association.*

April 1926

B. Relation between the Government and Peasants.

I.—THE APPLICATIONS OF THE PEASANTS TO THE GOVERNMENT.

1. MANIFESTO OF THE PEASANTS OF CANTON AND ITS SUBURBS.

In September 1924, President Sun promulgated the temporary Articles for suffrage in the municipality of Canton. The fifth Article gave suffrage to the Scholars, Workers, and Merchants, but not to the Peasants. Now there are more than ten million peasants in Canton and its vicinity, and they have established associations

of their own. Why, then, are they not permitted to vote for the mayor of the city in which they live? Are they not citizens? Therefore the Peasant Association has appealed to President Sun and Civil Governor Hu to revise this article, and permit the peasants to vote in their capacity as citizens of the municipality.

Many people say that the peasants should not be given suffrage because they have no connection with the City Administration. Others say that since the Articles have been promulgated, it would be difficult to revise them. Do you expect the ten million peasants to be convinced by these two reasons? The peasants live in Canton and form a part of its populace. They have a right to know about the education, the finance, and the administration of the city. How then can you say that have no relation to the City Administration?

The masses of the people form the foundation of the nation. If the foundation is firm, the nation will remain peaceful. The peasants and the workers are the productive elements of the populace, and are therefore the basic foundation of the nation. If the peasants are not given the suffrage, the basic foundation is being neglected, and the nation will surely crumble. It is said that the voting rolls are almost completed and that it would be impossible to have them changed in time for the election. But is this not caring for the branches at the expense of the root? What is more important, to have a little inconvenience or to shake the basic foundation of the nation? Therefore we have issued this manifesto in the hope that the Government will grant our request and that the Workers, Scholars, and Merchants will sympathize with and support us in our demands.

(October 1924)

2. WU HUA PEASANTS SEND REPRESENTATIVES TO CANTON.

Since the occupation of Wu Hua by Lau Chi-luk and his troops, the people have suffered much at the hands of lawless soldiers. So the Peasant Union there sent representatives to Canton to petition the Government to eradicate these unruly soldiers. The petition reads as follows:-

"The rebel Lau Chi-luk has again come into power. His allegiance to the Canton Government is but a superficial display, while behind the scenes he is working hard to overthrow it. In the proclamation, issued upon his arrival at Wu Hua, there were seen even such words as "triumphant return" and "recapture." He permits the bandits and soldiers to attack the magistracy, besiege the police station, plunder pawn shops and terrify the people. Furthermore, he has issued military bank-notes, and have levied extra land taxes, forcing instant payment from the people, who, having suffered thrice from war calamities, and five times from flood and drought, are too poor to meet his demands.

His thirst for money can never be satiated. Villages have been systematically pillaged under the pretext of searching for arms or eradicating bandits.

Peasants Unions have been disturbed, especially in the districts which have offered assistance to the Nationalist Army. His intention is to destroy the auxiliaries of the Canton Government, so as to accomplish his treacherous scheme.

Last month the Peasant Union of Wu Hua was disbanded by his troops, who seized 40 rifles and captured ten of its officers. The villages of Li Hu Kong, Min Young, and Fook Kai have also been pillaged by his troops. Fifty houses were burned down, and about the same number of persons killed. Four hundred cows, three hundred sheep, and five hundred pigs were seized. Four hundred merchants shops and one pawn shop were confiscated, while two merchants were shot. In addition to this, a sum of ten thousand dollars was demanded. Eighteen women were kidnapped, and four of them were thrown into the river after having been outraged by the soldiers. Fields covering an area of 700 mows were laid waste.

Within an area of 60 miles, not a single soul is to be seen, for every one no matter young or old, male or female has evacuated the mournful place and hidden in the caves of mountains, preferring the strong winds and the hot sun to the savage soldiers.

It was harvest time but no one was there to reap. The supply of food is becoming scarce. Even the barks and leaves of trees are being used as food.

Without food and clothing, many have died. They have escaped from the attacks of the soldiers, but they could not avoid starvation! Such facts are enough to bring tears to any man's eyes, but they cannot touch the cold hearts of the rebels. They continue their plundering and killing. Now and then, they would search the mountains for victims, and if any were found, they were killed and their dead bodies exposed to the hot sun.

There is unbounded terror in Wu Hua, and the people there are in great agony. We are the representatives of those one hundred and fifty thousand suffering souls. Braving the danger of being discovered and killed at any time, we have come to Canton to implore the Government to listen to our entreaties and deliver us from our piteous condition.

(From Hsin Min Kuo Pao, 26-8-25)

3. TUNG KUAN PEASANTS PETITION THE GOVERNMENT.

Having been illtreated by Tang Hin-mo, Director of the Land Bureau in Ma Chung village in Tung Kuan, over one hundred peasants landed at the Government Pier on the 17th to seek redress of their wrongs. The lands which the peasants cultivate belong to landowners with the surname of Mok, and the reason why they have come to Canton is because their lands have been laid waste by soldiers sent out by the Land Bureau Director on account of delay in the payment of land taxes.

At 8 a.m. on the morning of the 18th, the peasants divided themselves into three groups to petition the Government. One group went to the Peasant and Labour Department, the second went to the Provincial Peasant Association, and the third to the Provincial Government. On the way they distributed pamphlets reading as follows :

"For many years, we have been peacefully engaged in our agricultural work in the village of Ma Chung in Tung Kuan. But as soon as Tang Hin-mo became Director of the Land Bureau, he ordered his soldiers to occupy our houses and carry off our grain. He also illegally forced us to pay four different kinds of taxes :

- (1) Rice field tax.
- (2) Protection tax.
- (3) Registration tax.
- (4) Special Military Expense tax.

The first and second taxes were usually paid by us every year in August and December, while the third tax was to be paid by the landowners. As for the fourth tax, it was adopted last year, but out of the 1500 landowners in Tung Kuan, only one-tenth have paid. And as no officials were sent out to collect this tax from us, it is obviously unfair to accuse us of refusing to pay it, and taking away our grain as an act of reprisal. We have asked Director Tang to return our grain and have promised to pay off the Rice-field, Protection and Military taxes all at once. But Director Tang rejected our terms and insisted that we pay the Registration tax, which we do not recognise. Besides, we have paid advance rent for our land, and there is no reason why the landowners should not pay the registration tax nor why Director Tang should keep our grain. Therefore we have come to petition the Government for justice."

(From Min Kuo Jih Pao, March 1926.)

4. THE PETITION OF THE KWANG NING PEASANT UNION.

"The rebels Kong Hon-ging, Kong Wai-ying and others have repeatedly tried to harm our peasant unions. Their evil deeds are very numerous, in fact too numerous to mention in detail.

They have become so arrogant that they take no notice of the laws and orders of the government, and have even dared to resist the government's forces that were despatched by the Acting Generalissimo to punish them.

Recently, Liao Kin-ng, Party Representative of the Armour Car Corps stationed there, Tse Sing-kai, acting commander of the garrison, and Pang Pei, delegate of the Peasant Department of the Central Kuomintang, were appointed members of the Kwang Ning Pacification Committee and given power to suppress the

rebels and restore peace to the district. On January 31, a meeting of the Committee was held and at 8 o'clock on February 1, an attack was launched upon Tam Pui, the den of the rebels Kong Hon-ying, Kong Wai-ying and their bandit followers. The rebels sought to hinder us by instigating the militia of the villages at our rear to rise and create disturbances. On February 3, these militia met our forces twice, first on the Kee Hill and then at Wang Kong Nup. In both battles they were defeated by our troops. On February 5, at 3 a.m. another force of militia, numbering more than 200, took advantage of the small number of soldiers stationed in Lo Kong and captured that village by surprise. Two hours later, our Peasant Union, upon learning of the news, at once sent about 100 members of our peasant corps to Lo Kong to drive away the invaders. Our soldiers fought bravely with the enemy and recovered the village at 11 a.m. on the same day. But later on, another force of more than 200 militiamen suddenly came out from Fung Moon and, joining with the force, attacked our soldiers on both sides. Our troops tried their best to repulse them but on account of the lack of cartridges, they were at last forced to give up Lo Kong and to retreat to Chak Shek. In this battle our soldiers killed two of the enemy and wounded several. On reentering Lo Kong, the bandits burned the Peasant Association, destroyed the barracks and two houses of the peasants, and captured 5 rifles. On February 7, at 7 a.m. another detachment of the militia of Kong Tuen, numbering over 100, together with many of the so-called "Supernatural Fighters," suddenly attacked our peasant corps in Chang Wut from three directions, viz: King Tau, Fun Shui Nup and Cho Po. We had only about 20 soldiers stationed there and they fought bravely with the enemy. But again, owing to the lack of cartridges, they were forced to retreat. When the peasant corps in Koo Lau Ying were informed, they came hurriedly to the rescue. But they were too late. The enemy had already captured the village and the peasant corps were forced to join the defeated soldiers and retreat to Koo Lau-ying. Our losses in that battle was very great. Three of our members, viz: Poon Wing-ching, Fung Chiu-man and Kwok-lam, were killed by the enemy. Another three members, Wong Kam-mui, Li Man-sing, and Yau Lau, were captured by the bandits, taken to Kong Tuen and shot. The enemy also captured five rifles and burned many houses of the peasants in that village.

Out of the nine villages in which our rent reduction movement was carried on, ruin and destruction had been brought to three, viz: Lo-kong, Chang-wut and Muk-ho Muk-chai. The two important villages of Kong Tuen and Tum Pui, in which we began our work of organising Peasant Unions, had been occupied by the rebels as their base since the outbreak of hostilities. Moreover, when they attacked and invaded the other villages they always plundered and massacred the peasants. In this way the rebels Kong Hon-ying and Kong Wai-ying are carrying out their intention of destroying all Peasant Unions and killing all the members, in order that their special privileges may stand and continue unchallenged.

We hereby request the Government to punish and to eliminate those wicked rebels, so that the peasants may be amply protected, and peace and order restored, in the district.

(*sd*) *The Kwang Ning District Peasant Unions, 10-11-1926.*

5. CHUNG SHAN PEASANTS PROTEST AGAINST THE SAND-FIELD PROTECTION TAX.

A proclamation issued by the Chung Shan peasants protesting against the sand-field protection tax reads as follows:—

"At a mass meeting of over 10,000 peasants it was unanimously agreed that the Sand-field Protection Tax is a tool employed by gentries and landlords to oppress the peasants.

"The peasants in Chung Shan have suffered greatly from the levy of this tax, because its administration has fallen into the hands of the landlords and evil gentry.

"Last year Mr. Kuo Ying-fan, the former Commissioner of Finance issued an order allowing the farmers to protect the sand-fields themselves and abolishing the protection tax; but as the landlords and evil gentry were not eradicated, the project could not be carried out.

"When the Nationalist Government was inaugurated this year, it was decided that protection tax be abolished and that peasants be allowed to protect the sand-fields themselves. Accordingly the Provincial Government has ordered the Departments of Finance and Civil Affairs to order the district magistrates to put it into effect; but again the evil gentries and landlords raised their opposition.

"Mr. Wong Chu-su, the magistrate of Chung Shan District, who has always tried to release the peasants from the bondage of the capitalists, has also petitioned the Provincial Government to abolish the Sand Field Protection Bureau, and allow the district to organise a department for the protection of the Sand-Fields, but once more the gentries and landlords bribed the Directors of the Chung Shan Sand Field Tax Bureau and the Sand Field Protection Bureau to oppose this project, and not to resign. In addition the scoundrel Tang Kai-yau has established a branch of the Sand Field Protection Bureau in Tai Leung. They have even assembled the adherents of traitor Chen Chiung-ming, and the bandits Tsang Tai, Lim Tsai and Sai Lo-ko, and organised an army of bandits with the intention of maintaining their positions.

"We, the peasants of Chung Shan, realise the imminent danger. We have decided not to submit to these rebels and traitors, but to cooperate with and support the Nationalist Government to carry out its orders. If any one should violate the orders of the Government and try to levy the protection tax, we shall unite and oppose them in order to free ourselves from bondage.

Our procedures and plans will be announced after they have been discussed and passed, but now we appeal to the Government to severely punish those corrupt officials who are still controlling the Sand Field Protection Bureau, and plotting against the Government."

(From a Special Report, 28-10-25)

II.—GOVERNMENT AND PEASANTS OF VARIOUS PLACES.

1. COMRADE LIAO CHUNG-KAI'S ADDRESS AT THE CHUNG SHAN PEASANTS DELEGATES CONFERENCE.

Fellow Peasants! During these troublous times a Civil Governor has enough to keep him busy from four in the morning till one at night. He certainly has no time for travelling. Why, then, have I come here. I have come here to see at first hand the sufferings of the peasants and the oppression of the landlords in order that I may devise methods to rescue our peasants.

Most of the landowners and farmers of the Tung Hoi Sandfields are natives of Chung Shan. But the taxes of these Sand-fields are collected by the gentries of Shen Teh. Every peasant has recognized that these Sand-fields must be controlled by Chung Shan herself. I have been aware of this fact for a long time. Therefore, when I was appointed Governor last year, I ordered these Sand-fields to be controlled by the Chung Shan people themselves. At that time I thought that would relieve your sufferings because it would deliver you from the oppression of the gentries of Shen Teh. But lately I have heard that your sufferings were just the same. So I have come to investigate for myself. Although the Government has despatched soldiers to Chung Shan to protect you, owing to the small number of soldiers and the vast area of the district, it is of course very hard to protect the whole place. So, if you were to depend entirely upon the Government for your protection, it would be a very difficult matter. You must know that if you wish others to help, you must be able to help yourselves first. Let me give you an example. Suppose a person falls into the water; of course, he wants some one to save him. Although some one may come to try to save him, whether he will be rescued or not depends entirely upon whether he knows how to help himself. If he does not, then when the rescuer comes to save him, he will embrace him tightly and so both of them will be drowned. So, at present, in order to eliminate your sufferings, all of you must rise together to rescue yourselves and you must also understand the way of being rescued. I have put the Tung Hoi Sand-fields under your control. Whether you can control it or not, depends now upon yourselves. I have jumped into the water to try to rescue you, but you must first know how you will be rescued. When I offer you a helping hand, you must grasp it at once.

Although I am the Governor, I have very few soldiers under my control. Although there are a great many soldiers in Kwangtung, they are useless because they do not obey orders. In order to force them to obey orders, the people must support the Government and incidentally also save themselves. How will you rescue yourselves? How will you escape from your sufferings? What is the way of self-rescue? Let me tell you. Before you can escape from your sufferings, you must first prepare and store up your energy and strength. For instance, before one is able to defend himself, he must have some kind of a weapon. How shall you obtain this strength? It can be obtained from organisations and unions. When people have no organisation, there have no strength. For example, we can easily break a single stick but it takes a sharp knife to cut a bundle of sticks. Therefore, the secret of strength lies in organisation. Now-a-days, organisations of merchants have been established. As a result, their strength has been greatly increased and the Government has to respect their demands. Any tax which they wish to have abolished will actually be abolished. Recently workers have also organised, and so their strength has greatly increased and the Government has to respect their demands too. So you see that organization is the mother of strength. The peasants are now the only class which has no organisations at all. Since you have the least strength, you suffer the most, and are oppressed by others. You should unite immediately, organise unions, and concentrate your strength. Although the old Peasants' Associations still exist, they are only organisations of the gentries and do not concern you at all. You should unite immediately to organise a real peasant union which will be able to work for your interests. This is the life-belt that I am throwing to you. I hope you will accept it. How shall you organize a peasant union? There are a complete set of regulations which have been passed by the Kuomintang and will be issued by the Governor. The District Magistrate will be ordered to help you. But, you, yourselves, must organise the union; it is absolutely impossible to depend upon other persons. If peasant unions are organised to-day, I shall be able to rescue you to-morrow; otherwise, I shall not be able to help you at all. Peasant Unions are organised not for me, not for the Government, and not for the Party but only for the privileges of the peasants. If you have such a union, you can directly state your sufferings to the Magistrate, the Governor, or the Generalissimo and so bring about an early deliverance.

I have thrown you this life-belt. Whether you take it or not, is up to you. If you are wise, you will grasp hold of it promptly.

On hearing your reports, I learn that peasants in other places are in a similar condition. In order to get rid of your sufferings, you must all unite and help yourselves. For instance, take the matter of floods and harmful insects. If a Peasant Union is established it will be much easier to devise preventive measures because the Government will cooperate with the union. Most of you think that the appearance

of harmful insects is a matter of luck. This is nonsense. It is not a matter of luck, but a matter of whether you have taken preventive measures or not. If all of you unite and cooperate to kill and catch the harmful insects they will automatically disappear. If you do not cooperate, then the prevention of harmful insects would become an impossible task, because they would fly from one field to another. It is utterly impossible to rely on individual effort. Moreover, if you unite, you can employ an agriculturist from the General Peasant Union to devise scientific methods for killing the harmful insects. As soon as he has found a good way, the General Peasant Union will order the peasants of the whole district to destroy them on a certain day. In this way you will be able to get rid of most of them. But if you peasants do not unite, then there is no way to force the peasants of the whole district to destroy them on the same day and so it will be impossible to do away with all of them. Therefore, you, peasants must unite and organise peasant unions. Only then will the Nationalist Government and the Party be able to cooperate with you and rescue you. This was my purpose in coming here. First, I wished to investigate the actual conditions, and secondly, I wished to urge you to organize peasant unions as soon as possible. I hope my suggestions will prove of use.

(September, 1924.)

2. LETTER TO THE PEASANT DEPARTMENT FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE.

We have received your letter asking us to investigate whether the magistrate of Pao An who was accused by the peasants of that district of extortion, levied his taxes according to regulations or not. In your letter you also asked us to report the results of our investigations, which we now do.

It was found upon investigation that, according to regulations, the tax collector of Pao An should add 64 cents extra charges to every \$1 of the land tax of the district. Furthermore, he should add 15 cents to every \$1 for premium on exchange. An extra levy of 30 cents per dollar is also prescribed for the expenses of the Kwangtung University. This system was enforced before 1924. Afterwards, an order was issued by the Ministry of Finance in November 1924 instructing the tax collectors of the whole province that they should collect 25%, instead of 15%, as premium on exchange, and that this extra 10% is to be appropriated for military expenditure. Upon referring to the list of the amounts of taxes levied by the magistrate of Pao An, made out by the peasants of that district, it was found that the magistrate had carried out his duties according to the regulations and had not extorted any additional sums from the peasants.

The above are the results of our investigation. We hope that you will inform the Peasant Union accordingly.

(sd) *Sung Tse-ven*

*Commissioner of Finance of Kwangtung Province,
April 1926.*

To,

Director Chan of the Peasant Department
of the C.E.C. of Kuomintang.

3. PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT TO EXTERMINATE UNSCRUPULOUS GENTRIES.

It has been repeatedly stated that the Peasant Unions of Tung Kuan District have been destroyed by Chue Shiu-pun, an unscrupulous gentry of Nan Sha. At the last meeting of the Provincial Government, it was decided that the peasants' interests cannot be adequately protected unless the Government severely punishes the unscrupulous gentries. The 1st. Division of the Revolutionary Army have therefore been ordered to proceed to the spot to manage this affair and to protect the peasants.
(November 1925)

4. PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT ABOLISHES ROWDIES' ASSOCIATION.

Recently the rowdies of Tung Kuan District have organized an organisation called Kung Wo Association in order to attack the Peasants' Unions. Upon learning of this, the District Peasant Union petitioned the Provincial Government for protection, and on receipt of this request, the Provincial Government has decided to order the magistrate of that district to deal with this matter and disband the Kung Wo Association.

(From *Min Kuo Jih Pao*, November 1925)

III. Miscellaneous.

1. CONDOLENCE OF THE PEASANTS OF VARIOUS DISTRICTS OVER THE ASSASSINATION OF COMRADE LIAO CHUNG-KAI.

A.—PROCLAMATION OF THE PROVINCIAL PEASANT ASSOCIATION.

Comrade-Peasants! Our friend and Comrade Liao Chung-kai has been assassinated!

Our enemies killed him because he was faithful to the Party, because he followed Dr. Sun's programme, because he was loyal to the National Revolution, and because he opposed the Imperialists. They killed him because he was a sincere

friend of the Workers and the Peasants. In his noble blood mingles our tears!

He was murdered because the Imperialists, the Militarists, the compradores, the evil politicians, and the counter-revolutionists hated him who was a real revolutionary!

Because our comrades—the heroic strikers have organised themselves strongly, because they are courageous, because they have fought against the Imperialists resolutely and unflinchingly, the Imperialists and their tools have tried to frustrate them by killing Comrade Liao.

Comrades! Although Comrade Liao is dead, his fighting spirit, his revolutionary party—the Kuomintang, and the Party's programme will live for ever.

After a year of sacrifice and struggle, we have succeeded in organising the Provincial Peasant Association with more than 500,000 members. We sincerely hope that all the 20 million peasants of Kwangtung—nay—all the 300 million peasants of China, will join our organisation and unite their force to ours to fight against the Imperialists. With such a force, what have we to be afraid of?

Probably, the corrupt officials, the evil gentry, the avaricious landowners, the Militarists, the anti-revolutionists, and the Imperialists will rejoice over the death of Comrade Liao. Probably, they think that, now that our friend is dead, they may oppress and exploit us as they please. But we will organize ourselves, we will strengthen our organizations, we will rally our forces under the revolutionary banner, and we will fight to the death.

The responsibility of leading the peasants lies on the shoulder of the Provincial Peasant Association. And the Provincial Peasant Association will not fail in its task. For that reason, the Executive Committee urges all peasants to carry out the following plan:

(1) All District Peasant Unions should hold mass meetings to explain to the people why Comrade Liao was assassinated, and why they must organize themselves to revenge him.

(2) The following should be our slogans:

(a) Revolutionary peasants, unite to complete the unfinished task of Comrade Liao, to overthrow the Imperialists and all anti-revolutionary elements!

(b) Rally the peasant forces under the banner of the Kuomintang, to accomplish the Revolution, and to crush counter-revolution!

(c) Comrade Liao was a friend of the working class!

(d) All anti-revolutionists are the tools of the Imperialists!

(e) Down with the Militarists!

(The Provincial Peasant Association, August 1925)

B.—MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR THE LATE MINISTER LIAO CHUNG-KAI
BY THE PEASANT UNION IN FAN YU.

On the 16th instant, the Peasant Union of the second section of Fan Yu together with the Peasant Unions of various villages held a memorial service for late Minister Liao in Yue Chue Market. Representatives of the Political Department of the Whampoa Military Academy, the Provincial Peasant Association, the District Peasant Union, and the Peasant Unions of different villages attended. The service opened with the reading of the Last Will* of the late Dr. Sun by Mr. Chen Mo-ngo, the representative of the Poon Yue District Magistrate. Mr. Chan Siu-niu presided over the service, and Mr. Poon Wen-chi directed the sacrifice. Mr. Chang Teh-sing read the eulogy. All present bowed three times before the portrait of late Minister Liao, and kept a three minutes' silence. After the ceremony Mr. Chia Yi-wan, the representative of the Political Department of the Whampoa Military Academy, Mr. Chen Pin-fai, special delegate of the Provincial Peasant Union, and representatives from the different villages delivered inspiring speeches. The meeting ended with acclamation of slogans.

(From *Min Kuo Jih Pao*, 19-9-25.)

C.—MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR COMRADE LIAO BY THE PEASANT UNION OF
SHUN TEH DISTRICT.

On September 13th, in Ming Lun Tong, the Shun Teh Peasant Union held a memorial service in honor of Liao Chung-kai. More than two thousand members of the Union were present. First Mr. Lo Han explained the reason for the service and then Messrs. Lei Man-tse and Wong Chaak-nam from the Peasant Department of the Kuomintang, and the officers of the Union made brief speeches. Several resolutions were proposed and passed:

- (1) To revenge Comrade Liao, the friend of the Peasants and Labourers.
- (2) To eradicate all counter-revolutionary elements.
- (3) To overthrow Imperialism.
- (4) To support the Nationalist Government.

After the service, a demonstration was held. On the day before the memorial service, the Peasant Union notified the District Magistrate that there would be more than thirty armed members of the Peasant Self-Defence Corps participating in the procession and requested that the other organisations be informed. On the day of the procession the magistrate ordered the different Militia Corps in Tai Leung to leave their barracks to avoid any possibility of a conflict. When the procession arrived, all the Militia Corps had already left, leaving only a vacant barracks. This shows the prestige of the Peasant Self-Defence Corps which can and will be a real support of the Government.

(From *Min Kuo Jih Pao*, September 1925)

C. The Government and the Class Struggle in the Villages.

I.—THE MASSACRE OF PEASANTS AT KAO YAO.

1. A TELEGRAM FROM THE KWANGTUNG PROVINCIAL PEASANT ASSOCIATION.

To the Nationalist Government,

We were very much delighted to hear of the Government's success in eradicating the counter-revolutionary elements in the Eastern and Southern districts and of the unification of the whole province. We were still more delighted upon receipt of the information that the 2nd Delegates Conference of the Kuomintang, while convening at Canton, had passed the resolution that "the Party will be founded on and struggle for the Peasants' interests." The 600,000 peasants under the flag of the Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Association have been much stimulated by this news, and you may be sure that they will continue to support the Kuomintang and the Nationalist Government without fail. We swear to stand with the Kuomintang on the united anti-Imperialism and anti-militarism front. We also promise to arouse the revolutionary peasants and workers and all other revolutionary fellow-countrymen to cooperate with the Kuomintang and the Nationalist Government in the promotion of the much expected National Conference, in the expansion of the revolutionary influence throughout all China and in the fulfilment of the mission of the Kuomintang and the Nationalist Government — the unification and emancipation of China.

As the peasants form 80% of our population, they bear a very heavy responsibility. We must consolidate our internal organisation and strengthen our revolutionary energy in order to be in readiness to act as vanguards or rearguards of the Government and the Kuomintang in the unification of China and the emancipation of the Chinese people. In other words, we must lay a permanent foundation in Kwangtung and also extend our revolutionary influence all over China. But the counter-revolutionary elements, remnants of the feudal system and tools of the militarists, are still existence in rural villages. They subside when the revolutionary atmosphere is intense and soar up when the revolutionary atmosphere is, comparatively speaking, thin. By these counter-revolutionary elements we mean the big landlords' wicked gentry, local bullies, militia, bandits and their armed forces in the rural villages. If these counter-revolutionary remnants are not suppressed, then "unification" is but vain talk and the "movement for national emancipation" is no more than a dream. For

instance, the landlords, wicked gentry and local bullies of Pu Ning District in the East River region have employed about 500 of the militia to attack the Peasant Union of that district and oppress the peasants. Again, the landlords of the Kao Yao district in the West River region have joined with the "Supernatural fighters" (7), to send about 7,000 armed militiamen to slaughter the peasants there. From these grave incidents, we can at least learn some lessons:—

- (1) In oppressing the peasants, these reactionaries are directly suppressing the revolutionary influence of the masses, and at the same time undermining the foundation of the Government and of the National Revolution.
- (2) They are indirectly helping the Imperialists and their hunting-dogs, the militarists to prevent the peaceful unification of Kwangtung or in other words, they are obstructing the plan of the unification of China and the emancipation of the people. Moreover, they may develop into a new generation of militarists, and menace the future of our Revolution.

Although the struggle in Pu Ning has been peacefully settled, the landlords and wicked gentry are increasing daily their armed forces and building walls and forts. So further calamity may break out any time.

In Kao Yao, the case is more pitiful. There the landlords, wicked gentry and local bullies have devastated the Peasant Unions, burned the rural villages and slaughtered the peasants. The trouble is still not yet settled. Many peasants, male and female, old and young, were rendered homeless and had to sleep on the bare ground. Moreover, in the cold weather, they were exposed to wind and rain, without shelter, clothing, or food. Even though they did not lose their lives under the sword of the anti-revolutionary landlords, they would die of starvation. Sometime ago, the Government despatched a detachment of revolutionary soldiers to proceed there to squash the trouble and organize a Pacification Commission to deal with the case. In spite of this, the landlords, wicked gentry and native bullies are still obstinate and contemplate concentrating the anti-revolutionary forces of Kwang Ning, Teh Ching and the adjacent districts to massacre the peasants and disturb the peace and order of the region. They threaten constant attacks upon the villages, thus causing a great deal of uneasiness to the peasants. Under these circumstances there is no hope for peace. Even the six points demanded by the peasants will not be fulfilled, if our Government does not send reinforcements there and take drastic measures. It is now a critical time. On receipt of a report from

Kao Yao, we have passed a resolution that the Government be requested to speedily send a big force to suppress the trouble there, in order to deliver the peasants of the whole province from the iron heels of the landlords, wicked gentry and local bullies and place them on the bright road of revolution. At least, the Government is asked to retain the two battalions of revolutionary troops now stationed there for a comparatively longer period in order to protect the lives of the poor peasants. If this is granted, it will be a blessing not only to the peasants but also to all the inhabitants of the place.

*The Executive Committee of the Provincial
Peasant Association of Kwangtung.*

March 2, 1926.

2. THE FACTS OF THE KAO YAO CASE.

(Provincial Peasant Association.)

Since its inauguration, the Pacification Commission persuaded both sides to wait patiently for an amicable settlement as ordered by the Government. It then assembled responsible representatives from both sides together with the gentry of the various villages for a meeting at which they were informed of their responsibilities in regard to the damage and loss suffered by the Peasant Union. They were also shown the system of compensation by contributions from the gentry and the wealthier class, as approved by the Government. They were asked to furnish a bond for settlement to avoid further trouble. But the wicked gentry and big landlords, Li Kung-am, Sung Kuk-cho, Wong Wai-lau, Leung Sik-wun, and Ng Yu-man purposely disobeyed the order of the Government and instigated the villagers not to sign the bond. On the 4th the Commission sent a detachment of troops to Wan Chow, Lo Kin and other villages to summon Wong Wai-lau, Sung Kuk-cho and others to sign the bond in the office of the Commission. Unexpectedly when the troops passed by the outskirts of the village, they were fired at and surrounded by hundreds of militia, landlord corps and "Supernatural Fighters." An exchange of firing ensued for a few hours, and the militia and their allies were defeated. On hearing this news, the Commission at once recalled the troops for fear of prolonging the strife which was detrimental to the welfare of the place and against the will of the Government. But, after the withdrawal of the troops, the militia and landlord corps took the opportunity to attack the Peasant Union of Shui Toi, burning and looting more than twenty houses. On the 5th at 11 a.m. about 7,000 militiamen, landlord corps and "Supernatural Fighters" attacked the soldiers stationed at Ng Chuen and the office of the Pacification Commission. They marched from three directions through Sheung Lau Hang, Tai Pi Tau and Cheng Kun Hang in an awe inspiring manner. As soon as they had reached the back of a hill at Ng Chuen, the soldiers lost no time in sending two companies to resist them and

launched a bayonet charge, with the result that about forty of the militia and "Supernatural Fighters" were killed and their gangs dispersed. They retreated to the Triad Gods' Temple at Lo Kin to have a rest but the soldiers did not pursue them. On the 6th, the Pacification Commission was informed that about a thousand men at Lo Kin were still trying to launch a counter-attack, and a company of soldiers was despatched by the Commission to besiege Lo Kin, where firing was exchanged for two hours. The soldiers then dashed in and had all the block-houses burnt. On the 9th some soldiers were sent to Wan Chow to burn down the block-houses of the wicked gentry and lawless landlords, Wong Wei-lau and Chan Choi-cho. The soldiers were very brave and well-disciplined, and performed their duty without causing any harm to the villages.

Since this complete failure, the militia was very much frightened and still more so at the sight of the victory obtained by 2 companies of soldiers over 7,000 "Supernatural Fighters." Now they have sent representatives to the Pacification Commission, expressing their willingness to sign a bond for the compensation of the peasants by contributions from the gentry and the wealthier class without further opposition. The Military Council has also passed the following resolutions:—

- (1) For the time being the 34th Regiment should not leave that place.
- (2) The Pacification Commission should be instructed to disarm the reactionary militia at once, without showing any leniency.
- (3) The magistrates of the Kwang Ning and Teh Ching districts should strictly prohibit the militia from gathering in mobs and going across the district limits, in default of which, the militia would be subject to disbandment.
- (4) A circular order should be issued for the arrest of Wong Kuk-cho, Wong Wei-lau, Li Kung-yam, Leung Sik-chan, Tse Tat-hing, Chan Yau-cho and Ng Yu-man.

After the subjugation of the reactionary influence, the peasants who have hitherto been under the control of the lawless landlords and wicked gentry have risen one after another to request the West River Branch Office of the Provincial Peasant Association to send deputies to accompany them to propagate and organize peasant unions. Now that peace and order has been restored, only the 3rd battalion of the 34th Regiment will be retained to maintain peace and order. On the morning of the 13th, the 2nd battalion of the said regiment returned to Shiu Hing. The peasants were very grateful for the splendid work the Revolutionary Army had done in rescuing them from their sorrow and bitterness. Therefore they prepared tea and congee on the roadside for them previous to bidding farewell to the soldiers. At noon, the soldiers passed by Luk Po where about 2,000 peasants assembled to bid them good-bye.

3. PETITIONS OF THE KAO YAO PACIFICATION COMMITTEE TO
THE POLITICAL COUNCIL.

The First Petition.

To the Political Council :

The Kao Yao District Pacification Committee was officially organized on January 29th. Delegates have been appointed from the Department of Civil Affairs of the Kwangtung Provincial Government, the Peasants and Labourers Department, the 11th National Revolutionary Army, the Central Peasant Department of the Kuomintang, the Kwangtung Provincial Kuomintang Branch, and the Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Association, to deal with the massacre of peasants in Kao Yao by the militia there. The office of the committee is temporarily established in the 1st Kuomintang Division, and regulations regarding meetings have been decided on. Mr. Ip Ting has been elected chairman and Mr. Wei Kai-sui secretary. A letter to magistrate Lee of Kao Yao requesting him to order both sides to cease hostilities and wait for an amicable settlement. Both the landlords and the peasants have been ordered to despatch delegates to the Committee to consult on ways and means of settlement. We have decided that after February 2, if the militia continue gathering forces, troops should be sent to disband them. The result of our investigations show that the massacre was committed by the militia of Kao Yao, Kwang Ning and Teh Ching, acting in conjunction with the bandits and "Supernatural Fighters". It is estimated that they number several thousand and that they are now preparing to launch another attack. Because the settlement of this trouble will doubtless occupy much time and because there is a shortage of funds, we have decided to request you to instruct the magistrate of Kao Yao to appropriate \$500 to meet the expenditures of the Committee.

Reply.

To the Kao Yao Pacification Committee :

Your petition regarding the appropriation of \$500 from Kao Yao District to meet the expenditures of the Committee has been accepted. The Kwangtung Provincial Government has been ordered to instruct the magistrate of Kao Yao to this effect.

The Second Petition.

To the Political Council:

As stated in our First Petition, a letter was sent to the magistrate of Kao Yao requesting him to instruct both landlords and peasants to despatch delegates to the Committee to discuss ways and means of settling their differences. Delegates of the 1st Division Peasant Union arrived punctually but the delegates of the landlords and militia did not appear. According to the report of Tsui Kwei-tong, Police Commander of the 2nd Division, no delegates will be despatched by the landlords or militia at all.

Upon learning this, we realize that the landlords have no sincere intention to be reconciled with the peasants. They dared not send delegates for fear of being strictly dealt with. We have also received reports from the peasants and the special delegates sent by the Central Peasant Department stating that the landlords and militia have decided to launch another attack upon the Peasant Unions on the 8th instant. They have purchased great quantities of ammunitions and are preparing for a long struggle. We also received a report from Police Commander Tsui stating that the arch-plotters have gathered together at the "Sum Sing Kung" temple and at the Headquarters of the Militia of Kao Yao, Teh Ching and Kwang Ning and are holding meetings day and night. Armed Militiamen have been despatched to guard the passages. Such actions are entirely contrary to the spirit of peace and so we have resolved to deal strictly with those arch-plotters. But we know that the militiamen and the "Supernatural Fighters" who are now deceived by the landlords are also peasants and so we do not intend to settle this matter by force, if we can help it. At present we are still investigating the trouble and will proceed to the actual site to inspect the actual conditions. Should the landlords and militia still continue to instigate trouble, we shall deal strictly with them by means of force. We sincerely submit this petition for your consideration.

With regard to the relief funds of \$1,000 received from Kao Yao District, we have now already distributed them among the suffering peasants in order that they may understand the attitude and policies of the Government.

Reply.

To the Kao Yao Pacification Committee:

Your suggestions have been approved and should be enforced immediately. If the landlords and militia are still disturbing the peace and order of the place, they should be immediately suppressed by force.

(March 1926)

II. THE CONFLICT IN PAO AN DISTRICT AND THE ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNMENT.

1. LETTERS FROM THE PROVINCIAL PEASANT ASSOCIATION TO THE PEASANT DEPARTMENT OF THE CENTRAL KUOMINTANG.

The First Letter.

To the Peasant Department of the Central Kuomintang:

We have received an urgent report from the Pao An District Peasant Union stating that on September 28, Chung Yao-kwong, commander of the 2nd battalion of the 15th Regiment, was despatched by Regimental Commander Cheung Ngo-tung to accompany Leung Shu-wing, the Pao An District Magistrate, to Yun-lum. Before

their arrival on September 25, magistrate Leung had sent a letter to the Pao An District Peasant Association stating that Regimental Commander Cheung Ngo-tung had been ordered by General Chiang Kai-shih to despatch a company of his men under Battalion Commander Chung Yao-kwong to the western part of Pao An to protect the Strike Pickets. Unexpectedly, on September 28, two companies arrived under the command of Battalion Commander Chung and Magistrate Leung. They stayed at the residence of Chan Ping-nam, a depraved gentry of Sha Ching village (where Peasant Unions have been established). Many of the gentry and bullies from the neighbouring villages gathered at Chan's house to confer with the Battalion Commander and the Magistrate. As soon as the meeting was concluded, Commander Chung at once sent a company of his men to Hah Pin village (where a peasant union had also been organized). Next, he came to the District Peasant Association to negotiate for a billet for his men. He also sent his other company from Sha Ching and occupied the Kuomintang Branch with a view to besieging the Yun Lun District Peasant Union and the Peasant Corps. The members of the above district peasant associations were dumbfounded at these moves. On September 29, Magistrate Leung came personally to the District Peasant Union to explain that he had been sent by the Department of Peasants and Workers to investigate the case of the assassination of a peasant surnamed Maak by Min Fung-chau, the owner of Fook Sang Shop, during the battle against Tan Kai-sau. He proposed that the militia, the police, and the Fund Raising Bureau be reorganized. His suggestions were opposed by the peasants who assured him that since the militia, the police, and the Fund Raising Bureau could do nothing but harm to the peasants, reorganization would not serve the purpose. At last magistrate Leung said that he would go to Wong Kong the following day at 10 a.m. to investigate the above assassination case. The peasants asked him to take along some of the peasant corps as an escort, but he refused. He informed the Peasant Corps at Wong Kong that he would be there on the 30th. Upon receiving this information, the Peasant Corps at Wong Kong immediately replied that he should not bring troops with him in order to avoid misunderstanding. Unexpectedly, when he and his men arrived at Wong Kong, he ordered his soldiers to attack the Peasant Corps and at the same time the Peasant Corps in Yun Lun were also attacked by the soldiers. The depraved gentry and bullies Chan Bing-nam, Min Lai-sun, Tsang Yao-fung and others, stirred up the militia of Sha Ching, Sun Kao and Ta Pao Chung villages and assembled more than one hundred bandits to support the troops to attack the Peasant Corps. As they were totally unprepared, the peasant corps in Yun Lun suffered a severe defeat. They were not aware that the Battalion Commander and the Magistrate were reactionaries and so they had not prepared for war. As a result, ten members were killed, over ten wounded and many captured. All the houses in Pok Tow village were burnt down and the villages in the vicinity were also devastated.

The peasant corps at Wong Kong put up a brave resistance. Four days of strenuous fighting have already taken place. The soldiers were supported by the militia and the bandits. As the Peasant Corps is limited in number and their supply of ammunition limited, disastrous results is inevitable unless reinforcements are quickly sent.

It is said that before the above incidents occurred, many followers of Chen Chiung-ming, viz., Hsin Sen-che, Chan Liu-tso, Tsang Yao-fung and Poon Nai-cheong, arrived from Hongkong to devise measures for creating disturbances in Pao An so as to support Chen Chiung-ming in his attempt to overthrow the Nationalist Government. It is also reported that at present several hundred soldiers have arrived from Wei Yang. So the aim of the reactionaries is not only to oppress the peasants but also to undermine our Government. As for the Joint Militia Headquarters, it has been the chief weapon of the gentry and landlords in their struggle against the peasants. Since its establishment, it has levied innumerable obnoxious taxes, and also disarmed the Peasant Corps. They have been worse than bandits. The peasants have long realized that as long as the militia is in existence, they will never be free from oppression, and so they have repeatedly urged for its disbandment. As for the police and the Fund Raising Bureau, they have also been the tools of the landlords and the gentry. Fortunately they were overthrown after the defeat of Tan Kai-sau. But in their wake came Regimental Commander Cheung Ngo-tung and District Magistrate Leung Shu-hung, a still more powerful combination. Their actions are opposed to the policies of the Party and the Government. Therefore we request our Government to despatch troops to eradicate them so as to deliver our peasants from oppression and protect our peasant unions.

We hope that you will present our appeal to the Government with the request that they consider and comply with our demands as early as possible.

(Sd) *Executive Committee of Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Association*

October 1925.

The Second Letter.

We beg to inform you that we have received the following letter from the Pao An District Peasant Union.

"As already reported, the rebel troops and the militia directed by the corrupt gentries Chan Ping-nam and Man Koon-san attacked and set fire to the peasant unions in Pao An District on September 30th. On the arrival of the 1st. Division Peasant Corps on October 2nd, the rebel troops retreated to Sham Chuen on the morning of the third. We regret to state that our peasant-comrades have been much discouraged because of the lack of support from the Party Army. Fearing another massacre, our peasant comrades are afraid to arrest the corrupt gentry, who are now oppressing them at will. Recently we referred this case to a section of the Party Army which arrived

at Tai Ping the other day, but they replied that it would not do to assist us except under a governmental mandate. Therefore we beg you to present this petition to the Government and request that a portion of the Party Army at Tai Ping be sent to Pao An to eradicate the counter-revolutionists there."

While we drawing up this letter, another report was received from the same union reading as follows:—

"As stated in our previous reports, the corrupt gentry of Pao An District bribed the troops of Battalion Commander Chung Yiu-kwong and also instigated the bandits to massacre and plunder the peasants. Enclosed is a list of the losses sustained by the peasants. Please request the Government to order the magistrate of Pao An District to bring the corrupt gentries Man Lai-sun, Chang Yik-chiu and Man Sook-chung to trial, and to make them repair all the loss incurred. We have requested Regiment-Commander Chang Ngo-tung to order Battalion Commander Chung Yiu-kwong to release our three arrested comrades and return our captured rifles."

On receiving these two reports, we have requested the Nationalist Government to immediately despatch troops to eradicate the counter-revolutionaries. We also beg you to make a thorough investigation and to order the magistrate of Pao An District and the troops stationed there to bring the instigators to trial, to hand back the captured rifles, and to release the arrested members.

(sd) *The Executive Committee of the Provincial Peasant Association of Kwangtung.*

(October 1925.)

The Third Letter.

Regarding the present trouble in Pao An, Leung Shu-hung, the magistrate of the district, has sent a letter to the Peasant Union of Pao An, stating that Chang Ngo-tung's troops went to the western section of the district, because they were instructed to do so by General Chiang of the 1st National Revolutionary Army. Upon receipt of such information, we beg to ask you some questions. Are Chang Ngo-tung's troops under the direct control of General Chiang? Is it true that he was ordered by General Chiang to send his soldiers to the western section of Pao An? Was he instructed to massacre the peasants?

Besides sending letters to General Chiang to inquire into the matter, we hereby request that you ask General Chiang to bear full responsibility for the settlement of the present trouble.

(sd.) *The Executive Committee of the Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Association,*

To Director Chan of the Peasant Department of the Central Kuomintang.

(October 1925.)

2. LETTER TO THE CIVIL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT FROM THE
PEASANT DEPARTMENT OF THE CENTRAL KUOMINTANG.

We have received your telegram of the 5th, reading as follows:—

“According to a telegram from Chiu Yung-cheung, an official of the General Affairs Department of the magistracy of Pao An, Magistrate Leung of that district, who, with several members of the Patrolling Corps was proceeding to the regions of Wan Lam and Wong Kong to urge prompt payment of taxes and to investigate a certain case, was detained at Wong Kong by the Peasant Corps and his escort disarmed. Since the magistrate is an officer of the Government, the people of the district should appeal to the Government for investigation and judgment, if any fault or crime be found committed by him, they should in no case take the law into their own hands. We hereby request your Department to telegraph to the Peasant Union of that district, and order them to immediately release and escort the magistrate back to his yamen in the district city and hand back the captured rifles to his guards. We hope that you will investigate the case and give us a prompt reply.”

Upon investigation we have found that Leung Shu-hung, the magistrate of Pao An, was in league with the depraved gentries, bullies and landlords of the district. He personally led a troop of soldiers to attack the Peasant Corps at Wong Kong and Wan Lam. He also directed his soldiers to slaughter the peasants and plunder the villagers. His illegal actions have been reported to the Nationalist Government and the Provincial Government, with a request that he be dismissed from his office and severely punished. As for his temporary detention by the peasant corps, the peasants were obliged to do so in order to reduce the force of their assailants and to prevent themselves from being slaughtered. They have released him and have sent members to escort him back to his yamen yesterday when the delegate of our Department arrived on the scene and ordered them to do so.

We hope that this will be a satisfactory answer to your telegram of the 5th.

(sd) *Chen Kung Po,*

Director of the Peasant Department of the
Central Kuomintang.

To Commissioner Koo of the Civil Affairs Department
of the Kwangtung Provincial
Government.

(October, 1925.)

3. PEASANT DEPARTMENT'S REPLY TO THE KWANGTUNG PROVINCIAL
PEASANT ASSOCIATION AND THE PAO AN DISTRICT
PEASANT UNION.

We have received a letter from the headquarters of the First National Revolutionary Army reading as follows:—

"We have received your letter from which we learn that Regiment-Commander Chang Ngo Tung despatched his 2nd battalion to the western section of Pao An District and fabricated the rumour that he was ordered to do so by his superiors. We also learn from your letter that his soldiers, after arriving at the western section of the district, have done much harm to the peasant corps there. These unruly actions were performed without our knowledge. Chang Ngo-tung was formerly a Regiment Commander in the 4th division of the Kwangtung Army. Recently, by order of the Government, his soldiers were assigned to the Third Division of our Army and he was appointed Commander of the 2nd Supplementary Regiment of the Division. We were engaged in reorganizing his soldiers and so did not order them to go to the western section of Pao An District to protect the Strike Pickets. We shall make a thorough investigation of the case and punish him severely if the accusations of your letter be true.

We hope that this will prove satisfactory to you.

(sd) Chen Kung-po,

Director of the Peasant Department of
the Central Kuomintang.

To

The Executive Committee of the Kwangtung
Provincial Peasant Association.

The Executive Committee of the Pao An
District Peasant Union.

4. PETITION FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF CIVIL AFFAIRS.

To The Political Council,
The Nationalist Government.

Sirs,

I am in receipt of your letter of 7th October stating that at the sixty-sixth meeting of the Political Council, it was decided that Commissioner Koo of the Civil Affairs Department, Commissioner Chen of the Department of Agriculture and Labour, and Commander-in-Chief Chiang, should each appoint a special delegate to investigate the Peasants Dispute at Pao An. I have also received the following order from the Provincial Government of Kwangtung:—

"The Peasant Department of the Central Executive Committee has received a letter from the Executive Committee of the Provincial Peasants Association stating that, according to a report from the Peasant Association at Pao An, Regiment Commander Chang Ngo-tung despatched Captain Chung Yiu-kwong of the 2nd battalion together with the Pao An Magistrate Leung Shin-hung to cooperate with the gentry and landlords to massacre the peasants. It is requested that the Magistrate be removed from office and summoned to Canton for trial. Upon receipt of the above report the Provincial Government has decided that the Civil Affairs Department investigate and settle the affair."

In accordance with these orders, I have sent an official of the Department, Chang Chi-mei, to make investigations. The following is his report:—

"As instructed, I went to Pao An with Delegate Wong Hon-tsun of the Department of Agriculture and Labour. We found that since the establishment of the Peasant Union no soldiers had been stationed at Wan Lum or Wong Kong. The miscellaneous taxes of these two places, amounting to \$200 per day, was collected by the Peasant Union and appropriated for the expenditure of the Peasant Corps.

On September 28th, Captain Chung Yiu-kwong led two companies of soldiers to Wan Lum to execute defence works, bringing with them a native of the district, Man Shook-chung, who was well acquainted with the tax administration. The following day, Captain Chung himself led one of the two companies to Pao An City, leaving the other company at Wan Lum. The peasant corps were indignant because they held that as Wan Lum is a self-governing area, no soldiers should be allowed to enter, especially when they bring with them the much hated Man Shook-chung. A conference was held and decided on the expulsion of the soldiers.

Incidentally, Magistrate Leung went to Sha Chang-heung on the same day to inquire after a certain case. As Sha Chang-heung is adjacent to Wan Lum, the peasants corps thought that he had arrived there with Captain Chung's soldiers and was in league with them.

On the morning of the 30th, Magistrate Leung went to Wong Kong from Sha Cheng with his body-guards to investigate a case. On his way he was fired at by the Peasant Corps, who had hidden on a hill and had opened fire at the sight of the body-guards. Magistrate Leung retreated to How Ting Village where he was caught and subsequently detained in the Wong Kong Peasant Union. Five native-made rifles and two Mausers were seized. Lieutenant Tsang of the District Patrol Corps was bound and several of his soldiers were imprisoned in the Peasant Union. As the Peasants Corps advanced to attack Wan Lum, the soldiers stationed there climbed up a hill and occupied a vantage point to put up a defence. The battle lasted several

hours before both parties retreated. Another battle was fought on the next day, the first of October, and lasted for two hours. The casualties of these two battles were six Peasants Corps members killed and seven wounded, while on the side of the soldiers, one was killed and two wounded. On the second of October, the hostilities ceased owing to the mediation of the leader of a certain group of pickets, who sent a letter to the Peasant Association advising them to stop fighting.

Regiment Commander Chang despatched two companies of soldiers from Shum Chun to rescue his soldiers. The troops arrived at Wan Lum at noon on October 2nd. The next morning the soldiers evacuated Wan Lum, and the Peasants Corps released Magistrate Leung the same day, returning also 3 native-made rifles and one Mauser. Three members of the Peasants Corps had been arrested by the soldiers. They were brought to Nam Tou and subsequently released after several days. No arson was committed in the villages. As to whether there had been any loss of property or money, each man's assertion is different, and so far no evidence has been found.

Magistrate Leung stated that he had not requested the despatching of the soldiers, and that he had notified the Peasant Union before about his journey to Wan Lum. He showed me letters to prove his statements, and I am enclosing copies of these for your perusal.

When an officer was despatched to Sheklung to meet the special delegate of the First Army, he found that General Chiang had already marched to Po Lo. He therefore left a letter at Headquarters at Sheklung, requesting the special delegate to come directly to Pao An. But although we waited for several days, he did not come."

On receiving the above report, we have considered the facts and find that as Magistrate Leung was instructed by the Department of Agriculture and Labour to make inquiries on some cases, bringing no troops except a few of his bodyguards and notifying the Peasant Union beforehand, it is evident that no hostile feeling was harboured by him. Moreover the letter written to him by Regiment Commander Chang on the 25th suffices to prove that the soldiers did not go to Wan Lum at his request. Hence the conflict between the soldiers and the peasants corps did not concern Magistrate Leung at all. Even though an official of the Government be guilty of irregularities, he should be reported to the Government for investigation and prosecution. But the Peasant Corps at Pao An dared to fire at a magistrate presumptuously and even to arrest and detain him for several days. Such actions are against the law.

I am enclosing for your inspection the accessory documents mentioned and am awaiting your instructions.

Koo Yin-fan.

Commissioner of Civil Affairs of the Provincial Government.
October 28, 1925.

5. REPLY FROM THE MAGISTRATE LEUNG SHU-HUNG OF PAO AN DISTRICT
TO CHAIRMAN WANG OF THE POLITICAL COUNCIL.

To Chairman Wang Ching-wei,

Political Council, Nationalist Government.

Sir,

I am in receipt of your order reading as follows :

"We have been informed that the Peasant Corps at Pao An have been attacked by the soldiers and the Magistrate. Accordingly we have instructed the Headquarters of the Eastern Expeditionary Army, the Department of Civil Affairs and the Department of Agriculture and Labour to appoint a delegate each to make a joint investigation of the case. The Peasant Department has also sent a delegate to make investigations, and has already submitted a report. We request that you make a true statement of the incident and submit it at an early date so as to enable us to gather all the information necessary for a settlement."

In response, I beg to state that since my assumption of office, I have been trying my utmost to cooperate with the Peasant Union, in order to comply with the Government's policy regarding peasants and workers.

The cause of the trouble is as follows :—

I was instructed by the Department of Agriculture and Labour to investigate the case of Men Fung-tsow, owner of the shop "Fook Sang" at Wong Kong. He was in league with the rebels and had killed Muk Weng-cheung, a member of the Peasant Union. I was also requested by Commander Chen Shiu-ying at Bocca Tigris to effect the arrest of a notorious bandit Wong Shing-tso of Tong Ha-chung (a place within my district) and to recover two persons held for ransom by him, Muk Yu-tin and Muk Ying-tak.

Therefore, I decided to go to the Western District on September 28th to investigate into these two cases. On the 26th I notified the Peasant Union at Wan Lum of my coming.

On the 28th, I started my journey together with some members of the Patrol Corps. When I reached Sha Cheong, two Chinese miles from Wan Lum, I slept in the Chen Ancentral Hall. At dawn on the 29th, I despatched the Patrol Corps to Tong Ha-chung to arrest Wong Shing-Tso and recover the captives. After that, I went personally to the Peasant Union at Wan-lum to talk over the matter.

At 8 a.m. on the 30th, I started for Wong Kong, with seven members of the Patrol Corps, to investigate the Fook Sang Case. Two hours before I started, I notified the Headquarters of the Peasant Corps of my coming, in order to avoid all misunderstandings.

The distance from Sha Cheng to Wong Kong is but ten Chinese miles. When I was about half a Chinese mile from Wong Kong, I sent Patrol Lieutenant Tsang Ki-sin ahead to announce my arrival. But as he approached the village he was stopped by the Peasant Corps who said that they were ordered to shoot at any armed persons. The lieutenant was on the point of explaining when all of a sudden we heard the sound of a bugle, followed by the firing of shots.

I at once forbade return of fire, and at the same time got down from my sedan-chair to seek refuge. The Defence Corps fired at and pursued us. On our way back, we came to a small creek. We had just crossed this creek when the Wong Kong Peasant Corps came up. Moreover, we found that the Peasant Corps from How Ting and Sha Chung were attacking us on our left and right. Upon their approach, all my arms, comprising of two Mausers with one hundred and ninety cartridges and five native rifles with two hundred cartridges were seized by the How Ting Peasant Corps. They also seized me, one Patrol Lieutenant and seven Patrolmen. We were brought to their Headquarters at Wong Kong, where we were detained and strictly guarded.

On the 3rd of October, at 10 a.m., Chairman Tsoi Tai-wong sent Corps Leader Wong to escort me to How Ting to recover the arms seized. But the peasant corps there asserted that they had only seized two Mausers and four native rifles, and that one Mauser and one native rifle had been lost in the interim. Hence, I was able to recover only one Mauser and three native rifles. All the cartridges were confiscated by them.

As I had borrowed these arms for self-defense, I made repeated negotiations with the result that I was surrounded and forced to sign a receipt acknowledging that I had recovered all my arms. I had nothing to do but to obey. I returned to my magistracy on October 4th and immediately reported the incident to the Civil Affairs Department and the Department of Agriculture and Labour.

I beg to add also that a reply had been sent me by the Peasant Union regarding my journey to the Western District to investigate cases on September 28th.

As for Captain Chung Yiu-kwong's arrival at Pao An with his troops, I had received notice beforehand from Regiment Commander Chang. Captain Chung's adjutant, Chan King-bit, had personally informed Delegate Chang of the Civil Affairs Department and Delegate Wong of the Department of Agriculture and Labour stating that they had received orders from Regiment Commander Chang to patrol and garrison Wan Lum.

It is evident therefore that I had no hand in the movements of these soldiers. Moreover, I had no power to interfere with their actions. After the incident, the Peasant Union sent a man over bringing with him a letter of apology.

The foregoing are the facts of the case as I know them. I attach herewith for your perusal the original letters from Regiment Commander Chang Ngo-tung and the Peasant Association.

Leung Shu-hung.

The Magistrate of Pao An, 11-6-25

LETTER FROM REGIMENT COMMANDER CHANG NGO-TUNG
TO THE MAGISTRATE OF PAO AN.

To the Magistrate of Pao An,
Dear Sir,

I have been ordered to station my troops at Pao An and Shum Chun. I should have called on you but as I have just arrived, I have to make inspections and therefore am unable to do so.

I am despatching Captain Chung Yiu-kwong of the 2nd Battalion to station at your Magistracy with his troops. Will you kindly give him all the necessary information? When I get through with the Defence Works, I will visit you.

Meanwhile I beg to introduce to you Mr. Man Shook-chung, who was formerly a schoolmate of mine. He is a native of the district and is a good and capable person. Any kindness shown him will be appreciated.

Yours truly,
(sd) *Chang Ngo-tung,*
September 25, 1925.

LETTERS FROM THE PAO AN PEASANT UNION TO MAGISTRATE LEUNG.

First

To Magistrate Leung,

We are in receipt of your Scrolls in memory of Minister Liao and Mr. Chan Chow-lum as well as your letter, the contents of which have been noted. We are glad to hear that you have decided to come here on the 28th instant.

Hoping that you will work hard for the Revolution.

The Executive Committee,
Pao An Peasant Union.
September 27, 1925.

Second

To Mr. Leung,

Magistrate of Pao An,

Dear Sir,

We are sorry that we did not treat you properly during your visit here. We hope you will forgive us.

We have received your instructions requesting us to elect a Chairman and a Patrol Leader. We should have obeyed your order immediately but as many peasants have been wounded or killed by the troops under Captain Chung, we have had to take care of them and also to arrange for their funerals which has occupied almost all of our time.

When we have completed these matters, we will hold an election in accordance with your instructions.

We now sent Mr. Chen Cho-kwei to call on you in the hope that you will kindly amend the Tax-collecting Regulations in order to relieve the hardships of the people. If this is done, all the peasants in the district will be much indebted to you.

With kind regards,

Yours truly,

The Executive Committee,

Pao An Peasant Union.

6. REPORT OF DIVISION COMMANDER WONG MAU-KUNG TO
THE CHAIRMAN OF THE POLITICAL COUNCIL.

To

Mr. Wang Ching-wei,
Chairman of the Political Council.

Sir,

In reply to your order to investigate the Pao An trouble, I hereby submit to you the following report.

After I received your order, I found that Chang Ngo-tung, the Reserve Regiment Commander had been ordered through General Taam Shu-hing, the 3rd Division Commander, by General Chiang Kai-sih to investigate the trouble. After reading through the petitions of the Peasant Association and Regiment Commander Chang, and the reports submitted by Mr. Chang Ki-hung, the Director of our Political Bureau, and Messrs. Wong Hok-tsang, Wong Hon-yin, the delegates of the Peasant Department of the Kuomintang, I am of the opinion that the trouble was caused by misunderstanding. The causes were namely:

(1) When rebel Taam Kai-sau occupied Wan Lum and Wong Kong, he conspired with the rowdies, Mun Lui-sun, Chen Ping-nam, Mun Su-chung, Chen Pa-su and others, and borrowing the names of the "Joint Militia Headquarters" and "The Police Fund Subscription Bureau" he levied all kinds of unnecessary taxes, amounting to over \$200 a day. After Taam Kai-sau was driven away, others wished to seize this source of income, and naturally trouble followed.

(2) Chung Yiu-kwong, who was asked by Magistrate Leung Shu-hung to despatch troops to deal with the case, did not ponder over his measures carefully but rashly led his newly-enlisted troops to the district. This made the peasants suspect that they were the remnants of Tsim Kai-sau's followers and so they made great preparations to oppose them.

(3) It is reported that when Chung Yiu-kwong's troops were stationed at Wan Lum, they employed a gentry, who was the "bete-noire" of the peasants, to fabricate rumours so as to create bad feeling between both parties. Thus when the troops under Chung Yiu-kwong heard that the Peasants Corps were about to attack them, they at once occupied the strategic positions and prepared for war. In reply to this, the Peasant Corps, posted more patrols. So the trouble broke out.

(4) When the trouble began, the notorious gentries and the local rowdies took the opportunity to recover all their former losses. So they plotted with the bandits and militia of Tai Po-chung and asked them to take part in the contention. During the fight it was difficult to distinguish bandits from soldiers, and therefore the villages of Hau Ting, Ying Tau Kong, Ma On Shan and Kai Ping were plundered and devastated.

The above four points are, in my opinion, the main causes of this trouble.

Your faithful servant,

(sd) Wong Mau-kung.

Division Commander of the 2nd
Division of the 1st Army.

CHAPTER V.

THE ARMY AND THE PEASANTRY

IN

KWANGTUNG.

A. THE COOPERATION OF ARMY AND PEASANTS

1. KUOMINTANG SOLDIERS SHOULD PROTECT PEASANT AND WORKER MOVEMENTS.

A proclamation has been issued by the Kuomintang Branch of the Cantonese Army, as follows:

"The peasant and worker movements at present have awakened the people of China to the significance of national affairs. Not only are they working for the abolition of the struggle among classes in the future, but they help a great deal in revolutionary work. The Kuomintang is working for the interests of the people and especially for the peasants and workers. We, Revolutionary soldiers, therefore have to follow the statutes of our party and give full protection to the peasant and worker movements for the welfare of our country. The following are the methods of helping the peasant and worker movements:

(1) Follow the spirit of the Revolutionary soldiers. Be brave, kind and helpful to your peasants and workers and give full protection to their movements.

(2) Be with the peasants and workers on the side of the National Revolution against militarism and Imperialism so as to cancel all unequal treaties and at the same time to clear away all counter-revolutionary forces.

(3) Do not listen to those rumours which stigmatize the peasant and worker movements as Bolshevistic for they are fabrications of the Imperialists.

(4) Do not fight against peasants and workers over small matters.

The above orders, our Revolutionary soldiers should not forget. We must make these troops the forces of the people, for only in this way will China's Revolution in the future be brought about.

(From Min Kuo Jih Pao, 20-8-25.)

2. THE PROSECUTION OF LIM HAI-SAN FOR BRINGING HARM UPON THE PEASANT UNION.

According to the report of the Kuomintang members of Wei Chow, the Commander of the Precautionary Troops of the East River, Lim Hai-san, is alleged to have allowed his subordinates to ruin the Peasant Union, to confiscate rifles and to extort money from the union. The case has been brought up for discussion. The

assistant director, Mr. Ho Yau-ti of the Peasant Department of the Kuomintang has been requested to investigate the case. A meeting was held in the Wei Chow Guild. It has been decided that Lim Hai-san should be held responsible for this unlawful act of his subordinates, and that he should be expelled from the guild and also from the Party. The secretary has been asked to prepare a report on this case and submit it to the Central Department of the Kuomintang. But Lim Hai-san sent a letter to the Wei Chow Reorganisation Association protesting against the prosecution and stating that the report was untrue and that he was unwilling to be expelled from the Party and the guild. He hoped that both sides would confer to examine the facts of the case, so that the real condition would be learned.

(From Min Kuo Jih Pao, 6-10-25)

3. THE PEASANTS OF PAO AN DISTRICT COOPERATE WITH THE ARMoured CAR CORPS.

Captain Chow Sze-tei of the Armoured Car Corps of the Nationalist Government and Party Delegate Liu Kin-ng have assisted us, along with twenty or thirty soldiers of the said corps. This body has been very energetic in supporting the interests of workers and peasants. Since the enforcement of the Hongkong blockade and on account of the Strike, that corps was transferred to Chuan On and Shumchun for the protection of Pickets. At the same time, detachments were despatched to the rural villages for propaganda work with the object of persuading the peasants to form unions. Meanwhile, there was no peasant union in Shumchun. As Chen's army of the East River region was conducting a counter-attack, all the wicked gentry, native bullies and landlords took advantage of the situation to threaten the peasants with a sort of reactionary propaganda, in such a way that the peasants dared not make any movement. As soon as the Armoured Car Corps came to help them, they rose up to organize unions and within a month's time more than ten villages had established their peasant unions. The Division Union was also established.

The Armoured Car Corps then despatched its detachment to the villages in the central division near the district city so as to carry on propaganda work regarding the organization of peasant unions. Comrade Sze Tai went there personally to assist in the propaganda work among the peasants. As a result many more unions were formed. At the inauguration of the peasant unions in various villages, the soldiers of that corps came to participate in the ceremony, and were welcomed by the peasants. Last November, when the Hongkong Government supplied Chen's disbanded soldiers and native bandits with aeroplanes and gunboats to besiege the pickets at Sha Yu Chung, the Armoured Car Corps went to the latter's assistance and

the peasants followed them to participate in the rescue. But owing to the overwhelming number of the enemy, the Armoured Car Corps was totally defeated and only escaped because they had the peasants for guides.

(From a Special Report, March 1926)

4. PEASANT UNION OF KWANG NING THANKS THE ARMoured CAR CORPS
FOR THE HELP RENDERED TO THE PEASANTS.

After the successful struggle against the oppression of the landlords, militia and bandits, the peasants, who realized that they owed much to the assistance given by the Revolutionary Armoured Car Corps' soldiers, decided to offer a present to the soldiers in commemoration of their deed. At the same time they sent the following letter:—

“To Commander Tse, Delegates Liu and Pang:

The members of this Union greatly rejoice at the submission of the landlords, who have surrendered their arms, obeyed the Government's order, and declared their support of the Peasant Union and their intention of maintaining peace. The unwholesome atmosphere at Tam Po suddenly disappeared after this settlement. In accordance with your instruction that the arms and ammunitions surrendered by the landlords be taken over by the leader of the Peasant Corps for the use of armed peasants in protecting local welfare and participating in revolutionary work, we have duly sent our men to order the delivery of the same. But these spoils have been obtained not through the instrumentality of this Union but through your competent, strategic plans as Delegates of the Military Council, and the bravery in warfare of your guards and the Armoured Car Corps. In the spirit of deep gratitude, we have been seeking a way to express our thanks. As there are in the list of arms handed over, eight pieces including Mausers, revolvers and “right-angled” pistols, in addition to a revolver which the Armoured Car Corps brought back in a previous engagement, nine pieces in all, we beg you to accept the following:—

Three revolvers, one each to Commander Tse and Company-leader Liu and Chiu; five Mausers, three to the members of the corps and one each to Delegates Liu and Pang; while the “right-angled” pistol is also for the members of the Corps.

“In sending you the above, we make no pretension of considering them as gifts but as tokens in commemoration of your revolutionary success, because the present peasant movement in Kwang Ning has practically created a new era in the revolutionary history of China, and paved the way for the peasants of the whole country, an accomplishment equally as great in revolutionary significance and value as the revolutionary movements before 1911. It is the earnest hope of this Union

that your endeavours will continue with regard to the salving of the Kwang Ning Peasants for the emancipation of poor peasants of the whole country from their misfortunes, so as to fulfill the meaning of the "Three Principles of Sun Yat-sen." For the extirpation of the remaining evils in the thirteen villages (Kong Tun, Lo Ko etc.), for the suppression of all rebellious factors to the east and west of Kwangtung, for the assembly of the National Conference, for the submission of all provinces north and south of the Yangtze now occupied by the anti-revolutionists, and for the responsibility of revolutionary progress in the future you will be responsible. It is further hoped that you will lead the peasants to partake in the revolution and utilize the Mausers, revolvers and "right-angled" pistol obtained in the present conquest to conquer the whole country by first extirpating the anti-revolutionary remnants in Kwang Ning and then suppressing the rebels in the East River region before marching northwards to the Yangtze valley and thence to Peking, thus sweeping away all anti-revolutionary landlords, gentry, warlords and imperialists. In consideration of your resolute and decisive attitude in tramping down the anti-revolutionary factors in Kwang Ning, we are sure you will command success in the pacification of the whole country. This Union will direct all its members to follow you in fulfilling the functions of applying the "Three Principles" advocated by our late Leader. This is our intention in sending you the arms which we hope you will kindly accept without any hesitation as a souvenir."

With best compliments,

Executive Committee, Peasants Union of Kwang Ning,

February 19, 1925.

(From a report on the Kwangtung Peasant Movement, March 1925.)

5. MEETING OF PEASANTS AND SOLDIERS IN KWANG NING DISTRICT.

After the arrival of the Armoured Car Corps and of the soldiers of the 3rd Division, which were dispatched by the Government to help the peasant movement, and after the first battles against the landlords with their hired bandit-soldiers, battles during which the soldiers of the Armoured Car Corps fought bravely together with the peasants, the Peasant Union decided to assemble a joint meeting of peasants and soldiers. The proceedings of that meeting were as follows:

OPENING: At noon, the meeting was opened with the ringing of bells and firing of crackers. Before the meeting, Chow Ki-kam, Chui Sing-cheung and Li Hon-wan, the battalion leader, were elected chairmen. After the commencement of the meeting, Chow Ki-kam was chosen to deliver the opening speech. Then

addresses were made by Chui Sing-cheung, Li Hon-wa, Lo Kwok-kit, and Pang Pai successively. These speeches greatly moved the audience who applauded loudly. In his speech Li Hon-wan, the battalion leader of the troops of the 3rd division, expressed his intention of cooperating with the peasants.

Various amusements followed. Just when comrades Chan Pak-chung, Lo Kwok-kit, and others were going to put on a play, many peasant women of Shi Kong and Chak Shek appeared carrying 6,000 piculs of "Revolutionary Loaves" which they themselves had prepared. They laughingly called out, "We have brought our 'Revolutionary Loaves' here. Please distribute them to the peasant and soldier comrades." Then all the gathering loudly acclaimed "Let us have some more Revolutionary Loaves." Chairman Chow Ki-kam then altered the programme and called out "Now let us stop our performance for a while, and explain the process of and the reason for the making of these Revolutionary Loaves." The meeting became very quiet while the chairman explained saying, "These loaves were made of flour, sweet potatoes and sugar mixed in the proportion of two parts of flour with one part of sweet potato and one part of sugar. They were prepared personally by the revolutionary women comrades of Chak Shek and Shi Kong of Kwang Ning District. In our recent fighting with the landlords, the revolutionary women comrades of Shi Kong and Chak Shek have offered their services to us in as many ways as possible. They selected the grain. They ground the rice into flour. They prepared tea and porridge and cooked rice for us. They carried the guns and undertook to do the transportation work for us. They consoled the peasants who were serving at the front. And today they present us with 'Revolutionary Loaves.' You observe how eager they are in their demand for revolution. Just notice what words they use: Revolutionary Loaves. The word 'Revolution' is coloured red. We should thank the revolutionary peasant women for their kind gifts of 'Revolutionary Loaves.' After we eat these Revolutionary Loaves, these sweet Revolutionary Loaves, we, our dear peasant and soldier comrades, hereafter, must exert greater efforts in working for the revolution, in demanding the accomplishment of the revolution, and in emancipating the peasant, soldier, and women comrades from their sufferings. Before we eat these Revolutionary Loaves, let us first acclaim loudly 'We eat these Revolutionary Loaves; we will be more revolutionary in future. The peasants and soldiers will unite together strongly, all of them having one heart.'" The audience followed the advice of the chairman and a great noise rose from the crowd, as they acclaimed what the chairman had told them to say. Then every person was given one loaf, and before eating same, the chairman asked them to call out loudly "Revolution! Revolution." After that the actors continued their drama. The play was also called "A Revolutionary Play," and in it the deplorable condition of the poor oppressed peasants, old and young, male and female, was described fully. The performance finished at five-thirty p.m. and the meeting was then dismissed.

SPEECHES.

(1) *By Chow Ki-kam of the Kwang Ning Peasant Union :*

"To-day's meeting is called a social gathering of peasants and soldiers. Such a meeting had never been convoked since the beginning of the history of China. Hence it may be said that to-day's meeting is the first social gathering of peasants and soldiers held in China. Now, let us ask ourselves in what way the conditions of the peasants and soldiers are similar or that the people have a similar attitude. We all know that the peasants exert their utmost strength when working in the fields for the purpose of producing food to supply the people of the world. They are in a position to render a most important service to the people. On the other hand, the soldiers are sacrificing their lives for the protection of the people of the world. They are also very serviceable to the populace. Then with what respect should our dear peasants and soldiers be regarded, and how kindly should they be treated by the populace! Unfortunately this is not true, for the people always say "A good boy will not serve in the army, just as a good piece of iron will not be turned into nails!" From these words it can be seen that the people, instead of respecting our dear warriors, refuse to regard them as human beings. The people also always say "Those who suffer the most are, first, the peasants, and, secondly, the boatmen." From this saying, we can also see that the peasants are very harshly treated by others. Thus we can conclude that the peasants and soldiers are in the same position of serving and benefiting the populace and are similarly oppressed and despised by others. Their conditions are deplorable. They have to suffer much through want of food and clothing. They are very lonely and have no people to comfort them. Oh, how unhappy and unlucky our peasant and soldier comrades are! Well, let us turn and look at the imperialistic foreigners, the capitalists, the militarists, the corrupt officers, the landlords, the depraved gentry and the native bandits of our country. You see how luxuriously they live. They have beautiful wives and concubines, splendid houses and gardens. They do no work, but they enjoy themselves and wear fine clothes. How happy and comfortable they are. At the same time when our serviceable soldiers and peasants are suffering from poverty and hunger, they, the useless, harmful parasites of the world, are satiating themselves with pleasure. What an unjust thing this is! Consequently, we promoted the movement for revolution with the intention of achieving the emancipation of the propertyless proletariat of the world, the peasants, the soldiers, and various other oppressed classes. But before our intention can be accomplished, the peasant and soldier classes must unite together strongly. The convocation of this gathering of the two classes was promoted by the special delegates of the Peasant Department of the Central Kuomintang, the executive committee of the peasant unions and the officers and soldiers of the Armoured Corps. This gathering was also brightened by the participation of the comrades of the 3rd Division. Now, since all our comrades

are gathered together in this place, and since they all came here with the same mission and for the same purpose,—which is, to carry out revolutionary works—they should all join together to declare that, from now on, the peasants and soldiers will unite together more closely and will carry on their revolution enthusiastically and cooperatively so as to emancipate themselves from their own sufferings. Consequently, in this social gathering of soldiers and peasants, the comrades of the two classes are not only expected to create social connections between each other, but are also expected to be able to unite together closely. This is the significance of to-day's social gathering of soldiers and peasants!"

(2) *By Ghui Sing-cheung.*

"I want to call the attention of our fellow-comrades to the reason why we are holding this social gathering to-day. Everybody should know that this social gathering is to promote the relationship between the peasants and soldiers. As in the past, the peasants viewed the soldiers with much fear while the soldiers looked at the peasants with much contempt. In fact, the peasants and soldiers have been in the same oppressed class during several thousands of years. The peasants were frightened at the soldiers because of their lack of education. On the other hand the soldiers were utilized in destroying and suppressing the peasants because they were also ignorant of the brotherhood which existed between them and the peasants. Had they stopped to think they would have realized that they were in the same position, i.e., the peasants would be soldiers if they left their farms, and the soldiers would be peasants if they were dismissed. I dare to say to you that the peasants and soldiers are really brothers of a family where no discrimination nor distinction is made between them. We should be unified, firmly consolidated and strengthened on the battle-front of revolution. As we, the peasants, compose 80% of the whole population in China, we may rest assured that we should attain the achievement of revolution if we, in practice, were unified with the soldiers. Everyone of us must bear this in mind, and be practically consolidated. Thus we may possibly defeat the counter-revolutionists, the oppressors and free ourselves from their yoke. Dear peasant-comrades, soldier-comrades, and all of us, please unite".

(3) *By Li Hon-wan, a Battalion Leader under the 3rd
Army Division of Kwangtung Troops.*

"I was deeply affected with many feelings when I arrived here at Shek Kong to-day as a participant in this "Social Gathering of Peasants and Soldiers." In ancient times, our country, China, used to recruit the troops from the peasantry. That is, the peasants had to be soldiers if the country was engaged in war, and the soldiers would again be peasants if the country achieved peace. At that time, the peasants were soldiers, the soldiers were peasants, and there seemed to be no

distinction between peasants and soldiers. At last the country had more troubles and the recruited soldiers had no time to till their farms. Therefore the "System of Levy on Peasants" was reformed into the "System of Conscription." Consequently a line between the peasants and soldiers was then clearly drawn. The peasants who tilled their farms had only to pay the duties or taxes, while the soldiers just carried on with their weapons for the protection of the country. It was still the purpose that each occupation should receive the concentrated attention. In morality, the peasants and soldiers were still harmonious. Recently the soldiers have habitually given no attention to their duties, as the protection of the country and the eradication of the bandits, but have been extorting. Thus they have excited the hatred of the peasants who have considered them as tigers and lions. I feel very sorry that this opinion has been formed. But some wise fellow-countrymen, knowing the hatred between the peasants and soldiers is not advantageous to the country, promote this "Social Gathering of Peasants and Soldiers" which we attend today and in which our soldiers are invited gladly to participate. From this day how far we, the peasants and soldiers, can actually be unified so as to protect the country and citizens and to lead them from distress to happiness, rests entirely on all of us.

(4) BY PANG PAI'

Dear revolutionary peasants and revolutionary soldiers: We all know that we have not only gained no advantage but even undergone distress because revolution was not achieved during these thirteen years of the Republic. Dear soldiers, why do you, who are the soldiers when required and will be the peasants when not required, strive so hard for the sake of revolution? You make no demands but that there should be sufficient food, cloth and shelter. The revolution can never be called achieved until all the soldiers and peasants have enough food. Let us ask the peasants of Kwang Ning, "Why do you gather together all peasants in your district to oppose the landlords and corrupt gentry?" The primary reason is that some of the landlords and corrupt gentry in Kwang Ning want to follow the militarists in their counter-revolutionary movements. They make you suffer greatly because of inadequate food, clothing and shelter, and you should join the revolution by opposing this privileged class. Furthermore I want to mention again that in order to establish a happy country with sufficient food, clothing and shelter, we the peasants and soldiers, must be all united together. In conclusion, let us shout at the top of our voices!

"Long live the Republic of China."

"Long live the Kuomintang."

"Long live the Unification of peasants and soldiers."

(5) BY LO KWOK-KIT, THE DELEGATE OF THE PEASANT ASSOCIATION.

As today our peasants and soldiers are united in this joyful "Social Gathering," I may, taking this particular opportunity as the representative of the Kwang Ning

Peasant Association, tell about what we shall do in the establishment of the peasant association. In this joyful "Social Gathering" I dare say that the peasant association will carry on the undertakings especially for the peasants and soldiers, i.e., to give every member of every family of the peasants and soldiers a satisfactory family life. Let us now ask ourselves, "Who have the most joyful and happiest families in this world?" Of course, they are the foreign imperialists, the domestic militarists, officials, capitalists, gentry and landlords. In each of their families the father and children, husband and wife, brothers and sisters, all have luxurious supplies of food, clothing, and amusement. They need not work even a little, but enjoy a whole happy life. On the contrary, what is our family life? Of course it is a distressful life of tiling farms. This is not only the case with the families of the peasants, but also the case with the families of the soldiers. We work the whole day but have nothing left after the payment of the rent. All our food, clothing and shelter are very meagre; our families always have a very gloomy, miserable and painful life. Therefore it seems that this world is the world of a happy family life for the minority and not for the majority. For the sake of securing a happy family life for our distressed and numerous peasants and soldiers, we are obliged to strive hard in the revolution and to establish the Peasant Union. The reduction of rents which has been unanimously decided by the Peasant-Soldier Association, is just a preliminary step in the securing of family happiness for the majority. The peasant association should take various further measures to relieve our peasants and soldiers. Dear comrades, what kind of families are our families? They are all the families of peasants, soldiers and labourers who comprise the majority of the whole population in the country. I, therefore, take the opportunity today to tell about the matters that our Peasants Association should do, our peasants, soldiers and labourers should do as well as our Peasant Association has done.

In conclusion, I dare say that we should unify not only the peasants, soldiers, but also the labourers. We should all cooperatively found a joyful family life for the peasants, soldiers, labourers, and of all the people in the world.

(From the report on Kwang Ning Peasant Movement, March 1925.)

6. CENTRAL MILITARY-POLITICAL ACADEMY WELCOMES LABOUR, PEASANT AND EDUCATIONAL DELEGATES.

On May 10th the Central Military-Political Academy welcomed the Labour, Peasant and Educational Delegates when they paid a visit to Whampoa. At 10 a.m. that day all delegates assembled at the Wharf in front of the Canton Headquarters of the Whampoa Military Academy. The Academy prepared eight flower boats to be

towed by two steamlaunches so as to carry the delegates to Whampoa. More than 700 delegates were present. On their way they sang revolutionary songs, notably the "Internationale." They arrived at their destination at 12.30. p.m., and were directed and visited every department of the Academy, students' dormitory and teachers' residences. Everywhere revolutionary slogans were pasted. The welcome meeting began at 3 p.m., and General Chiang Kai-shih delivered the address of welcome, which is briefly as follows:

"As the delegates of the peasants, labourers, soldiers and students are assembled here today, we must point out clearly that the foundation of the Revolution rests on the peasants, labourers, students and soldiers. It is only by the union of these four important factors that the Revolution can be accomplished. There must first be two kinds of people to undertake National Revolution, viz: the armed soldiers and unarmed peasants, labourers and students. The military men undoubtedly should bear the special responsibility of National Revolution, but if Revolution is to be successful, the duty also devolves upon the people of various circles. All people must direct and supervise the army, so that they may not be changed into militaristic soldiers. If the army says that they are the revolutionary army, they must be directed by the people. If this is not so they cannot be called the Revolutionary Army but counter-revolutionary army. All delegates here to-day must understand this principle and must try their utmost to direct the soldiers and enable them to be really revolutionary soldiers. Not only should you make them protect the peasants and workers, but also enable them to participate in peasants' and workers' movements. In summing up my statements I can say that the quality of the army depends not only upon the individual soldiers but also upon the labourers, peasants and students. I thank you for your coming and hope you will instruct and lead us."

Upon completion of Chiang Kai-shih's speech all applauded. Then Mr. Teng Chang-hsia, chairman of the Labour Congress, Wong Wing-tsang, delegate of the Peasant Congress, Li Lab-sam and Wong Yi-chang, delegates of Labour Congress and Ng Tai-kwong, delegate of the Educational Congress spoke. All in their speeches encouraged the Whampoa students by pointing out the mission of National Revolution and hoping that a Northern Expedition would be despatched very soon so that the counter-revolutionists would be eradicated earlier and National Revolution realized. After the speeches of the delegates, Mr. Soo Siu-ching, chairman of Strike Committee, reported on the past events of the Strike. Afterwards Mr. Chang Tei-yuen, Whampoa Military Academy student, delivered a speech in reply. At the end General Chiang in his thanks to the delegates, said he hoped that the people will back the Revolutionary Army in their Northern Expedition and subdue all counter-revolutionists in the rear so that the armies will have no anxiety about the safety of their homes. All again

loudly applauded and the meeting ended. The delegates arrived at Canton at 8 p.m.

(*Kuo Min Hsin Wen*, May 12, 1926.)

7. 4TH REVOLUTIONARY ARMY TO RESCUE PEASANTS IN KAO YAO DISTRICT.

The peasants who organised their Peasant Unions in the Kao Yao District, were suddenly subjected to a massacre by the notorious gentry, led by the great landlords of the district. For the sake of protecting the suffering peasants, the magistrate of the above-mentioned District accompanied by the 4th Revolutionary Army went to the locality where the killing took place to expel the gentry who created the disturbance.

A telegram, which was sent by the magistrate of the Kao Yao District to the 2nd Kuomintang Congress, reads as follows:—

To the 2nd Kuomintang Congress.

Your telegram has come to our hands. After receiving the report of the peasant massacre in our district, I immediately joined with the 4th Revolutionary Army to go to the place where the massacre took place, for the purpose of investigating and dealing with the culprits.

(Sd) *Li Cheng*,

Magistrate of the Kao Yao District.

(*Min Kuo Jih Pao*, January 14.)

8. GENERAL YANG KUN-YU PROTECTS PEASANTS.

For the sake of protecting the peasants, General Yang Kun-yu, the director of the Wei Chow Reorganisation Department, issued the following proclamation.

"There have been cases in which peasants have been murdered by the notorious gentry and local rowdies, and consequently the peasant unions have often been forcibly dissolved. This unlawful and uncivilized act does not only infringe the principle of the Kuomintang, but also cannot be excused by the Government. Being a general under the Kuomintang Government it is my duty to support the peasants till the aim of emancipation is fulfilled. Hereafter if there is any more oppression of peasants the case will be strictly dealt with."

(*Kuo Min Hsin Wen*, September 1925.)

9. ENTERTAINMENT OF THE PEASANTS, WORKERS AND SOLDIERS AT HUA HSIEN.

The Touring Corps of the Whampoa Military School students after their arrival at Hua Hsien on August 16, were heartily welcomed by the natives there. The Branch of the Kuomintang and the representatives of the Peasant Union gave an entertainment on the 18th on the open field in front of the monastery. There were present military students of the village Peasant Union, soldiers under General Ching Chen, members of the Oil Workers Union, students of the Peasant School, members of the Kuomintang Branch, etc., altogether more than ten unions were represented. The magistrate of Hua Hsien, Mr. Tsue Pei-tung, was also at the entertainment. Mr. Wai Hai-tuen, representative of the Peasant's Department was also present. There were more than 2,000 in all and never before had the natives of Hua Hsien so grand an entertainment.

(*Min Kuo Jih Pao*, August 21, 1925)

10. A LETTER FROM GENERAL CHIANG KAI-SHIH IN REPLY TO THAT OF THE
PEASANT AND WORKER ORGANISATIONS.

Your letter was received and its contents noted. The recovery of the Tungkiang Districts was in reality due to the spirit of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and the bravery of our Revolutionary soldiers. As to our peasant and worker comrades, you also have done yeomen's service. I feel embarrassed to receive your congratulations. In the recent expedition, wherever our forces went, we exerted our utmost to assist the peasant and labour organisations. Those that had been ruined or dissolved by the rebels were gradually restored. Again in order to uphold the principles of the Kuomintang in protecting peasants and labourers, I ordered the authorities of various places to protect our fellowmen more carefully, so that they may develop themselves."

(*sd*) Chiang Kai-shih.

(*Kuo Min Sin Wen*, December 1925.)

11. SOLDIERS STRICTLY PUNISHED THOSE WHO MALTREAT PEASANTS.

A petition was recently despatched to the Canton Government by the Provincial Peasants' Association to investigate the case of Regimental Leader Chang Ngo-tung, who, under the name of an officer, commanded his subordinates to destroy the "Self-protecting Corps" of the peasants.

A letter was forwarded to General Chiang Kai-shih by the Department of Agriculture, which received the following reply :-

"We are in receipt of your letter and note that Regimental Leader, Chang Ngo-tung, under the pretence of carrying out an order of a superior, instructed Battalion Leader, Chung Yiu-kwong, to destroy the Self-Protecting Corps of the peasants in the western part of the Pao An District. Upon investigation we were informed that Chang Ngo-tung was the former Regimental Leader of the 4th Division of the Canton Army and, at the instruction of the Government, was appointed 2nd Regimental Leader of the 3rd Division under my command. The appointment is still under consideration, and at the same time no orders have been issued for the protection of pickets at the western part of the Pao An District. If your statement is true, it is right that the matter should be thoroughly investigated. And in addition to the men sent out to investigate the matter by the 3rd Division, I think it necessary to reply to your correspondence."

(Sd) *Chiang Kai-shek*

To the Commissioner of the
Department of Agriculture.

(*Kuo Min Hsin Wen*, 10-16-25.)

B. VARIOUS MILITARY TROOPS OPPRESS THE PEASANTS.

1. ADVOCACIES OF THE KWANGTUNG PROVINCIAL PEASANT ASSOCIATION REGARDING THE CHIU KIANG AFFAIR.

To

the C.E.C. of the Chinese Kuomintang,
the Nationalist Government,
the Political Council,
the Military Council,
the Peasant Department,
the Provincial Government,
the Commanders of Various Armies,
the Military School,
the All-China General Labour Union,
the Canton Worker Delegates' Association,
the Citizens' Delegates' Association,
the Diplomatic Association,
the Young Soldiers' Union,
the Students' Union,
the Education Association,
the Revolutionary Youths' Association,
the Canton Merchants' Association,
the Merchants Federation,
the Woman Emancipation League, and
the Woman Rights' Federation :

We have just now received a report from the Peasant Unions of the Hau Ping, Mui Chun, Li Chung, and Kiu Nam villages of the 1st Division of Nan Hai District, reading as follows :—

“On October 16th, the 5th National Revolutionary Army came to our region for the purpose of suppressing the bandits and rebels. Since then, fighting started between the two parties and continued until the 17th when the bandits were unable to resist their assailants and began to retreat gradually towards the northern part of the region. Then the soldiers captured the southern and western parts of the region from the rebels. War was resumed on the 18th and went on for two days until the 21st, when the soldiers seeing that it was impossible for them to annihilate the bandits immediately, unless they were reenforced, stopped their attack upon the rebels. On the following

morning, the soldiers, having been reenforced, launched attacks again upon the bandits and drove them all away that afternoon. The above is the condition of the fighting. According to the report of the members of the Tung On Village Council, the soldiers, after recovering the southern and eastern parts of the region from the rebels, commenced to plunder the villagers. They carried on such actions for several days from the 17th to the 21st. Furthermore, we found out actually that the peasants of the villages of Tung Kau and Lung Wan Shi suffered the most from the pillage committed by the soldiers. On the morning of the 22nd, those unruly soldiers, after robbing the peasants, began to set fire to the houses and shops of the people. The fire broke out on the morning of the 22nd, and was not extinguished till the evening of that day. Approximately one hundred of the buildings of the people were burned, and it is thought that there must be a greater number of houses where the soldiers committed pillage. This is what the soldiers did to the villagers. Besides, the unruly soldiers also killed our peasants. For instance, Chan Kin-hing, one of the members of the Committee of Justice of the Luk Shi Village Peasant Union, was originally a well-behaved citizen and an enthusiastic member of his union. But unexpectedly, while he was sitting down and chatting with some of his friends in a shop called "Kwong Wo Cheung" at 1 o'clock in the afternoon of the 19th, he was suddenly seized by five soldiers, viz., Kwan Kou, Kwan Hing, Pang Fuen, and two others, and, when taken to a place, called "Lui Ting Miu" in the vicinity of the shop, was shot to death. This is the way the soldiers slaughter peasants. It has long been a habit of the soldiers to do harm to the common citizens, when they were employed to carry out such actions as suppressing the bandits etc. Nevertheless, the present case is an unprecedented one, for the cruelty and violence of the soldiers, and the deplorability of the distressed people this time has never been approached before. And the unruly soldiers have not yet stopped their acts of plundering and harming the people. Thousands of peasants of various villages have been suffering from their cruel actions and tens of thousands of them are fleeing to seek refuge in other places. How unlucky our innocent peasants are! We hereby request your Association to transmit our report to the Government and to ask same to strictly prohibit the unruly soldiers from doing harm to the peasants and from arresting and punishing those innocent citizens who absolutely have no relations with the bandits.

"Furthermore, we have still one thing to state. The main cause for the present trouble was actually due to the prevalence of gambling and opium-smoking in our region. For, since the Revolution of 1911 and the establishment of our Republic, the soldiers and bad people of our region

have been in conflict several times, each of them being intent on acquiring for themselves the profits which might be derived from gambling and opium-smoking. Being ignorant of the principles of Sunyatsenism, they only concentrate their attention on the struggle for their own interests. Hence, in order to prevent further troubles, it is expected that you will request the Government to issue the order that hereafter all officers of the peasant unions of various villages shall be granted the right of electing committeemen of various councils and leaders of various corps. By so doing, you will enable our unions to obtain opportunities for the development and extension of our forces. Not only will we be able to guard against any counter-revolutionary action of the unruly soldiers and other bad people, but the peasants will also be greatly relieved from their sufferings, from the infestation of the bandits and the oppression of the capitalists and landlords. Whether our suggestion is valuable or not depends upon your judgment. This is our petition."

Upon investigation, it has been found that because Chiu Kiang was occupied by the rebels and bandits, soldiers were sent to suppress them, and, on account of the oppressions of the soldiers, many people of the region lost their lives and many others were rendered poor. Such news has been reported in the newspapers and we have now also received the petition submitted by the peasant associations of the region giving a detail account of the case. In view of the fact that it is our responsibility to struggle for the interests of the peasants and that if we do not take precautions beforehand, it is very probable that such deplorable events would occur again in the future, we hereby make the following suggestions which, we think, should be immediately put into practice for rehabilitating the place:—

(1) Since Chen Chiung-ming and Wei Pang-ping instigated the bandits to create disturbances in the interior, i.e. the regions of Shiu Lam and Chiu Kiang, they were, indeed, great obstacles to the movements of our revolutionists, and it is quite right for our Government to order their suppression. But those soldiers who are despatched to attack the bandits always slaughter without discriminating between the good and the bad. They even broke their record for discipline and committed robbery and other ravages. In view of this, it is proposed that the Government should prohibit those soldiers from harming the law-abiding people, thus expressing the Government's intention of protecting the populace. It is also expected that delegates would be immediately despatched by the Government to make investigations of the case, so as to find out the truth of the matter:

(2) The militia of Chiu Kiang were in league with the bandits whom they joined in conspiring for rebellion. Their guilt was known to many people and could not be denied. Moreover, not only the militia of Chiu Kiang, but also those of

various regions are mostly reactionary. They are either utilized by the depraved gentry and native bullies or are in league with the robbers and vagabonds. They not only could not protect the people from the depredations of the bandits, but also united with the bandits in doing harm to the populace. They not only could not defend the regions where they were stationed, but also served as creators of disturbances in their regions. In recent years, the peasants have suffered more from the infestation of the militia than from drought, famine, and other calamities. Hence it is proposed that the Government should have the militia of the region dissolved and should not allow them to be re-established.

(3) The cause for the repeated occurrence of troubles in Chiu Kiang was mainly due to the prevalence of gambling and opium-smoking in that region. Because the total amount of tax on the licence for gambling and opium smoking collected daily, exceeded one thousand dollars, both the unruly soldiers and the bandits were desirous of reopening them. This caused conflicts and fighting between the two parties. Hence, in order to remove the source of all troubles, the Government should issue a writ strictly prohibiting gambling and opium-smoking in that region.

(4) After the militia corps have been dissolved, it is the responsibility of the peasants to maintain peace and order in that region. Hence, the Government should try its best to support and develop the organisation of the peasant association and the peasant corps in that place, so as to enable them to become consolidated, self-defense organs. Then the infestation of the bandits may be guarded against, and the law-abiding people may live peacefully and happily.

(5) The people of that region, since the occurrence of the recent trouble, have suffered considerably, and their present condition is, indeed, deplorable. Consequently it is necessary to request all fugitives to return to their respective regions and to carry out work for their relief.

The above five suggestions are necessary measures for the conducting of our work for the rehabilitation of the region of Chiu Kiang. It is earnestly expected that the authorities will adopt and enforce them, so that the people of Chiu Kiang may be released from their sufferings. We hereby send this circular telegram for the information of various bodies.

(sd.) *The Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Association,*
(October 28, 1925.)

2. COMMANDER LI'S TELEGRAM, VINDICATING HIS SOLDIERS' ACTIONS.

The following is a circular telegram issued by Commander Li Fu-lin²):—

"Upon receipt of the telegram dated 28th, despatched by the Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Association, we learned that, according to the report submitted to the Association by its branches in the villages of Hau Ping, Mui

Chun, Li Chung and Kiu Nam of the 1st Division of the Nam Hai District, the soldiers of our army who were despatched on the 16th of October to the region of Chiu Kiang for suppressing the rebels and bandits, had plundered the villagers and burned many of their houses and shops. Upon learning such news, we immediately ordered Li Ping, the Commanding General, and Li Kwan, the brigade leader, to investigate the case and to submit reports on their examination to us for inspection. Now they have done as they were instructed, and the report which we received from them reads as follows:—

“After being instructed by you to make investigations on the case of our soldiers’ killing and plundering the people of Chiu Kiang during their attack upon the rebels and bandits there—such news were learned from the telegram issued by the Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Association — we immediately started for the region and acted according to your order. But upon investigation we found that what the Peasant Unions of Hau Ping, Mui Chun, Li Chung, and Kiu Nam reported to the Provincial Association regarding our soldiers’ actions were mostly untrue. We hereby point out the falsehood of their accusation by the following reasoning; so as to make known to the public the truth of the matter. We expect that you will kindly take notice of our arguments.

“First, according to the report of the peasant unions, the members of the Fung On village council said that our soldiers, after capturing the eastern and southern parts of the region from the bandits, commenced to plunder the people on the 17th and continued to do so up to the 21st. The Committee of the Peasant Associations also remarked that the peasants of the Tung Kau and Lung Wan Shi villages suffered the most. But upon investigation it is found that our soldiers, being ordered by you to go to Chiu Kiang to suppress the bandits under the direction of the rebels Chow Hon-ling and Ng Sam-kang, left Kuen Shan on October 14th, and arrived at Chiu Kiang at 12 noon on the 16th. The rebels and bandits, having made all preparations prior to our arrival, fired at our soldiers as soon as they saw us coming towards them. The two parties then fought with one another until the afternoon of the 17th, when our soldiers courageously advanced and captured the regions of Kwai Kong, Chung Leung Shan, Tai Kong and Fung Kong, from the bandits. At that time, however, the rebels still occupied the blockhouses and the big buildings of the region. At 5 p.m. on the 18th, the bandits, numbering about 1,000, launched a counter-attack on our soldiers from several directions and, on account of the shortage of ammunitions on our part as well as the small number

of our soldiers, our troops were defeated and the regions of Kwai Kong, Chung Leung Sha, Tai Kong and Fung Kong again fell into the hand of the enemies. Then the bandits were greatly strengthened and all dangerous places and flourishing markets and streets of the region were occupied by them. From the 19th to the 21st, our soldiers were waiting for reinforcements and a supply of ammunitions from our Government, and what they did during that period was to resist their enemies whenever they were attacked by them. Since that time our soldiers were busily fighting against the enemy, how could they have time to plunder and harm the people? Moreover, at that time our soldiers were staying in regions far away from the houses and shops of the citizens, so how could our troops rob them? Consequently it can be easily seen that what they reported concerning our soldiers' actions—such as "our soldiers committed pillage from the 17th to the 21st" and "the peasants of the Tung Kau and Lung Wan Shi villages suffered the most from the savage actions of the soldiers" etc.—were not facts. This is the first instance of the falsity and absurdity of their words.

"Again, according to the report of the peasant unions they said that our soldiers began to set fire to the buildings and shops of the citizens on the morning of the 22nd, the conflagration continuing until the afternoon of that day, and that about a hundred buildings were burned by the soldiers and consequently the number of shops and houses which were robbed by the soldiers must have exceeded the number they burned. But we found upon investigation that after our soldiers were defeated by the rebels on the night of the 18th, they immediately sent their Aid-de-camp, Mr. Mui, to Canton to ask for reinforcements and ammunition. On the 21st, large troops of soldiers came to the region to help the defeated soldiers, and they brought our soldiers a mandate of the Government, instructing our members that, since the rebels Ng Sam-kang and Chow Hon-ling sided with Chen Chiung-ming and planned to endanger the Government, our soldiers should attack them more bravely and recover Chiu Kiang within the shortest time possible. Upon receipt of the order, our soldiers immediately made all arrangements during that night and, on the next morning, launched attacks upon the enemies from three directions. But because the bandits were strong, our troops could not overcome them after five hours' fighting. Then our soldiers were obliged to cannonade the blockhouses and the bandits on the hills, yet our soldiers were still unable to defeat their enemies. At

noon, the fighting grew fiercer and Li Pai, the battalion leader, and several platoon leaders of our troops were killed by the enemies. Angered at this, our soldiers advanced forward bravely and the bandits were eventually defeated. During their retreat, the rebels set fire to the buildings of the citizens in various places, so as to hinder our pursuit. This is the actual condition and facts of the fighting on the 22nd. According to the report of the Peasant Unions, they said that fire broke out in various places from the morning to the evening of the 22nd and many houses and shops were burned. This was only due to the violence of the robbers, who purposely set fire to the buildings of the people with the intention of preventing our soldiers from chasing them. Moreover, on that day, the robbers were occupying the building of a pawnbroker in Tung Fook Street and the 4th block house in Ha Tai Street, when they were fighting with our troops. And at that time, fire broke out in the Fa Chun Street, the Tun Yee lane and the Tai Street, and, later on, in Suen Ian Street, Shek Fo bridge, Wan Kai Street, Hin Po Bridge and Lo Pak Hong Street, etc. As a result of the conflagration, about 250 shops were destroyed. It is therefore very true that "roughly speaking, more than one hundred buildings were burned;" but it was the work of the bandits and was not that of our soldiers. For, since our troops had not captured the regions of the bandits until the afternoon of the 22nd, how could the soldiers set fire to the buildings in the Tung Fook Street, where the rebels were stationed and rob the dwellers in that region, on the morning of that day? This is the second instance of the falsity and absurdity of the report of the Peasant Unions.

"Thirdly, the peasant unions reported in their petition to the Provincial Association that Chan Kin-hing, one of the members of the Committee of Justice of the Luk Shi Village Peasant Association, while sitting and talking with some of his friends in the shop called "Kwong Wo Cheung" at 1 p.m. on the 19th, was suddenly seized by five of our troops, and, when taken to a place called 'Lui Ting Miu' in the vicinity of the shop, was shot to death by them. They also remarked in their petition that this case was one of the instances of the soldiers' murdering innocent peasants. But upon investigation it was found that our soldiers, since they were defeated on the night of the 18th, put all their attention to defending their own region and had no time to care about the affairs of the peasants. Moreover, up to now no one there have made any accusation of our soldiers' killing Chan Kin-hing, and

we also did not know about the matter until we received your order. And, when we inspected our soldiers after receiving your instruction, we found that there were no soldiers among us with names as given by the peasants. But afterwards we discovered from the information of the natives that these were the names of notorious bandits of the region of Chiu Kiang, that they are all under our Government's warrant of arrest, and that they are now hiding themselves in the region of Lung Shan, Shun Teh District. Now since the peasant unions knew that Chan Kin-hing was killed by Kwan Kou and his colleagues, they should report the true facts to the Government and request same to search for and arrest the murderers for punishment, and should not falsely accuse our soldiers of such crimes. Since our troops cherish no enmity towards the peasants of Chiu Kiang, why should they kill them? Hence it is quite certain that the report of our soldiers' murdering the committee of the peasant union is not a true one. This is the third instance of the falsity and absurdity of the report of the peasant associations.

"Fourthly, the Peasant Unions also remarked in their report that although it had long been customary for the soldiers to harm the common citizens when they were employed to carry out operations in any place, yet the present case was an unprecedented one, because of the cruelty and violence of the soldiers, and the deplorability of the distressed people this time had never been approached before. They also said that at the time when they were drawing up their reports, our soldiers had still not stopped plundering and harming the people. Such baseless sayings are simply their own fabrications. When rebel Ng and his followers were defeated by our troops and fled to other places, they plundered and kidnapped many villagers and burned many of their buildings. Such actions of the rebels were reported to you by our soldiers some time ago. But at that time when our troops made their report, they, on account of the shortage of time, had not made a very careful inspection and therefore had not given a detailed account concerning the names of the villagers who were kidnapped by the rebels. But now after making inquiries among the natives, we found that when the rebels left the district they kidnapped eleven persons from the region of Shek Tong Hau, and took away Wong Chuk-chow's son from Tai Sun Shi, Tsang Loi's son from Koo Kau, Leung Chi's two sons and Chang Ting-kee from Shan Pin Lee, Mui Hau-yau's son from the southern part of the region, Tsang Chi-wan's two sons from Tsang Ka Chong in the North, and Chang Ping's son from another region. Since they acted

so violently in kidnapping the villagers, it was therefore quite certain that they had pillaged those regions. Now, if the Peasant Unions knew the common citizens would have to suffer so much during hostilities, then why did they not report to the Government the intrigues and wicked plans of Ng and other rebels before the occurrence of troubles? And why did they not inform the various public organs of the rebels' actions of plundering and kidnapping the villagers after the trouble was over? What they really did was simply to fabricate groundless rumours about our soldiers and to make false accusations against them. The cause for their so doing must have been due to some particular intentions which they cherished in their hearts. This is the 3rd instance of the falsity and absurdity of the report of the Peasant Unions.

"Furthermore, we found upon investigation that the villages of Mui Kau, Li Chung and Kiu Nam are situated in the northern part of Chiu Kiang. Since rebel Ng Sam-kang was a native bully of the northern part of the region, and many natives of those villages were his colleagues, those villagers, being in favour of their friend, were ruthless in fabricating rumours about our soldiers and making false accusations against them. They did not know that the reason for our soldier's fighting with the bandits this time was due to our obligation to serve our Party as well as the country. After finishing our work, we immediately made our departure and gave back the administration of those villages to the natives, and, during our departure, we also issued notices for the strict prohibition of all sorts of gambling in that region, and we did not demand any remuneration for our work. Since the Peasant Unions declared that they were organs for working for the Party and the country, and since they understood clearly the unlawful and rebel actions of Ng Sam-kang and his colleagues—some instances of their actions are the secret manufacture of firearms, the harbouring of opium-smokers and gamblers, the uniting with disbanded soldiers and bandits, and conspiring for rebellion, etc.—why did they not inform the Government of the intrigues of those rebels before they started their movements? As a result of the revolt of the rebels, hostilities commenced and the people of the region were involved in trouble. After the trouble was settled and the rebels suppressed, those Peasants Unions instead of showing gratitude towards the soldiers who sacrificed their lives for the populace, charged them falsely with robbery and other crimes, and tried their best to defame them. Is it their intention to help rebel Ng and his colleagues to succeed in their rebellious

movement and to overthrow the Government? Being instructed by you to give reports on our investigation after our works was carried out, we hereby submit you this petition for inspection.

"On the whole, it was simply because we wanted to put down the sources of our troubles, and to maintain public peace and order that our soldiers were sent to Chiu Kiang for suppression of the rebels at the order of the Nationalist Government. Since our soldiers were not hostile to the peasants and merchants of the region, how is it that they were ruined and killed by our troops. Unexpectedly the Peasant Unions of the villages of Hau Ping, Mu Chün, Li Chung, and Kiu Nam, believing the fabricated rumours, and being in favour of the rebels, were unrestrained in making false accusations against our troops and glossing over the crimes of robbery and murder committed by the rebel Ng and his colleagues. They may, indeed, be said to make no discrimination between the good and the bad, and to regard the well-behaved as undesirables and the undesirables as law-abiding citizens. After receiving the petition from the Commander General and the brigade leader, we have also made an investigation as to the truth of their words; and now, we hereby send this circular information with the intention of making known to the public the actual facts regarding the case.

(sd) Li Fu-lin,
Commander of the 5th National
Revolutionary Army.
November 9th.

3. CIRCULAR TELEGRAM ISSUED BY THE PEASANT UNIONS OF
VARIOUS VILLAGES OF CHIU KIANG, REFUTING
COMMANDER LI'S ARGUMENT.

To

the C.E.C. of the Chinese Kuomintang,
the Nationalist Government,
the Political Council,
the Military Council,
the Peasant Department,
the Provincial Government,
the Commanders of Various Armies,
the Military School,
the All-China General Labour Union,
the Canton Workers' Delegates Association,

the Citizens' Delegate Association,
the Diplomatic Association,
the Young Soldiers' Union,
the Student Union,
the Educational Association,
the Revolutionary Youths' Association,
the Canton Merchants' Association,
the Merchants' Federation,
the Woman Emancipation League,
the Woman Rights' Federation,

"Commander Li Fu-lin's telegram of the 9th stated that what our Peasant Unions of Hau Ping, Mui Chun, Li Chung, and Kiu Nam villages of the 1st Division of Nan Hai District reported to the Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Association concerning Li Fu-lin's soldiers' actions of plundering and slaughtering the peasants during their operations in Chiu Kiang were all untrue accusations which our unions made in order to defame his soldiers. But since the members of our unions were natives of the region where such trouble took place, and they were eye-witnesses of such cases, how could it be that our report, which was made according to the true facts which our members saw and heard, was simply a false accusation made purposely for defaming the soldiers. Furthermore Commander Li made his statement according to the words of his commander general, who was originally the chief instigator of the troubles and who had personally directed his soldiers in ravaging the region. Alas! Is there justice in the world? Our poor villagers, being under the control of the powerful officers and commanders, originally dared not make any refutation of Commander Li's argument; but in view of the fact that since the issuance of Commander Li's telegram, those peasants of various villages of our division, who suffered during that trouble, have expressed their opinions and complaints regarding the case, all saying that since they suffered so much from the oppressions of the soldiers, and have been charged falsely with the crime of fabricating rumours and speaking evil of the official soldiers, it would be impossible for their grievance to be repressed, unless they pointed out the falsity and absurdity of the words of the Commander General and other officers of the troops. Our unions are now obliged to present the case again and thereby expose the falsity and absurdity of their report to the public. We hope that you will take notice of our argument.

"In the first place, the Commander General accused us, in his petition to his superior, of fabricating such baseless rumours as 'after capturing the eastern and southern parts of the region from the bandits, the soldiers commenced to plunder the villagers on the morning of the 17th, and did not stop their actions until the 21st' and 'the peasants of the Tung Kau and Lung Wan Shi villages suffered the most

from the pillage and murderous actions of the soldiers' etc. But, in reality, what we reported were real facts. For on the 16th when Li's soldiers arrived in Sha Hiau, they immediately recovered the eastern part of the region from the rebels and on the 17th, they captured such places as Kwai Kong, Chung Leung Shan, Tai Kong and Fung Kong, and the southern part of the region then fell into their hands. At that time, the rebels and bandits had retreated into the inner part of the town and all regions as Tung Kau and Lung Wan Shi in the eastern and southern parts were occupied by the soldiers. But at 3 p.m. on that day, the dwellers of Tung Kau were robbed and two hours later, those of Lung Wan Shi met with the same fate as the former. Since the two regions were at that time under the protection of the official soldiers, there is no question as to who pillaged the villagers and set fire to their buildings. Then, is it justifiable for the soldiers to say that our unions made false accusations regarding them? But the officers of the troops still remarked that our report was not made in accordance with the real facts. This is the 1st instance of the soldiers' inverting justice.

"In the second place, it was also a true fact that, as stated in our report, 'the soldiers commenced to burn the shops and houses of the people on the morning of the 22nd, the conflagration lasting for many hours from the morning to the evening of that day,' and 'approximately speaking more than 100 buildings of the citizens were destroyed by the fire and there must be a larger number of houses in which the unruly troops committed robbery.' For, after Li Fu-lin's troops launched a general attack upon the rebels early in the morning of the 22nd, a sanguinary battle was fought between the parties, which lasted for two hours, the battle ending in a retreat towards the north on the part of the rebels. At about 8 o'clock that morning no bandits could be found anywhere in the town. But at that time fire broke out in the vicinity of the Soi Sing College in the western part of the region. One hour later, at about 9 o'clock, the soldiers entered the town. Soon after, fire again broke out in the region of Sam Yuen Ku in the eastern part, and, later, in Tung Fook Street and Tai Pan Kiu Street. As a result of the fire, more than 200 buildings were burned, and the conflagration continued for some time and was not extinguished until several hours after noon that day. Furthermore at the same time some houses in the Tai Sing Lane of the western part of the region were also set fire on and burned. All the houses and buildings were burned after the soldiers had entered the town. These are the true facts concerning Li Fu-lin's soldiers' plundering of the villagers and burning their houses after they defeated the rebels. But the Commander General of the troops reported that they commenced their general attack on the morning of the 22nd, that being unable to defeat their enemies after several hours' fighting, they were obliged to discharge their cannon at the rebels and eventually drove away the bandits some time past noon that day, and that during their retreat, the enemies set fire to the buildings of the people everywhere, with the intention of hindering the

activities of the soldiers pursuing them. What he reported was absolutely far from the truth. For the fact is, the rebels were defeated by the soldiers about two hours after the commencement of the general attack by the official troops. But the Commander General falsely reported that after several hours' fighting, the soldiers were still unable to overcome their enemies. In fact, when they commenced their attack upon the bandits, the sound of the cannonading was heard, and all the rebels retreated towards the north at about 8 o'clock in the morning. But the Commander General said that they did not use their cannon until 'after four or five hours' fighting when they were obliged to do so in order to defeat their enemies, and that the fighting grew fiercer at about 12 noon and the bandits were defeated some time in the afternoon. In fact, the conflagration which commenced in the morning was nearly all extinguished by the afternoon of that day. But the Commander General remarked that during the afternoon, when the bandits were unable to resist the soldiers any more, they began to set fire to the houses of the villagers everywhere. What he reported was actually all untrue, and he made such fabrications simply with the intention of palliating the faults of his soldiers. This is the second instance of their inversion of justice.

"In the 3rd place, our unions have previously reported that Chan Kin-hing, one of the members of the Committee of Justice of the Luk Shi Village Peasant Union, while sitting down and talking with some of his friends in a shop called 'K'wong Wo Cheung' at 1 p.m. on the 19th, was suddenly seized by 5 soldiers of the 5th Army, and, when taken to a place called Lui Ting-miu in the vicinity of the shop, was shot to death. Regarding our report, the officers of the troops said that it was not true and that it was simply fabricated by our unions for the purpose of involving the soldiers by false charges. But the fact is, Chan Kin-hing was killed after Li Fu-lin's soldiers had captured the eastern part of the region from the rebels and he was killed at the place which was then within the territory of the soldiers. Furthermore, Kwan Kuo and his colleagues were all wearing the uniforms and the hats of Li Fu-lin's soldiers and were carrying out their actions with some of the soldiers whose names were not known. Since the victim was killed in the place within the power of Li Fu-lin's soldiers and by those wearing the uniforms and hats of the soldiers, how could it be that the murder was not committed by the soldiers? The Commander General of the troops said that up to now there had been no people who made any accusation that the soldiers killed Chan Kin-hing, and that they also did not know about the matter until they received the instructions from their Commander. But since the soldiers were fierce and violent people, who dared to make any accusation against them before their officials? What the family members of the victim could do and dared to do was simply to report the case to our union. The Commander General also said that when they inspected the soldiers, they found there were no soldiers with such names, as were given, and that they

afterwards discovered from the information of the natives that Kwan Kou and his colleagues were notorious bandits of the region. But if they were notorious bandits, then why did the soldiers not interfere with their actions, but allow them to put on the uniforms and hats of the soldiers and to murder the members of the Committee of Justice of the peasant union in the place within the territory of the soldiers? Since they have tolerated the bandits to commit such illegal actions, how could it be said that we were involving them by false charges? This is the third instance of their inversion of Justice.

"In the 4th place, our unions have also remarked in our report that although it had long been customary for the soldiers to do harm to the common citizens when they were employed to carry out operations in any place, yet the present case was an unprecedented one for the cruelty and violence of the soldiers and the deplorable state of the distressed people this time had never been approached before; and that at the time when we were drawing up our reports, the soldiers had still not stopped plundering and harming the people. Regarding our remarks, the Commander General of the troops said that it was simply a baseless fabrication made by our associations. But they did not know that what we said were all real facts which were well-known to all the people. How could they say that they were groundless fabrications of our unions? The Commander General also inquired why we did not inform the Government of the rebellious movements of rebel Ng before the occurrence of the trouble? Why we did not, after the suppression of the trouble, report to the authorities the unlawful actions, such as plundering and kidnapping the villagers, which were performed by rebel Ng and his colleagues; and why we but fabricated rumours about their soldiers and made false accusations regarding them? They also said that we must have harboured some particular intentions in our hearts, else we should not have done so. Such remarks were made simply for the purpose of employing dangerous words to arrest public attention, and purposely charging our unions with guilt. Rebel Ng Sam-kang, otherwise called Ng Shiu-keung, was originally appointed by the Militia Directing Office as militia chief of the region. Since Commander Li Fu-lin was the chief director of the Office, therefore rebel Ng was one of the subordinates of Commander Li. Now, Commander Li even could not discover his subordinate's wicked plan for rebellion before the occurrence of the trouble, and he consequently did not give any information to the Government concerning rebel Ng's actions and also did not carry out any operation to guard against him until he was ordered by the Government to suppress him. Therefore, how could our peasants who, being poor people, were struggling for their own maintenance all day long and had no time to interfere with other affairs be blamed for having not informed the Government of the wicked scheme for rebellion, formed by members of the Militia Directing Office? As to their report, that when rebel Ng was defeated and made his retreat to another place, he kidnapped many people etc.,

since we have not received any true report as to who actually performed such actions, we dared not thoughtlessly make any accusation regarding them to the authorities. Our peasants, being foolish and frank people, only declared openly the true facts so how could we be accused of harbouring particular intentions and fabricating rumours? This is the fourth instance of their inversion of justice and their purposely charging innocent people with guilt.

In fact, since the officers of the troops insistently held that our reports—which, in reality, were made according to the true facts—were false and absurd and that we were falsely accusing their soldiers, they were actually cherishing special ideas in their hearts. Furthermore, as reported in the newspapers, on the 5th of the ninth moon (lunar calendar), after the soldiers defeated and drove away the militia corps, a certain Leung's family suffered from the pillage of the soldiers for three days and nights; their house was burned and a total loss of more than 100,000 dollars was sustained. Since this case took place after the retreat of the militia corps and in the place which was then in the hands of the soldiers, could the soldiers deny their performance of such unlawful actions? Again, on the 22nd, after the militia had retreated, some soldiers of the 3rd company of a certain battalion were seen rushing into the house of a certain villager, named Tsang Nim, in the southern part of the region, taking forcibly four catties of silk, some clothes, and other articles (all the booty totalling more than two hundred dollars) and kidnapping a certain member of the house named Tsang Yiu, who was released three days after. On the same day, another villager called Tsang Sum-kwai was robbed of some clothes and other articles, worth in all more than \$300. At 11 a.m. on the 23rd, all the people dwelling along the region of Tai Kong Kurk in the South were plundered by the soldiers of the 3rd company of a certain battalion stationed in that region. The house of a certain man called Tsang Chak-chi was also set on fire by the soldiers and half of it was burned and totally destroyed. All these facts afford proof of Li Fu-lin's soldiers' pillaging and doing harm to the populace. In view of these proofs, can they still say that we were involving them by false charges? Again, on the 23rd and 24th, when the officers of the troops searched their soldiers, they found many clothes which the soldiers forcibly took away from the villagers. All these clothes were then piled up and burned. Besides the clothes, there must have been many more other articles which were taken away by the soldiers from the common people and which were not discovered by the officers. This is also one of the proofs of the soldiers' ravaging the populace. Furthermore, it was found upon investigation that the soldiers not only set fire to the houses of the people, killed, kidnapped and robbed the peasants; but also violated the female villagers, the most brutal of all their illegal actions. For several days, beginning from the 23rd, the soldiers continued to commit rape on the women of various regions, and hundreds of female villagers were victims of their lust. Though being exceedingly enraged at such inhuman actions of the soldiers, yet the people

dared not openly denounce them, for they were afraid that they would be accused of defaming the soldiers by false fabrications. Alas! How is it that there exists such unruly soldiers under our ensign of a white sun on a blue field? Moreover the officers of those troops, instead of punishing their soldiers and apologizing before our people for allowing their soldiers to do such unlawful actions, falsely accused us of fabricating rumours and purposely charged our innocent people with guilt. But the peasants of our unions, having suffered considerably from the oppression of the unruly soldiers, will not yield again to their false accusations. We hereby refute all untrue charges and make known to the public the truth of the matter. It is earnestly expected that you will take notice of our words.

(sd) *The Peasant Union of Hau Ping, Li Chung, Kee Tung, Luk Shi, Tai Kuk, Lung Sha, Nam Fong, Kiu Nam, Sha Chiu, Miu Chun, Lung Tam, and Wui Lung villages of the first division of Nam Hai District.*

(December 1.)

2. THE GREAT STRUGGLE OF THE PEASANTS IN HSING NING.

The Peasant Union of Hsing Ning has been dissolved by Liu Chi-lu, a general under Chen Chiung-ming. The details are similar to those of the Kwang Ning case. The following is the report given by the Peasant Union of Hsing Ning:—

(1) One month after the return of Liu Chi-lu's troops to Hsing Ning, they attempted to collect heavy taxes from the natives. The tax on farms caused the peasants of all districts to protest strongly.

At this time, the Peasant Union had been carrying on a propaganda campaign for the cancellation of Farm Taxes. For this reason Liu Chi-lu considered that all Peasant Unions there should be suppressed at once.

(2) Liu Chi-lu then ordered the closing of all Peasant Unions. Early on the morning of July 17, police and soldiers were sent to arrest four committee members of the On-lau District Peasant Union. As soon as the peasants learned this, they were greatly enraged. They immediately sent men to the rescue. Troops under Liu Chi-lu at Sam Kong began firing at the peasants. Fortunately the peasants were able to run away. When this happened, Mr. Wai Chung-yuen, member of the Executive Committee of the Peasant Union, went to the Union of Hai Feng for aid. On July 21 troops under Liu Chi-lu began threatening the peasants and using the houses of the peasants as barracks. Peasants of the ten districts after learning this gathered their men together to fight against the soldiers. Then troops under Liu Chi-lu bombarded the peasants with cannons. The peasants were defeated. One died and three were captured and shot later. The soldiers looted the villages and all the peasants were treated like dogs.

(3) After the fight, Liu Chi-lu ordered more than a thousand troops to occupy all districts of Puk Tai and Min Yung. Within the space, of which his soldiers formed the boundary, not a single fowl was to be seen, and all houses belonging to the people were razed by the troops. There are 5,000 peasants in Hsing Ning, men, women and children who have no shelter. Their homes and farms were totally destroyed by Liu Chi-lu's barbarous soldiers.

On July 27, news was brought to the peasants that the Kuomintang soldiers were on the way to their rescue. The peasants thought that this was true. They sent news to all districts telling all peasants not to pay their taxes to Liu Chi-lu's troops. And again they gathered their men together at Moy Lam District in preparation for an attack. The next day, the peasants had cooked rice for the expected Kuomintang Army. On July 29, 500 soldiers were seen returning, and a struggle ensued. Four peasants were killed and all houses were searched. The massacre spread from On Lau to Min Yung, Moy Lam, Lung Chuen and many other places.

(4) After the struggle all the peasants had to tramp to Lufeng and Chikam to seek for food and shelter. The natives of the ten districts of Seung Shan are now in great uneasiness. It is said that Liu Chi-lu is going to send more troops to clear away the peasants from all districts. The peasants of Hsing Ning will have to suffer once again. Soldiers of the Kuomintang! When are you going to the rescue our oppressed peasants?

(Information Bureau, August 1925.)

3. THE LETTER OF KWANG NING PEASANT UNION TO THE CHAIRMAN OF PEASANT'S DEPARTMENT OF THE C.E.C. OF KUOMINTANG.

Dear Comrade Liao:

The peasant movement of Kwang Ning was started about two months ago. Before that time we reported to the director, Comrade Peng, and a Special Committee asking them to report to you.

Some soldiers and Tei Keo Chei Tui came to Kwang Ning. Mr. Leo, who is a captain of those soldiers, said that you had ordered them to carry out the following three things:

1. To solve the problem of the reduction of taxes.
2. To protect our Peasant Union.
3. To punish the men who commit crimes.

When Mr. Leo surrendered to the enemies he suddenly wrote a letter to the bandits' leader, suggesting that he make peace. He also issued a mandate for the discontinuance of the fight. This was dated the 11th instant in the afternoon. Mr. Leo

had not previously discussed with us about the matter of the peasant who were disturbed. It was decided according to the First and Second Articles of the Peasant Movement Manifesto of the Government to organize peasant soldiers. We organised peasant soldiers that night in order to fight with these landowners and the rowdies, Kiang Han-ying, Kiang-Den. But Mr. Leo did not cooperate with us. He wrote a letter to the bandits Hwang O Tang of Kiang Ten requesting the negotiation of peace within ten days. He then sent a mandate to stop fighting for about five days, finally prohibiting the peasant soldiers to fight. The bandits seized this opportunity to collect all the bandits and the soldiers, totalling several hundred, under Lee Ki-yen at Kiang Ten, Foo Shi, Tang Pu, Thirteen Villages, Pun Shi, etc. They attacked our villages such as Shia Kiang, Jai Shi, O Yen, Ho Moo-cheo etc., committing rape and indulged in killing and robbing. They did just as they pleased. They ordered their comrades to different places to prevent the peasants from moving to and fro. Since the fighting stopped they have despatched more than two hundred bandits from the Thirteen Villages and have occupied Shi Ma San. They have launched attacks successively upon Shei Kang, Teikeo, and Chei Dei. The peasant soldiers defeated them at one place and killed three men, wounded several, and arrested two whose names are Li Chai-tan and Li Tsu-hung. There were more than a hundred bandits proceeding from Bun Shi to Ma Tan, Mao Kiang and O Yen. At the same time the bandit, Hwang O Tang of Kiang Ten ordered the bandits numbering two battalions, one composed of about thirty and the other of more than a hundred men to march to Tang Pu and then proceed to Lo Kan Lin. They attacked our peasants and then proceeded to Moo Ko Village and captured it. Our members Pan, Shun, Pan Chei-lin, Yang Shei-tai and Yang Foo were captured and one captive, whose name is Yang Rai, was bound and left at Kiang Ten.

The remaining soldiers of Lee Ki-yen ordered some fellows to go to Za Tung and hold the bandits, and this prevented Kiang Han-ying, Kiang Why-ying and Hwan O-tang from fighting with the Peasant Union. At the same time the bandits of Kiang Ten went to Shi Pin Kan, shot a member of the committee of the Peasant Union of Shia Li Village whose name was Fan Hwa-foo.

The bandits of Foo Shi prepared to attack the Peasant Union of Lo Kiang but the members of that association threatened the bandits of the Thirteen Villages. There were more than eighty men stationed at the Fifth Peasant Union of Hwang Kin Kan. More than thirty bandits were despatched to Moo Kan.

There were more than seventy members of Hwang Kin Kan and they all ran away. The enemies prohibited them from moving anything. Many members have gone to San Tow and stayed there. The members of Ho Moo Jei also ran away. There are more than a hundred bandits stationed at Shi Ma Village to prevent passengers from passing there. Some bandits were also despatched to Li Ho Wao.

The bandits of the Thirteen Villages who are occupying the Peasant Union of Hwang Kin Kan and Kiang Shel lead more than ten bandits stationed at Twen-Chu to block the road which connects the towns and villages. We know that Lee Ki-ren has despatched more than a hundred bandits, who were lead by Kiang Shel, to the Thirteen Villages. Half of them were despatched to Hwang Kin Kan to occupy the Peasant Union.

On the afternoon of the 16th at 3 o'clock, the bandits took more than ten dollars from our member, Fung Kin-san. That morning at eight o'clock they arrested a member whose name is Fung Tel of Shi Kan Tang compelling him to pay ten dollars as ransom. At ten o'clock they captured the house of Li Tso at Hwang Kan Tang, gaining thereby more than five hundred dollars. At three o'clock in the afternoon they arrested Cheo Shren and his brother Cheo Nel at Chai Shi. On the same day a member of Zen Zai whose name is Lee Geil-yu and his wife were stopped by the bandits of Bun Shi who took turns to rape her.

Because of these things we could not make any negotiations for peace with them. But captain Leo gathered together all the gentry and merchants to settle the affair. This we could not understand, for, according to the regulations of the Peasant Union, the union ought to send delegates to settle the affair of the peasants. But the captain called a meeting and only asked the gentry and merchants to attend. In this way captain Leo disregarded the peasants and their association.

Recently all the bandits of Bun Shi, Foo Shi and Kiang Ten with the soldiers under Lee Li-yen attacked our Peasant Association and killed our peasants. For this reason we sent the guards to different places as a precautionary measure. On 18th instant Captain Leo asked us all to retire. Thus Captain Leo not only does not protect us but also does not allow us to protect ourselves. It is a surprising thing that Captain Leo has never asked us to arm ourselves; but he allowed the bandits to arm themselves.

Another significant fact is this, that Captain Leo was invited by the landowners, Hwang Shi-sen and Hwan Shi-san, to dinner at the tower of Hwang Shi Sen in order that he might be won over to their side against the peasants.

We now have appointed a member, Chang Chel to come to you with this petition. We are very anxious that you ask that captain not to work with the landowners, bad gentry and local rowdies, and to punish him if he does.

Also we have organised a Commission to draw up a petition that you :

1. Punish the leaders Kiang Han-ying, Kiang Hwa-ying, Hwang O-tang, Fung Shi-tai and Leo Shao-pun.

2. Disarm all the military elements of Tang Pu, Kiang Ten, Foo Shi, Thirteen Villages and Bun Shi.
3. Restore quickly all communications in order that we may maintain our living.
4. Restore the Peasants' Unions of Tang Pu and Kiang Ten.
5. Proclaim the reduction of taxes and rents.
6. Punishments :
 1. Confiscate all the grain of the bandits this term.
 2. Confiscate all the estates of the leaders.
 3. Punish all the comrades of the bandits.
7. Give money to the wounded men and the relatives of the dead ones.
8. Issue a Governmental mandate for the reorganization of the Districts Pao Wei Tuan and Min Tuan of Tang Pu, Kiang Ten, Pun Shi and its vicinity.
9. Ask the leaders to arrest the murderers.
10. Ask the leaders to send back our members Kiang Yun, Wei Chun-han, Hwang Chang and Yang Rei.

The above ten articles is very important for the solving of the difficult problem of our union. The first four articles are most important. If we do not solve this problem and do not punish the bad leaders, then we cannot restore our unions and communications will still remain closed. We cannot stand. If you comply with our requests you may rest assured we trust your Government and will lead our people to take part in the revolution !

(sd) *Cheo Chi-chen.*

Chen Peh-chun,

Lo Kou-ksi.

(October, 1921.)

4. REVIEW OF THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PEASANTS AND SOLDIERS IN SHUN TEH.

The district of Shun Teh is considered a rich district of Kwangtung Province. Being so fertile and rich, the corrupt officials and soldiers have always tried to squeeze as much money as they can out of the natives by collecting heavy taxes from them. For the sake of self-defence the peasants have had their Defence Corps organised. But still there have been many struggles between the peasants and soldiers during the past year. The following are the struggles between peasants and soldiers in Shun Teh.

1. On February 5th, the District Peasant Union of Ki Kau village was bombarded by the 17th brigade of Li Fu-lin's troops. The exploding shells caused the burning of over sixty houses. More than ten peasants were killed and the total loss was about \$100,000. Li Fu-lin's troops cooperated with bandits to plunder and loot the whole village. Even children were killed by them.

2. In June, a member of the Executive Committee of the Li Tay Kay Peasant Union, Mr. Chan Kau, was arrested by Li Fu-lin's troops after being accused of being a bandit by some of the gentry. Mr. Chan was kept in prison for several months and was set free by the aid of the Provincial Peasant Organisation.

3. The Wan Lu Peasant Union formerly protested against the cruel gentry Loh Fat-thong, Poon Siu-yueh and Yau Tze-tek for secretly collecting a silk tax. Mr. Kwok Chuk-phung, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Peasant Union, was arrested by the corrupt officials. A great demonstration was held by the whole peasant body of the Wan Lu village against the officials, and Mr. Kwok was soon after released.

4. The leading gentry of Ko Chun village, Leong Fu-sun, looked upon the Peasant Union as his greatest enemy. A month ago, while the peasants were on their way to attend a ceremony held by the peasants at the Yu Long Peasant Union, the gentry, Leong Fu-sun, cooperated with some lawless soldiers to stop the peasants from crossing their boundary. And also with the pretext of searching for arms, they robbed clothing and goods from the Peasant Union members.

5. On July 21 troops under Li Fu-lin, after being bribed by the cruel gentry, plundered the Peasant Union of Yu Long.

6. In the village of Ta Chow, on August 3, the gentry again cooperated with Li Fu-lin's soldiers to oppress the peasants from talking about the patriotic deeds of Minister Liao Chung-kai.

The peasants of Shun Teh are in this way under the oppression of the lawless soldiers. At present they have asked the Provincial Peasant Organisation to help them out of their troubles.

(From the Min Kuo Jih Pao, 14-9-25.)

5. THE FARM TENANTS OF CHUNG SHAN DISTRICT APPEAL THAT PUNISHMENT BE METED OUT TO UNRULY SOLDIERS.

Formerly in Siu Lam of Chung Shan District a sub-bureau for the protection of the Sand-Fields was established. When the bureau was taken over by the tenants and proprietors there was no dispute. Recently on September 25th a notorious native, Ho Kiang, plotted with Pang'Chi-wing, the leader of the Independent Battalion of the First Division of the Kwangtung Army, and led the soldiers and occupied the bureau by force. Pang appointed Ho Kiang and fifteen others as the members of the committee

for the protection of the Sand-Fields. They extorted a tax of \$1.25 from each tenant disregarding their hardships, but the tenants could not stand the severe extortion. Now they have elected Messrs. Mak Kwok-hung and Lei Kua-fat as their representatives to request the Provincial Peasant Association to petition the Government to deal with this matter.

(Kuo Min Hsin Wen, October 1925.)

6. SOLDIERS KIDNAP AND HOLD PEASANTS FOR RANSOM.

The Lo Kak village of the 5th Division has a population of more than 3,000 people, most of whom are poor peasants. During the summer of every year the peasants always suffer from floods. Instead of protecting the peasants, the garrison soldiers of that village, whenever they lay a siege or launch an attack upon the bandits, usually plunder the people of those regions through which they pass. Furthermore, whenever those soldiers are ordered to attack the bandits, they give information to the robbers of their plans one or two days before they commence their work. On this account, it always happens that when the soldiers arrived at the region of the robbers, they often discovered that the bandits had already fled. Not only the bandits leave prior to the coming of the soldiers, but the bourgeois of the village also take refuge in other places, and those people who remain are only the poor peasants. But in case any peasant is kidnapped by the soldiers, the members of the family of the kidnapped peasant must pay from forty to two hundred dollars to the soldiers before they set the kidnapped peasant free. If the members of the family of the peasant refuse to pay the soldiers the demanded amount, the innocent peasant is then taken to Canton for imprisonment.

(From a Special Report, February 1926.)

7. THE COMMANDER OF THE FIFTH PRECAUTIONARY TROOPS OF THE CANTONESE ARMY DISTURB PEASANTS UNDER ANY PRETEXT.

The soldiers from the Fifth Precautionary Troops forcibly disturbed the Wan Sha Village of Fan Yu on August 12th. Several members of the peasant union were arrested. Another member was detained because he tried to act as security for those arrested. Another member was wounded on the head and on the left leg. In this disturbance a hook, a rifle, and a pistol were confiscated and also the certificates of the members were destroyed. This has been reported to the Peasant Association for settlement.

(From a Special Report, August 1925.)

8. THE COMPANY LEADER OF LI FU-LIN'S ARMY FALSELY ACCUSES A PEASANT.

A telegram from the Peasant Union of Fan Yu District states:

"Our member, Lo Fat, of the Self Defence Corps of the Peasant Union of the special section in Chung Chuen was arrested without cause by order of Ng Kia-pin, the company leader of the 4th Precautionary Troops of General Li Fu-lin in Jui Nga

restaurant on the 23rd inst. at 1 p.m. At the same time a revolver of the Self Defence Corps was confiscated. Accordingly our representative, Mr. Lo Hing-tong and our members went to inquire about the matter; but they were refused admission. We, being very anxious to know the real cause of the affair, looked for the company leader. We met him in Jui Nga; but he did not tell us the reason. He only asked our representative to see him on the 26th. inst. When our representative called on him, he said that Mr. Lo Fat was accused of having murdered a villager named Siu Tan in 1923, and that his wife was the witness.

Our representative said in return that this case happened two years ago, and the dead body was discovered by a woman wood-cutter in the bamboo forest of Huk Min and not by Siu Tan's wife; and that the murderer was not Lo Fat.

The company leader insisted and said that the case had been reported to the commander-in-chief in July and it was because of Lo Fat's escape that they are arresting him. As the negotiation was in vain, the representative reported the matter to the Union.

After a thorough investigation it was found that in 1921 Siu Tan was implicated with the notorious bandit Pang Yi in Chung Chuen for robbery, and was murdered after he enlisted in the Merchants Volunteer Corps. Since he was a robber, it was probable that many enemies watched for an opportunity to kill him. This is the apparent cause of his death.

To accuse a member of a peasant union of having murdered a man, who might have been killed by any other person, was unlawful and unreasonable. Furthermore, according to the company leader, it was said that Lo Fat escaped in July; but our peasant union was founded in August, and Lo Fat had enrolled as a member of the Union before the foundation. Afterwards, he was most of the time working in the Union and did not leave the village. This was known to all the villagers.

With all the above evidences it goes without saying that the company leader was producing a false charge on our member to satisfy his desire of seizing arms and extorting money. Besides, he was disobeying and destroying the military law and discipline by arresting men without the order of the commander. This again showed clearly that his purpose was to destroy the Peasant Union.

The peasant unions of all sections in our district have suffered a great deal from the unreasonable oppression and hatred of the soldiers of Li Fu-lin.

The existence of hostility between soldiers and peasants is not beneficial to the locality.

We are therefore compelled to submit our petition to the Government to appeal for the enforcement of military order and it is hoped that the Government will order the company leader Ng Kia-piu to set free Lo Fat and to return the revolver of the Self-Defence Corps to the Peasant Union.

The Union will bear the responsibility of producing Lo Fat when the murder case is tried. We hope you will understand that our petition against the officials is not to create trouble but to redress our grievances, and hope you will investigate the matter and render us help."

Executive Committee of the Peasant Union
of Fan Yu District.

(From *Min Kuo Jih Pao*, October 1925.)

9. PEASANTS OF ON LI VILLAGE PLUNDERED BY LI FU-LIN'S SOLDIERS.

It is reported that on October 10th one shipment of pigs was stolen by the bandits when the boat, protected by General Li's soldiers, passed by On Li Village. The villagers in the vicinity attacked and chased these bandits; but those of On Li village were comparatively late in their attack. This made the Chung Hok villagers suspect that the On Li villagers were harbouring the bandits. Accordingly soldiers of Li Fu-lin were at once despatched to drive out the bandits from that village; but instead they plundered the whole village and arrested three peasants.

(From a *Special Report*, October 1925)

10. PEASANTS IN CHUNG SHAN DISTRICT PROTEST AGAINST WU CHUK-LI.

In the people's meeting of Chung Shan District, the peasants have decided to send a telegram protesting against Wu Chuk-li, Commander of the 3rd Precautionary Troops of the Cantonese Army. They said that since the coming of Wu Chuk-li to Chung Shan District, his troops have caused great trouble to the natives. Gambling and opium-smoking houses are seen everywhere under the protection of his undisciplined soldiers. His troops are mostly bandits. They kidnap people and plunder villages during the day time. A short time ago his troops, helped by a British gunboat, bombarded the village of Wang Tong. Not long ago they have also looted the whole village of Thai Ping Shar and caused the burning of all its houses and the killing of 300 men. Wu Chuk-li's troops, bearing the names of soldiers under the Nationalist Government, carried out their plots of robbery. The peasants in Chung Shan recently have asked the Nationalist Government to dismiss Wu Chuk-li's soldiers in order to have peace and prosperity in their district.

(From *Min Kuo Jih Pao*, 8-20-25.)

C. GENTRY AND OTHER OPPRESSORS OF THE PEASANTS USE MILITARY FORCE IN THEIR STRUGGLE WITH THE PEASANTS.

1. PEASANTS IN PAO AN DISTRICT OPENLY OPPOSE DEPRAVED GENTRY.

In Tai Ping village of the 6th division, there were two depraved gentry, Ip Hing-fan and his son, Ip Ka-sin. They were both Christians. Depending upon the power of their church they have always acted violently and illegally and have long been very much hated by the peasants. In the village there was a piece of public land which yielded of more than fifty piculs of rice every year. Hing Fan had also another son who was studying at the Kwangtung University, Canton. In order to obtain money to cover his son's expenses at the university, he forcibly appropriated the rent of the public property for his son's school fees and expenses. After the peasant union of that division was organised, the peasants unanimously passed a resolution that the amount of public funds should be appropriated for the establishment and maintenance of a school for the peasants. This action of the peasants greatly enraged the two depraved gentry, Yip Hing-fan and his son. They first requested the priests of their church to threaten the Peasant Union to return the funds to them, but in vain. Then they bribed Chang Ngo-tung, leader of the garrison troops in Pao An, to despatch some soldiers to the village to force the Peasant Union to return the funds to Hing Fan within a certain time. But the Peasant Union refused and paid no attention to their threats. Later on, Chang sent soldiers for a second time to the village to oppress the Peasant Union, but before their arrival the Peasant Union had been informed of their coming and at once gathered together all the members of the Peasant Corps of the village and also those of the Lan Chuen village of the 15th division. The combined force, comprising more than a hundred members, immediately prepared themselves to fight with the intruders upon their arrival. On learning of the preparedness of the peasants, Chang's soldiers dared not approach the village and returned to their region secretly. But some time afterwards when some members of the Peasant Union happened to pass Tong Tau Ha on their way to a certain place, Chang again sent some soldiers to seize one of them at that village and demanded the Peasant Union to give back the funds to Hing Fan before they would release the peasant who, after being seized, was imprisoned in Shun Chun for some time. But the Peasant Union still refused to yield and got all the Peasant Corps ready to oppose them. The peasants also declared that they would seize some of the depraved gentries and exchange them for the imprisoned peasant.

2. THE PEASANT UNION STRUGGLING UNDER THE OPPRESSION OF GARRISON TROOPS, POLICE AND MILITIA.

Since Chen Chiung-ming's failure, his place has been taken by the Kwangsi army. Though different in name, they are practically the same. The head of the police and militia ousted "Sin's Party" of Chen's era and replaced it with the "Harmful Party"²). The latter party was worse than the former. After the establishment of the Peasant Unions, those who ravaged and threatened the peasants the most were the police, the wicked gentry, the militia, the native bullies and the landlords, while the garrison troops still maintained an indifferent attitude and dared not openly violate the organisation of the peasants. When the district union was organised, the organisation of the peasants was gradually enlarged and guided by the direction of the provincial union. As there was some conflict with their own interests, the garrison troops began to unmask themselves and joined the police and militia and formed one group, taking every advantage to oppress the peasants. Their oppression may be seen from the following facts:

(1) **LOW CHUEN CASE.** There was a bandit named Chan Po, who ten years ago was banished by the villagers for misconduct and who went to Hongkong. In 1924 a certain native of Tam Tow village was kidnapped in Hongkong. Chan Po promised to arrange the release of the kidnapped man upon payment of a ransom, and accompanied the kidnapped man's relative to return to the village to raise the money. Unexpectedly when they had raised only \$800 in Hongkong notes and had started with same to another village, the kidnapped's relative was shot dead on the way by some robbers who had been engaged by Chan Po. The corpse of the victim was concealed after the murder. Frankly speaking, this case had nothing to do with Low Chuen village. But, in Tam Tow village, all the clansmen are surnamed Man. There was a fellow in the "Harmful Party" called Man Koon-san, who was a staff officer under Commander Tai Kai-sow. Taking advantage of his belonging to the same clan as the kidnapped, he instigated the district magistrate, Low Chan, to lend him about one hundred soldiers from Bocca Tigris in order to besiege Low Chuen under the pretext of searching for Chan Po, who was a native of that village. Consequently the village was compelled to pay \$1,800 and to sign a bond to surrender Chan Po. A few months later, Chan Po was captured at Sheung Ping station on the Canton-Kowloon Railway by the bandit-suppressing commander of the East River Region. The villagers reported the matter to the district magistrate who again extorted from that village the payment of \$400 for escorting expenses. But after he had received the \$400, the magistrate did not transport Chan Po, and before long Chan Po was released. Sometime later, Chen's troops entered Pao An and the magistrate and the "Harmful Party" such as Man Koon-san etc., all fled. In February, 1925, Pao An was again

occupied by the Kwangsi army and the "Harmful Party." While the peasants of Low Chuen were organising a union, Man Koon-san led a body of garrison troops (i.e. Kwangsi soldiers, as they were called) to come to that village and, under the pretext of taking up the old case, demanded a payment of \$600 which was refused by the villagers. One day, a native of that village named Chan Shui-yip, who was a member of the Peasant Union, went to Wong Chung Kong Market. As the police officer, Man Chak-san, of that market was also one of the "Harmful Party", he put Chan Shui-yip into prison for ten days and compelled him to undergo heavy torture and to sign a bond for a certain ransom. At last, our comrades negotiated with the district magistrate for his release and Chan was surrendered to the magistracy after about one hundred dollars had been extorted from them.

(2) YIN CHUEN CASE. Under the pretext of collecting fees, the officers of the militia, police and patrolling corps came to ravage this village. When a member of the Peasant Union argued with them, he was arrested and assaulted. They declared that they treated him in this way because he belonged to the peasant union. After negotiations he was set free upon signing a bond accepting to pay all the fees within three days. A few days later, the garrison troops came again and devastated the village under the pretext that this village was in collusion with Chen's army. They arrested two members of the Peasant Union and marched them through the Wong Chung Market, showing them to the public and loudly proclaiming: "Those who organize peasant unions will be killed." Subsequently much discussion was carried on with them before they agreed to withdraw from the village and released the two men upon paying a ransom of \$500.

(3) LO TIN CASE. A native named Lai of this village, who was a member of the Peasant Union, scolded his younger brother for some misconduct. His brother, disliking this, falsely accused him to the garrison army of being a bandit. Thereupon, the garrison army arrested, imprisoned him for many days and extorted from him a heavy fine.

(4) PIK TWO CASE. Some years ago, Tsoi Ngai-cheung, a native of this village and a member of the Peasant Union, bought a house from a clansman through a middle-man and no dispute whatever had arisen since. When the peasant union was organised in this village, Tsoi Ngai-cheung joined it. His brother, having been disappointed at his refusal of a previous request for a loan, accused him to the police sub-station of secretly selling ancestral property. The policemen came to summon him three times and demanded tea-money to the extent of a score of dollars, although the distance from the police-station to the house was not more than eight li. Comrade Hok Tsang appeared at the police station for his defence in the capacity of a special delegate from the Peasant Section of the Central Kuomintang.

But the police officer, Chan Chik-ting (one of the "Harmful Party") did not care to listen to any reasonable explanation. On the one hand, he imprisoned Tsoi Ngai-cheung and on the other hand he drove Comrade Hok Tsang away. It was only through repeated negotiations with the Peasant Section of the Central Kuomintang for a period of over twenty days before Tsoi was set free.

(5) FUK WING CASE. At this place, the garrison troops were in league with the police officer, Man Kok-sing (one of the "Harmful Party") to demand payment of military funds from the peasants and to create a good deal of disturbances. When any peasant refused to pay as demanded, he was arrested and imprisoned.

(6) DEMAND OF FIREARM LICENSES AND BANDIT-SUPPRESSION EXPENSES. After the garrison troops had exhausted their means of extorting the people, they made the excuse of getting funds for firearm licenses and expenses for bandit-suppression. Such funds were naturally collected from the peasants. The firearm licenses were of four kinds, classified according to the condition of the arms. The bandit-suppression expenses were levied at five cents per capita.

(7) COLLECTION OF LAND TAX. The peasants had long suffered from the troublesome collection of land tax by the official collectors. The manner of collection became even worse when the garrison troops received instructions from the Government to collect land tax for military use. One of our peasant members, named Mak of the Shu Tin Po village, was extorted a heavy amount by the tax-collecting adjutant and deputy of the garrison troops. As he was dissatisfied, he asked Comrade Hok Tsang to negotiate with them. In spite of this, they even imprisoned Mak as a threat.

Apart from the above, the police and militia often went off on an rampage, collecting fees and getting firearms. They issued their slogans:—"The Peasant Union is a Triad Society," "The Peasant Union practises Nationalisation of Women and Communism," "The Peasant Union is a Rebellious Party," "Those who join the Peasant Unions will be killed," and "Those who oppose the militia will be severely dealt with."

Since the establishment of the District Union and the election of delegates to attend the Provincial Association, the peasants were fully alive to the possible development of their own organisation from a district to the whole province, to the whole country and to the whole world, and not a matter of Pao An alone. Therefore, in spite of any suppression by the garrison troops, police and militia, they never yielded the least bit and refused to pay fees for firearm licenses, bandit-suppression and militia federation. They issued notices to the villagers that whenever any armed soldiers entered a village, all should beat their gongs and drums and offer resistance.

(From a report of the Pao An District Peasant Union)

March 1926.

3. PAST EVENTS REGARDING THE PEASANTS' FEDERATION IN THE DISTRICTS OF TUNG KUAN AND PAO AN.

Art. 1—The idea of forming a federation.

The reason why the peasants of Tung Kuan and Pao An should unify with one another is that in physical features the outskirts between these two districts are so alike that the friendship between the inhabitants of each is very warm. Moreover, the peasant movement of these two districts began at the same time and the conditions of peasants are generally the same. Because at that time the Peasant Unions were devastated by the bandits, who conspired with the depraved gentry, bullies, landlords etc., and because the garrison troops under the command of Lam Shu-ngai and the local officials appointed by Kwangsi Party authorities always disturbed the peasantry, the peasants in the above two districts who intend to maintain the situation for further development, therefore, created a federation by themselves in order to strengthen their power.

Art. 2—Social meetings conducted by peasants of Tung Kuan and Pao An District.

On April 28th last year, the peasants of Tung Kuan and Pao An, notwithstanding the fact they were keenly opposed by the garrison soldiers, local officials, policemen, militia, depraved gentry, bullies and landlords, conducted a social meeting in Shao Tam, Tung Kuan. There were more than three thousand peasants attending the meeting, including five hundred armed peasants. Delegates were sent from great distances to participate in the meeting. Slogans and watch-words regarding the peasants themselves and their enemy were set forth. At that time the garrison soldiers were very angry with the peasants because the latter did not inform them as to the reason of the meeting, but the soldiers could do no harm to the peasants. After the above social meeting, the unification of peasants was stronger and the enemy did not dare to oppress them as much as before. Two social meetings were successively conducted by the peasants of Tung Kuan and Pao An districts so much so that a federation among them was begun.

Art. 3—Tung Kuan and Pao An Peasant Corps support peasants of Ha Kong.

In Pao An District the garrison troops, local officials, militia, policemen, depraved gentry, bullies and landlords unified themselves with a view to frustrate the peasant unification, while in the district of Tung Kuan the above wicked people also tried their utmost to undermine the peasant union. In May of last year, on a certain day when the Peasant Union of Ha Kong in Tung Kuan was not yet inaugurated, a rumour was circulated that the depraved gentry, bullies and landlords living there were working in collusion with the garrison troops and had united the militia to

attack the peasant union on the day of its inauguration. But on that day they dared not come to disturb them because the peasants had kept a watchful eye on them. Unfortunately in the morning of the following day there suddenly came a crowd of united militia of Lin Kai, garrison troops of Bocca Tigris, and several hundred bandits to attack the Peasant Union. They surrounded that building as strongly as possible and would not let one of the members come out. Several members and the vice-president of the Peasant Union were killed during the attack. The most pitiful case was that of a woman, with her little daughter, who was cruelly killed by the robbers while she desperately resisted from being raped. The dead body of the vice president was cut into pieces by the robbers. Women and girls from fourteen to fifty were all violated. Several dozen houses were burnt down and more than ten rifles were taken. Fifteen peasants were captured and held as prisoners in the headquarters of garrison troops in Bocca Tigris. Fortunately on hearing of this trouble the peasants corps of Tung Kuan and Pao An districts immediately came to Ha Kong to support the peasants and drive all the bandits out of that village within a short time.

Art. 4—Clan fight of Peasants in Joh Kai suppressed by force of arms.

In ordinary times the garrison troops, local officials, policemen, united militia, depraved gentry, bullies and landlords colluded with the bandits to frustrate the peasants' organisation and suppress the peasants by means of force. But on seeing that the peasants resisted them so strongly that they could not succeed in their plot, they have consequently stirred up the peasants to fight with one another. The cause of the clan fight of peasants in Joh Kai was that, because peasants in Tung Kuan and Pao An districts are very fond of fighting, they divided their regions into various portions, each consisting of several dozen villages. When a dispute arose between two different portions, the various villages which belonged to each side rose up to give support, so that clan fights occurred very often. The fighting would continue for several months and many lives and much money were lost on account of it. A clan fight used to break out about every three years and it was hard to suppress it.

In the middle of June of last year, the peasants living in Joh Kai of Tung Kuan stirred up a clan fight among themselves. Many peasant unions in various villages participated in the fighting supporting their respective portions. The fighting line stretched to Pao An district (the effect of division boundaries) and was hard to subdue. Therefore the two District Peasant Unions of Tung Kuan and Pao An immediately despatched armed members accompanied by Koumintang garrison troops from Bocca Tigris to go to Joh Kai with a view to suppress the fighting by force. They ordered them to make peace and negotiate a reconciliation. This was finally accomplished by the Chamber of Commerce, Kuomintang section and various organs after a period of fifty days, when finally the trouble ended.

Art. 5—A grand demonstration of peasants before garrison troops, policemen and united militia.

In view of the fact that the garrison troops, policemen, united militia, depraved gentry and landlords suppress the peasants more than ever, the Peasant Union of Pao An considered that if they did not display a grand demonstration before the eyes of their enemy, their suppression would be harder. Availing themselves of the opportunity of the inauguration of the peasant association in Fook Wing village, the peasants in various villages gathered together to attend the ceremony. More than one thousand armed peasants were assembled from Fung Woo by way of Wong Chung Kong and Yun Lam to Fook Wing village. At that time there were several hundred troops garrisoned in Fook Wing village, who seeing so many armed peasants gathered together there, were very much afraid of being attacked. They at once despatched their troops to the hills and mountains and made ready to put up a strong resistance. At last some delegates were sent by them to speak to the peasants, requesting them not to cause any misunderstanding. After this demonstration the garrison troops had an inkling of the strength of the peasants.

(From a Special Report, March 1926.)

4. HO YUAN LOCAL ROWDIES CONSPIRE WITH RENEGADE SOLDIERS TO DISTURB THE PEOPLE.

Recently a telegram was received from Ho Yuan giving an account of the disturbance of the people there by the local rowdies who plotted with the renegade soldiers. The telegram reads as follows:—

"Chen Cham-po, one of the Ho Yuan local rowdies, often conspired with the renegade soldiers to squeeze money from the people of various villages. The villagers have reported this unlawful taxation to the authorities. In March Chen again plotted with Lai Chiu, director of General Affairs of Ho Yuan District, and led over one hundred soldiers to Chang Kai, and Ko Chung-mok in Lin Ping to extort funds from the people. They surrounded Ng Oak and killed two people. After a few days they came again and arrested Chen Yau-lun and six others who were sent to Lin Ping for trial. On May 1, Lai Chiu led over 300 soldiers and plundered the whole village and also attacked Ng Oak, Chen Pui Chai. In this attack Ng Wong-teh and seven others were killed. At present they are still attacking. The villagers are in a very dangerous position. We hereby send you this telegram, hoping that you will order the magistrate of Ho Yuan to send the soldiers back and despatch delegates to investigate this matter, so as to release the people from suffering."

*(sd) Self-control Association of Ng
Family in Chung Shu Section, Lien Ping.*

(Min Kuo Jih Pao, 5-12-26.)

5. PEASANTS AT SHUN TEH ASSAULTED BY SOLDIERS UNDER GENERAL LI FU-LIN.

On the 3rd instant, Mr. Wong Chak-nam, a special delegate, delivered a speech in Tai Chow Village at Shun Teh. In his address there were assertions not quite complimentary to the gentry which incited the anger of the gentry Ho Chook-lin, Ho Shiu-kwai, Ma Shiu-cho and Ma Wing who, uniting with Battalion Commander Li Wong-tat of the 34th Regiment of General Li Fu-lin's troops and the Inspector General of the Shun Teh Mintuan, attacked the Peasant Organisation of Tao Chow Village on the morning of the 4th instant. The Chairman Liang Sing-ju and members Chen Kai-weng, Ho Chow-shing together with several peasants were arrested. The special delegate Mr. Wong went to negotiate with Battalion Commander Li but was treated with harsh words and was even assaulted. He was nearly detained by Battalion Commander Li. The Provincial Association has been requested by the Tai Chow Peasant Union to petition the Government for the prosecution of the case.

(From a Special Report, 11-9-1925.)

6. APPEAL FROM THE MASSES OF THE SOUTHERN DISTRICTS.

In view of the fact that Comrade Ching Kang, member of the preparatory committee for establishing the Hai Hang District Kuomintang Branch, was recently arrested and shot to death by the garrison troops, the delegates conference of the masses of the Southern Districts issued a circular telegram, appealing to the authorities for justice.

The telegram reads:-

To the Central Executive Committee and other organs,
Canton,

We have recently received reports from the organisations of various classes of Lei Chow and Comrade Soo Tin-chun, special delegate of the Peasant Section of the C.E.C., stating that Chan Kung-hap, battalion-leader of the 3rd Battalion of the 33rd regiment of the 11th Division, despatched at 5 p.m. on September 10th 1926, some soldiers to the Peasant Union of Hai Kang District and arrested and marched away with Comrade Ching Kang, a delegate conducting the peasant movement in that district and also a member of the preparatory committee for establishing the Chui Min District Kuomintang Branch. Upon learning of this, Comrade Soo Tin-chun and representatives of the Hai Hang District Kuomintang Branch, Hai Hang District Peasant Union, the Students Union, the Leichow General Labour Union, the Strike Picket Corps, the representatives of the newspaper "*Min Kuo Jih Pao*," the

Women Emancipation League, and various other organisations, immediately went to the quarters of the battalion with the intention of seeing the battalion-leader and asking him the reason for the arrest of Comrade Ching. But although they requested three times for an audience with the battalion-leader, yet their requests were not acceded to. About that time, Comrade Ching, bound with cords, was taken out of the quarters and led away by over 40 soldiers to the execution grounds. Seeing the representatives of the various classes standing in front of the door of the quarters, Comrade Ching called out loudly, "Comrades! I am going to die now. I hope you, Comrades, will co-operate with one another and exert yourselves for the revolution hereafter."

At that time the representatives became more insistent for an interview with the battalion-leader, but the soldiers who took Comrade Ching out and the guards standing there pointed their guns at them and forced them to leave, saying "You wretches! You all should be killed! Go away at once!" Thinking that Comrade Ching was only taken to the yamen of the magistrate, the representatives returned to the office of the Kuomintang Branch and immediately convoked a meeting with the intention of devising measures for saving Comrade Ching. Unexpectedly as they were proceeding with their meeting, some company-leaders and officers of the battalion suddenly came and disturbed their gathering. The company leaders announced the killing of Comrade Ching, accusing him of being guilty of directing bandits in pillaging the region of Ying Lee and of supplying the robbers of Chui Men Hill with ammunitions—evidences of these crimes having been provided by scores of people. The reports point out that the truth of the case was that the magistrate, Soo Men, a depraved gentry, Tang Hui-sing, and the garrison troops co-operated with each other for falsely accusing Comrade Ching and putting him to death. Having learned all these things, we were full of anger and grief. For Comrade Ching was a very energetic and honest young Party member. When the National Revolutionary troops came to the South, Comrade Ching followed them to these districts. After arriving here, he exerted himself strenuously for more than half a year in conducting the peasant movement in the Hai Hang and Chui Men Districts. The peasants of the two districts came to love him very much. Two months ago, the Southern Districts Special Commission, seeing that Comrade Ching was an honest and energetic member and also a native of Chui Men District, appointed him a member of the preparatory committee for establishing the Chui Men District Kuomintang Branch, in order to have him co-operate with Comrades Wu Lin-shui and Chang Kam-ching in managing all Party affairs in the district. But at that time the reactionary magistrate of the District, Tam Hung-yam and some rebels, Tang Cho-yu and others conspired with one another to obstruct the movements of the Party and drive away Comrades Wu Lin-shui and others. On account of this,

Comrade Ching was unable to conduct the Party affairs in Chui Men and was obliged to stay in Hai Hang in order to carry out his work with regard to the peasant movement. Unexpectedly the magistrate, Soo Men and the battalion-leader, Chan Kung-hap conspired with each other and despatched soldiers to besiege the peasant union in Chun Ka Village and arrested and spirited away Comrade Ching. Refusing the request for an audience by the representatives of various classes, they secretly put him to death, and, when announcing his crimes, only accused him of directing bandits to commit robbery and also supplying the robbers with ammunitions, of which crimes, they declared, evidences were provided by many people.

Oh! Is it true that Comrade Ching was guilty of helping and supporting the bandits and therefore deserved to be killed by the battalion-leader and the magistrates? Even if he had actually committed those crimes, the magistrate and the battalion-leader should still announce his misdeeds openly and allow the representatives of the various classes to see and hear them, and should not implicitly believe in the words of certain people and secretly have him shot to death. At the present time when the revolutionary forces of the whole country are fighting strenuously against counter-revolutionary elements—especially when the Southern Districts of Kwangtung have just been rescued from the clutches of the rebels, renegades and the bandits, who may be found everywhere and are still conspiring with the corrupt officials, the depraved gentries, the native bullies and other reactionaries for creating disturbances—our Party requires many more people of the type of Comrade Ching to struggle against the counter-revolutionaries. How could the magistrate and the battalion-leader indiscriminately slaughter our comrades, thus weakening our revolutionary influence and helping the reactionaries? Our conference recognizes the murder of Comrade Ching as a great loss to our Party in the Southern Districts, and also considers this arbitrary action of the magistrate and battalion-leader very dangerous for our Party members in the South. For, if Comrade Ching is killed to-day, then our other comrades may be slaughtered any time in the future. Consequently, the lives of our comrades are always in jeopardy. Although death is not a thing which is feared by our revolutionary comrades, yet we would rather be killed by our enemy's troops and officials than be slaughtered by soldiers and officers under our Party Government. Our conference therefore recognizes this case as a very important matter, and unless the lives of our comrades are properly protected by the Central Kuomintang, the Provincial Party Branch, the Nationalist Government, the Military Council and various other organs who have taken action to deal strictly with the magistrate, Soo Men, and the battalion-leader, Chan Kung-hap, the future of our Party and the various mass movements will be greatly affected. We, the delegates of the conference, besides standing up at the meeting for 3 minutes for the purpose of expressing our sorrow for the death of Comrade

Ching, issued a telegram questioning the battalion-leader, Chan Kung-hap, about the reason of his action, and also despatched representatives to interview division-leader, Chan Chai-tong in order to ask him about various affairs relating to the case. We hereby appeal to you for support and direction.

- (Sd) 47 delegates of the Southern Districts Delegates Conference, representing the people of 14 districts and 2 cities, and also leading 67,900 Party members in the District.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen, 27-9-26.)

CHAPTER VI.

THE WORKING CLASS

AND

PEASANTS.

A. DECLARATIONS, RESOLUTIONS, OPEN LETTERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS REGARDING THE UNION OF PEASANTS AND LABOURERS.

1. Worker's Attitude Towards the Peasants.

1. RESOLUTION OF THE COOPERATION OF PEASANTS AND LABOURERS:

1. The major portion of the population of the country is composed of peasants. Therefore the peasants occupy an important part in the economic system. The oppressions forced upon them by the Imperialists are no less than those forced upon the laboring class. Therefore they too bear the responsibility of the revolution.

2. If the laboring class is out to destroy the present capitalistic influence, they must cooperate with the forces of revolution in order to do so. Therefore they should do their utmost to find out who their comrades are. And their only comrades are the peasants. If the proletariat does not cooperate with the peasants, the revolution will never be an accomplished fact.

3. We understand that the heart of a Government is in the town or city. This means that the heart of the struggle is also in the town or city. And so at the present time the laboring class should cooperate to the utmost with the peasants to carry out this struggle.

4. The struggle between the laboring and capitalistic classes has arisen and it is to death. The reason for the failure of the Paris Commune in 1871, of the Russian Revolution in 1905, of the German and Bulgarian Revolutions in 1923 was that, the laborers did not have the assistance of the peasants or that the power of the peasants was limited by capitalistic domination and conversely, the Russian Revolution was victorious because of the cooperation between laborers and peasants.

5. The peasants of China constitute over seventy-five per cent of the whole population. The oppressions forced on them by the Imperialists are worse than those imposed on the laboring class. In order to attain emancipation, the laborers should obtain the cooperation of the peasants.

6. The emancipation of the peasants likewise rests on the cooperation of the laboring class.

7. Observance of the following rules is necessary for the co-operation of peasants and laborers :—

- (1) In the village or whenever working near the peasants, the workers should explain their propaganda to the peasants, at the same time assisting them in organising the Peasant Associations.
- (2) The Labor Unions and the Peasant Associations should each appoint delegates and the Labor Union should propose a scheme for the guidance and promotion of the Peasant Associations in the economic sphere.
- (3) Should a struggle of the peasants in the interests of economy and government take place, the workers should guide and assist the peasants.

These resolutions were passed at the 8th Meeting of the 2nd Labor Congress of China.

May 6, 1925.

2. RESOLUTION FOR THE UNION OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS.

[*Passed at the 2nd Labour Congress of China* *).]

1. China, for many thousands of years a farming country, has suffered within the last century great economic depression on account of the invasion of imperialism.

2. After conquering the farming country, the imperialists, by means of their strategy, forced China to cancel all the existing restrictions and open treaty ports so as to enable their cheap machinery-made articles to be abundantly imported into China. As a result, the economic welfare of the peasants was endangered and the market for hand-made articles limited. As China has no manufactured goods to exchange with the Powers, and the only means of exchange is raw materials for manufactured goods, the Chinese peasants are, therefore, directly subjected to the oppression.

3. China, although a farming country, has developed a number of infant enterprises as a result of the invasion of the foreign powers and of the European War. Taking this opportunity of securing cheap raw materials and labor, the foreign powers sent their capitalists to China to open factories and manufacture articles to meet the demand of the Chinese market. The unemployed hand-workers are, therefore, being crowded into the factories. In this way the Chinese working class has been formed.

4. The effect of the invasion of foreign capital has been twofold : first to speed up the rate of production, and, secondly, to cause the bankruptcy of the semi-colonial territory. Since the supply of labor in China exceeds the demand, the Chinese workers have been forced to sell their labor to the Chinese or foreign capitalists at a cheaper rate. The peasant, in turn, have been forced to become soldiers and bandits. This transformation has been beneficial solely to the feudal militarists.

5. In order to accomplish the aim for the emancipation of the nation, the Chinese workers and peasants must get busy and stand on the firing line to oppose the imperialists. The workers will naturally lead the fight because of their organization and their clear analysis of the political situation. Their only ally is the masses composed of the peasants.

6. Though still in its infancy the labor movement in China seems to have accomplished most by means of the union of workers and peasants. In 1924 the peasants at Hina Hsien (Flower District), Kwangtung Province, organized a peasant association so as to enable them to demand the landlords reduce their rent. Had the Worker's Union at Canton not immediately offered their valuable assistance, the peasants would certainly have been crushed by the landlords. During the mutiny of the Merchant Volunteers last year we saw the workers and peasants working hand-in-hand to drive out the faithful dogs of the Imperial Government of Great Britain. The reason why the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen decided to disarm the Merchant Volunteers and split with imperialism was that, the workers and peasants had at that time showed their intention of working for the same cause.

7. In the spring of 1925, we saw the last battle of the landlords at Kwang Ning^a) after a few months of bloody struggle on the part of the peasants. Such a strong, united and fighting spirit had never been witnessed before. The Peasant Association was formed because the workers at Canton, who had actual experience in fighting and the formation of associations, assisted the peasants to unite. During the struggle of the Kwang Ning peasants, the workers at Canton voluntarily formed an association to back up the peasants in case of an emergency.

8. The workers lead the peasants in a determined struggle for a common end. Although the above-mentioned activities are very hopeful, it is but the beginning. The Second Chinese Labor National Conference ought to consider these facts and devise a slogan which may be easily propagated and popularized for the use of the workers and peasants. This is the most important work for the Chinese workers who are now fighting against imperialism. If we fail in this task, it means that we shall not only lose the ground already gained in revolution for the emancipation of the Chinese Nation, but also a natural ally of the workers. It will be impossible for the Chinese workers to lead the National Revolution, to crush the imperial capitalists and to destroy the power of feudal militarism without the aid of the peasants.

May 6th, 1925.

3. THE CONGRATULATORY TELEGRAM OF THE FIRST KWANGTUNG
RAILWAYMEN'S CONGRESS TO THE 2ND ALL-KWANGTUNG
PEASANT CONFERENCE.

"On the day when your 2nd Congress closed its session, we held the inaugural ceremony of our 1st. Kwangtung Railwaymen's Delegates Congress.

We will unanimously support all the resolutions passed at your Congress and have them put into practice. We also want you to help us realize our resolutions.

Your enemies have already been overthrown by us, and now you must do your best to help us overthrow ours. Your enemies are our enemies. Therefore we cannot further continue to work separately. Our duty to you and to ourselves is the same. No matter whether it is a political or an economic struggle, we need your assistance, and particularly that of the peasant-comrades in the vicinity of the railways in order to be successful.

During Yang and Liu's Rebellion last year, we, the railway workers, received great assistance from you. We sincerely hope that hereafter the peasant-comrades in the neighborhood of the Five Railways will firmly cooperate with us to overthrow our enemies."

(Sd) *1st. Kwangtung Railwaymen Delegates Congress.*
(May 1926.)

4. CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE FROM THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY.

Comrades of the Peasant Delegates' Conference of All-Kwangtung:

The Chinese peasants not only form the majority of the people of China, but are also superior in number to the peasants of various other nations of the world. Likewise they also surpass the peasants of other countries in their sufferings, for the Chinese peasants have suffered from the oppression of six kinds of people, viz., the imperialists, the militarists, the landlords, the corrupt officials, the depraved gentry and bullies, and the bandits and unruly soldiers. Peasants of other nations have not been required to undergo all of these.

The Chinese peasants, whom their enemies have called "sleeping people," have now awakened and have set to work to establish their own organizations. They have equipped themselves with arms and are ready to fight against their enemies—the oppressing classes.

But the Chinese peasants must pay attention to two things, viz.,

(1) Under the oppressions of the external imperialists and the internal militarists, the peasants will not be able to get rid of their sufferings due to the harsh treatment of the six oppressing classes until they have succeeded in their National Revolution and in overthrowing imperialism and the militarists. Consequently the Peasant Movement must be conducted in connection with the Revolutionary Movement for the people of All-China. Furthermore, the Chinese National Revolution will also not be accomplished unless the peasants of the whole country participate in that movement.

(2) The workers are the bravest pioneers in the present revolutionary movement, and, furthermore, the laborers of various big cities are occupying a very important political position at present. Hence, the peasants, in conducting their movements, must unite and cooperate with the workers, and the revolutionary laborers should also direct the peasants in their movements.

Our Party is a party which represents the Chinese laborers and peasants in their struggle for emancipation. It is the present duty of our Party to lead the Chinese peasants and laborers to participate in the struggles for the Chinese National Revolution, and, at the same time to represent the comrades of the peasant delegates' conference of All-Kwangtung in conducting the National Revolutionary Movement.

We now propose this slogan for adoption at your conference: "Close union of workers and peasants of the whole country." We also congratulate you on the success of your conference.

Long live the Peasant Conference of All-Kwangtung!

Long live the peasant movement of China!

Long live the union of the Chinese peasant and workers!

Long live the Chinese Revolution!

Long live the World Revolution!

(Sl) *The Central Executive Committee of the Chinese
Communist Party. (4-20-1926.)*

II. Peasant's Attitude Towards Workers.

1. RESOLUTIONS PASSED AFTER THE REPORT OF THE DELEGATES OF THE 3RD ALL-CHINA GENERAL LABOR UNION.

After the delegate of the All-China General Labor Union, who was sent to attend the general meeting of the Red Labor International, had given his report at the Labor and Peasant Conferences, the following resolutions were passed:—

(1) Ever since the inauguration of the Red Labor International, surprising results have been obtained in its movements for the unification of labor unions of the whole world and for the struggle against imperialism. Our conference hereby expresses its sincere satisfaction with the policies and schemes adopted by the Red Labor International. During the past year the Chinese workers, who are suffering considerably from the severe oppressions of international imperialism, have, under the guidance of the Red Labor International, exerted themselves strenuously in launching attacks upon imperialism and have contributed much to the Chinese National Revolution and the World Revolution. Our conference, therefore, swears to continuously do its best to support all the policies fixed by the Red Labor International, and to decisively fight against capitalistic imperialism.

(2) Our conference recognizes the labor movement unification policy, which was fixed by the Red Labor International, to be most necessary for the present world labor movement. That policy should not only be immediately put into practice in the reformation of Europe, but also has a very significant bearing upon the labor movement of Asia. Our conference is willing to exert strenuous efforts for hastening the unification of the labor movement in the various countries of Asia. We will try our best to avoid the splitting up of the forces of the Eastern laborers, and to enable the emancipation of the working class to be realized as soon as possible. At the same time our conference also expresses a hearty contempt for the actions of the reformistic leaders of the "yellow international" in misleading and betraying the working class and violating the labor movement. We should like to lift off their masks and will try strenuously to overthrow them. We also hope that the working masses under the "yellow international" will at once sever their connection with their deceitful leaders and unite with the real revolutionary workers, so as to constitute an anti-imperialistic joint front.

(3) The working masses are the main force for revolution, while the peasant masses are the most intimate comrades of the workers. The policy of the union of laborers and peasants, which was established by the Red Labor International, is truly the best way for our comrades to conduct our revolutionary work in China. Our conference hereby expresses its willingness to struggle strenuously for the union of laborers and peasants as well as for the common interests of the two classes, so as to attain our final emancipation.

Long live the unification of the world labor movement!

Long live the union of laborers and peasants!

Long live the Red Labor International!

Long live the Red Peasant International!

2. RESOLUTION ON THE UNION OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS PASSED
AT THE SECOND PEASANTS DELEGATES CONFERENCE
OF ALL-KWANGTUNG.

On this 1st of May, the great anniversary of the demonstration of the non-property holding proletariat of the whole world against the imperialists, our Chinese workers and peasants hold their Joint Delegates' Conference in Canton. We hereby solemnly express to all the oppressed classes our decision to carry on our anti-imperialistic work to the very end.

We call the workers and peasants of All-China to closely unite together, as we must do so before we can overcome the hardships which lie in the way of our progress and, furthermore, we must do so before we can overthrow the reactionary front which is at present composed of the Northern militarists.

Now the Northern reactionary forces are celebrating their victory which they have just won. Furthermore, they are making all preparations for launching the final attack upon our masses with the intention of making all the people of our country their helpless slaves. Under such dangerous conditions, we should remove all misapprehensions that have arisen among ourselves, and contrive strenuously for the formation of an iron-like united front of the revolutionary workers' and peasants' masses. Since the reactionaries, who are sheltered by the alien imperialists, have now joined strongly together to carry out their wicked measures for oppressing and harming us, the only way for us to withstand them is to combine and face them with a united front.

Since the Kuominchun's evacuation of Peking, the only force which remains to fight against the reactionaries for the accomplishment of the National Revolution is the Kwangtung Nationalist Government. This Nationalist Government which has accepted the last will of Dr. Sun, will, under the guidance of the Kuomintang, surely struggle onward against the imperialists and militarists who are, enslaving the working and peasant classes of our country, and, ruining the National Movement of our people.

We hereby, on behalf of the organized labor and peasant masses of the whole country, express with utmost sincerity our intention of strenuously supporting the Chinese Kuomintang and the Nationalist Government. We also trust that they will finally succeed in accomplishing the revolutionary works which Dr. Sun started.

Again, we are now demanding the assistance of the non-property holding proletariat as well as the oppressed people of the whole world in our Chinese National Revolution and our worker and peasant emancipation movements. The formation of a united front by the imperialists of the world for the purpose of making the workers and peasants suffer permanently under their oppressions, and also perpetually to enslave our suppressed classes is being considered. The purpose of the constitution of a united front of the workers, peasants, and oppressed people of the world is to emancipate themselves and to overthrow imperialism, so that it will never exist in the world again. These respective interests, being positively opposed to one another, make it impossible for them to co-exist and the result is that one must destroy the other. Hence let us loudly proclaim :-

Long live the union of the labor and peasant classes and the oppressed people of the whole world !

Long live the joint front of the Chinese revolutionary peasants and laborers !

Long live the National Revolution !

3. PROVINCIAL PEASANT ASSOCIATION EXTENDS "MAY 1" MOVEMENT

The following two letters were issued to the peasants in regard to the May 1st movement.

(1) May 1, the day when the working-class of the world will carry out their demonstrative movements against the capitalistic classes, is approaching.

The Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Union recognizes that the aim of the May 1st Movement is fundamentally to overthrow capitalism and establish a new society. Formerly this aim was not carried out by the workers, who had only the demand of an eight hour working day, as their slogan. Formerly also the peasants did not cooperate with them.

But recently the Provincial Peasant Union has realized that hereafter this May 1st Movement must be extended and enlarged. Not only will the workers participate, but the peasants also. The slogan will not only be the demand of an eight hour working day, but also the awakening of the oppressed people of the world. The workers and peasants must unanimously arm themselves and cooperatively exterminate the capitalists, militarists and imperialists in order to accomplish World Revolution.

Consequently it has been decided that on the coming May Day a circular to the peasants of various districts will be issued, instructing them to carry out this movement on Labor Day.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen, 4-21-26).

(2) *The circular to the Peasants of various districts:*

Our dear peasant-comrades! Today is the day of the demonstration of the allied non-property holding proletariat of the whole world, both of the General Delegates Conference of the Peasants of the province of Kwangtung, and the 3rd General Workers Conference of All-China. On this day, we should try our best to express our determination of forming a union on a revolutionary front.

Our dear peasant-comrades! We, both being of the oppressed classes, are now in the same position. The oppressions imposed by the imperialists and the militarists upon our workers are just the same as those inflicted upon your peasants. While your peasants are suffering from poverty and homelessness because of hostilities, our workers are also unemployed and homeless because of the endless civil wars. While you are plundered by the bandits and unruly soldiers, we are also robbed by those rascals. You are cruelly treated by the corrupt officials; we are similarly oppressed by them. You find it very hard to maintain your livelihood because of the high cost of living; we are rendered poverty-stricken for the same reason. You are severely oppressed by the landlords and depraved gentry; we too are harshly treated by our employers and the owners of our factories. If we search and trace to the source of our sufferings, we shall find that they are all due to the oppressive and evil actions of the imperialists and their hunting-dogs:

the militarists, etc. We have enemies in common. If we wish to strengthen our forces so that we may be stronger in our struggle for emancipation, we must both unite more closely and firmly and cooperate with each other for the overthrow of imperialism and militarism.

Our dear peasant-comrades! The imperialists and the militarists understand what we are now discussing. If we examine the recent actions of the imperialists and the militarists, who have mercilessly massacred our worker and peasant comrades and tried strenuously to obstruct our labor and peasant movements and hinder the progress of the organizations of these two classes, we shall find that our enemies have acknowledged the awakening of our comrades and have attempted energetically to prevent us from rising up to oppose them. From our examinations, moreover, it can be seen that the most important thing for us to do at present is to unite together and to work for the overthrow of our enemies.

The oppressing classes are now taking more serious steps in attacking and oppressing us. In order to oppose their actions we must take advantage of this day—the day when the non-property holding proletariat of the whole world are manifesting their union and cooperation—to rise up and unite so as to form a joint front against our enemies.

Let us all loudly proclaim the following:—

Long live the union of workers and peasants!

Long live the union of the oppressed people of the whole country!

Overthrow imperialism and the militarists!

Eradicate the vagabonds, bandits and corrupt officials!

Increase the wages of our workers!

Reduce the rents of the fields!

Long live the success of the National Revolution!

(Sd) *The 3rd General Workers' Conference of All-China. (May 1st)*

III. Joint Activities of Peasants and Workers.

1. PEASANT AND LABOR CONGRESS

At 2 o'clock in the afternoon of May 3rd, the 3rd All-China Labor Congress and the 2nd All-Kwangtung Peasant Congress continued their 3rd Joint Session at the Central Kuomintang Building. Over five hundred delegates representing workers and peasants were present.

The events of the conference were as follows:—

(1) A report was given by Comrade Lee Li-san, the delegate of the All-China Labor Union who attended the Red International Labor Conference and was chairman of the Committee of the Shanghai General Labor Union when he participated in the Red International Labor Conference.

His report may be divided generally into the following main parts:

1. Purpose of the Red International Labor Conference.
2. The position of the Chinese Labor Movement in the World Labor Movement.
3. Resolution in regard to Chinese workers passed at the International Labor Conference.
4. Condition of the Peasant International.

Besides the above, he also pointed out the malicious intrigues of the imperialists, militarists and notorious gentry in attempting to frustrate the workers in their organization of labor unions. The following are the main points:—

- a. In any factory, the workers of the same occupation are only allowed to organise one labor union. Moreover they are not allowed to cooperate with other workers' organizations, thus preventing them from concentrating the workers' strength.
- b. The capitalists imbue the workers with the ideas of "Localism" and "Nationalism", thus preventing the laborers of various places from cooperating with one other and also raising disputes among themselves.
- c. The capitalists utilize the difference of work and wages to differentiate the workers. Those who do more work and earn more wages are better treated; but those who do less and earn less wages are oppressed. Taking advantage of the differences of religion, the capitalists weaken the workers' force by instructing them to organize labor unions according to religious faiths, thus preventing the cooperation of their strength.

The capitalists always send their hunting-dogs to participate in the workers' organisations as members of the staff in order to create disturbances. Whenever they find any energetic workers, they plot to get rid of them.

After Comrade Lee Li-san spoke thoroughly on each of the above articles, he also emphasized that as China is suffering so much to-day, externally from imperialistic oppression and internally from the militarists, that unless all the workers and peasants cooperate and bring about the accomplishment of the National Revolution there is no way to save them. He said that the workers and peasants are the most revolutionary factors in the National Revolution and if they want to emancipate themselves permanently, they should bear the responsibility.

When he finished the delivery of the above address, Comrade Lee Li-san was loudly applauded by the audience.

The following actions were next taken:

(1) The secretariat submitted the resolution by Comrade Chiang Kai-shih on the cooperation of workers, peasants and soldiers for discussion. It was unanimously passed.

(2) It was resolved that the secretariat should draft a declaration of support to the Nationalist Government and the National Revolutionary soldiers, the declaration to be issued jointly, under the names of the Workers' and Peasants' Congresses.

(3) A resolution was passed that the Secretariat should draft a letter to the Kuomintang, thanking them for the assistance rendered to the workers and peasants; and hoping that they will quickly extirpate all disloyal party members who attempt to frustrate Peasants' and Workers' Movements.

(4) Peng Pai, the chairman, suggested that at 2 p.m. of the 4th instant, they all should jointly proceed to the Canton-Hongkong Strike Committee to console the striker-comrades. This was also passed.

(5) The chairman again suggested that on May 7th, they should all proceed to the Nationalist Government to send in their petition urging the despatch of the Northern Punitive Expedition, in order to eradicate all militarists and counter-revolutionists and bring about the unification of China. This was unanimously passed.

(6) The General-Secretary suggested the appointment of four persons to console Lim Wei-min, chairman of the Committee of the All-China Labor Union, who has been incapacitated on account of overwork in assisting the striker-comrades during the present anti-imperialistic movement. Two delegates, namely Sun Leong-wei and Chang Han-lan, suggested that the Congress should pay the medical expenses of chairman Lim. These suggestions were also passed.

At 5 p.m. the peasant delegates left the conference first because they had to attend the welcoming party held in their honor by the students of the Agricultural College of the Kwangtung University. Before the meeting adjourned at 6 p.m., the regulations of the Investigation Committee regarding the investigation of the qualification of the delegates, who attended the conference, were discussed and then passed.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen, 5-6-26.)

2. LABOR AND PEASANT JOINT CONGRESS.

This was the first formal session of the 3rd Workers' and the 2nd Kwangtung Peasants' Congresses held jointly on the 2nd instant.

After hearing the report on the "Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers' Cooperation" by General Chiang Kai-shih, Dean of the Whampoa Military Academy, the following resolution was unanimously passed:

From the experience gained during the past year in regard to the National Revolution, we know that if the soldiers do not cooperate with workers and peasants, they will fail and therefore in order to be victorious their cooperation with

the two masses is essential. The failure of the Fengtien soldiers in Shanghai was due to their oppression of the workers. Similarly the defeat of Chen Chiung-ming's renegade troops resulted because of their tyrannical treatment of the peasants. The 2nd Army of the Kuominchun in Honan failed because they did not co-operate with the peasants and laborers.

The Revolutionary soldiers in Kwangtung are different. They cooperated with the workers and peasants and thus have accomplished the unification of Kwangtung and Kwangsi. Not only that, they have also exterminated all counter-revolutionists' power and established the Nationalist Government.

From past experience we have also learned that the laborers and peasants depend upon the victory of the Revolutionary soldiers for freedom of organization. The reason that the movements of the peasants and workers in Kwangtung have developed to so great an extent, is due to the fact that they are protected by the Revolutionary troops.

Since the defeat of the Kuominchun in Chihli and Honan, workers' and peasants' movements there have been severely dealt with. If the Revolutionary soldiers of Kwangtung are able to continue cooperating with the peasants and workers of all China and jointly proceed with their struggles, we are assured that in the Northern Punitive Expedition there will be no obstructions hindering the achievement of their victory.

For the sake of the National Revolution and our own interests, we, workers and peasants, must determinedly exert our utmost strength to help the Revolutionary soldiers to fulfil their duty.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen, 5-6-26.)

3. WORKERS AND PEASANTS JOINTLY HOLD CEREMONY FOR THEIR CONGRESS ON MAY DAY

On May 1st., Labor Day, the 3rd All-China Labor Congress under the auspices of the All-China Labor Union and the 2nd Provincial Peasant Delegates Congress, convoked by the Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Association jointly held their sessional ceremonies. Prior to that day preparations had been made for several weeks.

At the ceremony about four hundred delegates, representing more than 1,100,000 workers in various workers' organizations all over China, were in attendance. There were over two hundred delegates, representing over 800,000 organized peasants, from the Province of Kwangtung. The ceremony commenced at 9 a.m. in the assembly hall of the Central Kuomintang, which was well and solemnly decorated.

At the gate to the Central Kuomintang, a "Pailou" was erected. In the center of the hall the portrait of the late Dr. Sun, the Revolutionary leader, was hung. The place was decorated with National, Kuomintang, Workers' and Peasants' flags. On both sides two long pieces of red cloth bearing the following slogans were hung:

"Workers of All-China: Unite under the flags of the All-China Labor Union!
Keep up the spirit of February 7th and May 30!
Workers, Peasants, Soldiers, Merchants, Students of China: Unite!
Consolidate the joint fighting-front of all classes!
Workers and Peasants cooperate!
Improve the living conditions of the workers!
Establish freedom of speech, strike and publication!
Proletarians of the world: Unite!
Enforce the eight hour working day!
Support the Nationalist Government!
Long live the 1st. Workers' Congress!
Long live the 2nd Kwangtung Peasants' Delegates Congress!"

All around the door of the assembly hall there were red flags. Beginning at 9 o'clock a continual procession of delegates could be seen entering the building. The total attendance was about two thousand, comprised of delegates from the workers' and the peasants' congresses and the representatives of various organizations.

At 10 a.m. the opening of the meeting was announced. Liu Sew-kee, the chief secretary, made known the number of the Joint Congress delegates present and the names of those persons forming the committee to preside over the meeting, viz: Teng Chung-hsia, Tang Sew-shan and So Sew-ching representing the workers, and Chow Kee-ham and Yuen Kee the peasants. From the Presiding Committee, Teng Chung-hsia was then elected chairman.

After the reading of the last will of the late President Sun by Comrade Lin Cho-ham, representative of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, the audience bowed thrice before the National, the Party, the Workers' and the Peasants' flags; then followed a silence of three minutes for the purpose of expressing sorrow for the Revolutionary leader and all the martyrs who have died for China's Revolution.

The chairman then made known the reason of the meeting. He said briefly: "To-day the 3rd All-China Workers' Congress and the 2nd. Kwangtung Peasants' Congress jointly hold their inauguration ceremonies here. On the one hand we feel very happy, but on the other we feel that we have much to grieve for.

"Upon going over the events of the past year, since the convention of the 2nd All-China Workers Congress and that of the 1st. Peasants' Conference, we find they

have done much for China's Revolution. The peasants' and the workers' organizations in Kwangtung have been supporting the Revolutionary Government with all their strength, and have helped it to subdue the Yang and Liu revolts.

"From the time of the May 30th massacre and the imperialist slaughter of our fellow-countrymen, the workers in Canton, Hongkong and other places of the North have made many sacrifices in their struggle against the imperialists. The Kwangtung peasants and those of the northern provinces have also repeatedly lodged protests against the militarists. Since the Revolutionary spirit of all China has risen to such a height it is evident that the strength of the workers and peasants is not less and this fact is sufficient to cause rejoicing.

"Our worker-comrades and our leaders, such as Koo Ching-sung, Liu Wah, Wong Ching-yuen, Lee Wai-lung, and Ko Hok-hin have sacrificed a lot. This is also true of the strikers in the North, in Hongkong and Canton. Indeed our worker-comrades have made tremendous sacrifices. When we think of the immense losses that have been sustained, we feel sorry. Nevertheless we are also willing to continue the sacrificing spirit of the martyrs.

"The congress we are holding is to review our strength and concentrate our power in co-operation with all the classes of China in order to bring about the downfall of the imperialists, to overthrow the militarists, tyrannical scholars, ruffians, etc., and to accomplish China's Revolution."

After the above speech, congratulatory addresses from various organizations such as the Kuomintang, the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Communist Youth Organization, etc. were read. Representatives of various bodies made speeches. Comrade Lim Cho-ham, representative of the Political Council, said in his speech that he, on behalf of the Political Council, congratulate the inauguration ceremony of the workers' and peasants' congress which is being jointly held. He said that the Kuomintang and the Nationalist Government should naturally obey the instructions of the late President Sun in assisting the peasants and workers in their development, and that he sincerely expected that they would unite their strength and help the Revolutionary Government to accomplish China's National Revolution.

Following Lim Cho-ham's speech, comrade Chian Ta-pi, representative of the Central Executive Committee spoke. He said that as the workers and peasants are the leading forces in the National Revolution and the main factors for protesting against imperialism, the Kuomintang, in following the advocacies of the late President Sun to support the workers and peasants in their development, would never deceive them and would render them all possible assistance.

Comrade Chiu Suat-chi, representative of the Chinese Communist Party also delivered a speech. He said: "This meeting is the 1st. meeting since May 30th

of last year. Within a year's time, the labor and peasant masses have made great sacrifices.

"Consequently the delegates who are here today should pay more attention to the struggle and the spirit of sacrifice. After May 30th, although on the fighting-front of National Revolution and World Revolution, the Chinese workers and peasants have demonstrated their great strength, and their organization has improved very much, they should continue their long-standing struggling spirit and draw up better plans for cooperatively launching attacks upon their common enemies—the imperialists and militarists."

Lim Kan, representative of the Chinese Communist Youth, in his speech said: "Now the political situation of All-China is in a most reactionary state. The peasants and laborers are the leading factors in the Revolutionary party. At the present congress, measures for dealing with the present reactionary condition should be discussed.

"The Chinese Communist Youth is struggling for the welfare of all oppressed masses, especially the young workers and peasants. Their living condition is most pitiful. The young folks have to work the same length of time as the adults, but their wages are much less. Moreover, they have no means of obtaining education and amusement.

"The young workers and peasants are the reserves for the adults. If the living conditions of the young ones are not bettered, it will naturally effect the adults. I sincerely hope that the congress delegates will pay more attention to this."

Lastly, a certain peasant delegate also said that all should determinedly continue to struggle as before with the same sacrificing spirit and then they would be capable of achieving complete victory.

All the speeches delivered by the various delegates and representatives were so enthusiastic and exciting that after the making of every address, the audience applauded loudly. Before the meeting ended, the following slogans were repeated:

May 1st is the memorial day for the Nationalist Government to unite all Revolutionary strength for opposing imperialism.

Enforce the eight hour working day.

Fight for freedom of organizations.

Consolidate the cooperative fighting front of the various circles against Imperialism.

Support the Nationalist Government.

Support the Canton-Hongkong Strike.

Down with the imperialists, militarists, compradores, and counter-revolutionists!

Workers, peasants, merchants, soldiers and students of all over China: Unite!

All proletarians and oppressed people: Unite!

Long live the accomplishment of the National Revolution!

Long live the accomplishment of the World Revolution!

This is an open letter to the worker-comrades of the whole world from the All-China Labor Congress:

"Worker-comrades! On May 1st, Labor Day, 1926, the 3rd All-China Labor Congress was held with much splendor in Canton. Over four hundred delegates representing 1,100,000 organized workers were present. Representatives of the National Revolutionary Government, Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, Red Labor International, Chinese Communist Party, Communist Youth, Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Union, etc., also participated.

At the meeting the audience remained silent for three minutes as a mark of respect for the martyrs who died for the cause of the labor movement and also as an expression of our grievances. We extend to proletarians of the whole world and comrades who are now strenuously struggling and those who are in prison for the sake of the labor movement, the hope that they shall quickly attain their freedom and emancipation.

A year has elapsed since the 2nd congress. Within a year's time the labor movement of China has developed to an extent very seldom seen before. After the May 30th Massacre of last year, the working class of China has been leading the Revolutionary masses to struggle enthusiastically against the imperialists. We consider that quite satisfactory.

The unscrupulous leaders, who have always been oppressing and squeezing you, are also taking malicious measures to jeopardize the lives of our Chinese. They take advantage of the unequal treaties to oppress one-fourth of the population of the world, and such unequal treaties were forced upon China by the imperialists.

Since the imperialists have such unequal treaties, they station their soldiers in Chinese territory and detailed gunboats to patrol Chinese waters. All the while they are preparing to exterminate all the Revolutionary people. In Peking they instigated and assisted their hunting-dogs to establish a bogus government for protesting against the Revolutionary Nationalist Government at Canton.

In addition to that, they also utilize their hunting-dogs—the militarists—to create incessant civil wars, causing China constant trouble and her people great distress. Then under the pretext of protecting the Chinese people, they say that to have garrison soldiers in Chinese territory is essential and that the unequal treaties cannot at present be abolished.

If the people were to rise against them, they would utilize the militarists, their gunboats to destroy the Chinese people. The May 30th massacre at Shanghai, the June 23rd at Shakee, Canton, the recent March 18 shooting at Peking and all other subsequent bloody outrages can be taken as evidences.

We sincerely hope that the workers of the world will prevent their own governments from perpetrating further inhumane acts in China. The imperialists are now forming a joint fighting front to launch attacks upon the proletariat of Soviet Russia and of the world as well as all weak nations. Simultaneously they will devise means of preventing conflicts among themselves in China and cooperate with all reactionary powers to ruin the Revolutionary power, i. e., the Nationalist Government at Canton. The Canton-Hongkong strike is the thing they want to defeat now.

We hope all the workers of the world will unanimously support the Chinese anti-imperialism movements, especially the Canton-Hongkong Strike which has continued for eleven months. In the present hard struggle of opposing the movements of the capitalists for diminishing wages and increasing working hours, the imperialists use the government's mediating measures to deceive the workers, such as, the present coal miners in England, the seamen-strike of Europe and the miners strike of the United States. The imperialists always depend upon their killing force, and this is due to the negligence of unanimous cooperation of the workers of the whole world.

With the above knowledge, we sincerely ask you all to quickly unify the workers' movements of the world. The failure of unification means the success of imperialism. Let us all proclaim:

Long live the unification of the labor movement of the world!

Long live the accomplishment of World Revolution!

Workers of the world and oppressed people of the Orient: Unite!

(Sd.) 3rd All-China Labor Congress.

AN OPEN TELEGRAM TO THE CHINESE PEOPLE

To our fellow-countrymen of all China c/o the various newspapers:

The 3rd All-China Labor Congress today holds its inauguration ceremony jointly with that of the 2nd Kwangtung Peasant Delegates Congress at Canton. Over 400 worker delegates representing 1,100,000 organized laborers are present. There are also over 250 peasant delegates representing over 800,000 organized peasants.

Representatives of workers' organizations of various countries, such as Great Britain, Soviet Russia, France, Germany, America, Japan, etc., and delegates of various circles in Kwangtung, viz: military, political, students, merchants and

others are also participating. They all assure us that all the sufferings of the Chinese people is the result of imperialist aggression. The workers and peasants, for the purpose of relieving their own oppression, have to cooperate with the students, merchants, and all revolutionary masses to jointly launch attacks upon the imperialists, overthrow them and their tools—the militarists of China.

We also recognize that the workers and peasants of the world as well as all oppressed people are the vanguards for overthrowing the imperialists. The Chinese workers and peasants should unite with all the oppressed people of their country.

All counter-revolutionists, the compradore class, the militarists, the corrupt officials, ruffians, unjust scholars and worker-traitors are obstructions in the achieving of emancipation, therefore we should with all our power extirpate them.

The 3rd Workers' Congress and the 2nd Peasants' Congress are upholding the spirit of the May 30th movement. They are for uniting all the workers and peasants as well as all the oppressed people of China to fight for the restoration of their own privileges which have been seized by the oppressors.

We earnestly expect that all our Chinese fellow-countrymen will unanimously unite and strive until we attain our emancipation and freedom.

(Sd) 3rd All-China Labor Congress

(From the Kuo Min Hsin Wen, 5-3-26)

B. PEASANTS SUPPORT THE HONGKONG STRIKERS.

1. PROVINCIAL PEASANT ASSOCIATION WELCOME THE STRIKERS.

As the strike would greatly effect the course of the National Emancipation of China, the Provincial Peasant Association held a meeting to welcome the strikers at the Assembly Hall of Kwangtung University on the 23rd instant. Before the commencement of the meeting, Tsang Yung, Wong Him, and Shim Yan-sang of the Workers and Wong Tim, Pang Pai, and Tsoi Yu-ping of the Peasants, were elected as members of the presidium.

After the opening of the meeting the delegates listened to music and later the reading of the last will of our late leader. This was followed by the ceremonies of bowing before the labor and peasant flags and of the interviewing the strikers and members of this association.

The opening remarks by Tsoi Yu-ping are here quoted :

"Today is the day on which the Provincial Peasant Association welcome the Strikers. In other words, this meeting is the second assembly of the workers and peasants. The first assembly was held in this very same hall on May 1st. of last year. At that time cooperation between peasants and workers was indicated. From that day to the present time great progress has been made. In the meantime, our workers have joined the anti-imperialistic movement and started a strike and returned to their own country so as to deliver a fatal blow to the imperialists. And now at our second assembly, the fact that the Canton-Hongkong Strike is still in existence shows that we have done good work in the anti-imperialistic movement. We find upon reflection that the Liu-Yang Rebellion of last year was not created by them alone. As a matter of fact, they were directed to do so by the imperialists, who wanted to upset the Nationalist Government. We should take into consideration the fact that workers and peasants are the foundation of the Nationalist Government. From a superficial point of view, the reactionaries were fighting against the Nationalist Government. But, actually, they were attacking the peasant and labor class. At that time, fortunately, our workers were alive to this important point and so promoted the Yueh-Han Railway Strike. By this, their communications and transportation facilities were cut-off and they ran short of supplies. At the same time, our peasants rose up to aid the Revolutionary Army by besieging and attacking Liu and Yang's soldiers and creating trouble for their rear troops. The importance of our co-operation has been shown in the overthrow of Liu and Yang. However strong the

reactionary force is, we will be strong enough to get rid of them immediately if we, peasants and workers, cooperate with each other. Moreover, both peasants and workers are producers under the oppression of capitalism. We must cooperate with each other. We should cooperate to overthrow the militarists and imperialists and unite with the oppressed classes of All-China and of the whole world in a joint struggle. These are the reasons why we are holding this assembly today."

The reception speech of Peng Pai was as follows:

"To-day the Provincial Peasant Association welcomes the strikers. This meeting is the most important assembly in the history of the Provincial Peasant Association because it is to welcome the vanguards of anti-imperialism. Our workers are willing to sacrifice. They are suffering from hunger and cold. They are neither fighting for themselves nor for the privileges of the laboring class but for the National Revolution. How great is the responsibility of our workers! We, peasants, must not forget their kind feelings; we are holding this great meeting to welcome them. As our workers are successful, they deserve to receive our reception. As the Strike has been upheld for eight or nine months, is it not a victorious one? We may discuss it from two different points of view?

1. Internally, since the advent of the Canton-Hongkong Strike, all counter-revolutionary forces have been cleared up and Kwangtung is now unified. The Strike helps the industry of Kwangtung to expand gradually and has been the impetus of the plans for opening Whampoa into a commercial port so as to make Kwangtung independent of Hongkong.

2. Externally, since the commencement of the Canton-Hongkong Strike, the imperialists have suffered great losses and have been fatally wounded."

The above speech was followed by a report from Yuen Siu-sin, as follows:

Since Chen Chiung-ming's regime in Kwangtung the Hai Feng people, who are relatives of Chen Chiung-ming, have become officials or politicians. They have tried their best to extort from us and to enforce the imposition of various exorbitant taxes. Thus Hai Feng Peasants have been made to suffer a great deal. In 1922 the Hai Feng peasants suffered dreadfully and, directed by a number of our comrades, united to capture rebel Chen's strongho'd. This shook the foundation of the militarists. This is also the force and result of the workers' and peasants' cooperation. However strong the reactionary force is, ours will be the strength which will get rid of them, if the peasants and workers have good organizations. After the workers and peasants shook the militarists' foundation, our late revolutionary leader conceived the idea that the peasant and laboring classes had to participate in the National Revolution. So he decided to reorganize the Kuomintang, thus uniting and accepting revolutionary factors of various classes, especially the laboring class

and the peasant class. After the reorganization of the Party the policy regarding the attitude toward workers and peasants was resolved at the First Kuomintang Delegates' Congress. This great resolution was founded upon the Hai Feng workers' and peasants' experiences which had forced the Kuomintang to recognize the workers' and peasants' force which could disturb the stability of the reactionaries. After the passing of the policy, labor and peasant organizations were started at Kwang Ning, Tung Kuan, and Pao An. On account of the promotion of the peasant movement conflicts occurred. The Kwang Ning peasants proposed to request the landlords to reduce the rents. At that time the landlords relied upon their force of arms and compelled some peasants to join their militia to attack the Peasant Unions and thereby cruelly killing the peasants. Although more than ten peasants died in that conflict we achieved victory. This struggle for the reduction of rent became a political struggle. The corrupt scholars and greedy officials stood with the landlords in suppressing the peasants and workers. Seeing that there were reactionary factors in the Kuomintang, we recognized that the landlords, corrupt gentry and greedy officials were not alone our foes but also public enemies of all the people. As Yang Hsi-min, Liu Chen-huan, Liang Hung-kai, and Mo Hsung^a) were also members of the Kuomintang, the peasants and workers determined to clear away all the reactionary factors in the Party. At that time there was a very good opportunity for us to start our work. It happened also at the time of the Merchants' Volunteer Rebellion. Chen Lien-pai and Chen Kung-shao conspired with the imperialistic militarists and the corrupt members of the Party. Because of this we became more closely united. We organized the Labor and Peasant Corps and so overthrew the counter-revolutionary Merchants' Volunteers. And so it becomes evident that the peasants and workers are the foundation of the Revolution.

The remainder of the meeting consisted of speeches and various forms of entertainment such as singing, dancing, boxing, a one-act play and moving pictures.

The following statements were adopted at the meeting:

1. If the people unite, the victory of the Strike will be assured.
2. We should support our patriotic strikers who are suffering from hunger and cold.
3. Strikers are vanguards of the anti-imperialistic movement and the Provincial Peasant Association should spare no pains in backing them.
4. The Strike produces plans for the opening of Whampoa as a commercial port.
5. Unification will produce victory.
6. If various circles unite, the victory of the Strike is certain.
7. The Strike forces the Imperialists to cease looking down upon the National Revolution.

8. We must welcome the Canton-Hongkong strikers: the vanguards of the National Revolution.
9. The strike will unify Kwangtung.
10. The closer the union of peasants and workers, the sooner will be the achievement of the National Revolution.
11. We must oppose the Fengtien and Chihli militarists, who are hunting dogs of the imperialists.
12. We must support the resolutions and declarations of the Second Kuomintang Delegates Congress of All-China.
13. We must urge the Nationalist Government to launch their Northern Expedition.
14. We must uphold our late leader's policies in regard to peasants and workers.
15. We must uphold the late leader's policy of cooperation with Soviet Russia.
16. We must welcome our good friends, the Canton-Hongkong strikers.
17. All circles must unite to support the Canton-Hongkong Strike and struggle hard against imperialism.
18. When the peasants and workers have united in the accomplishment of the National Revolution, the World Revolution will soon follow.

A concluding resolution on workers' and peasants' cooperation was passed:

As we have heard the reports by various delegates in this meeting, we, ourselves, believed that the force of workers' and peasants' cooperation is the real force in the Revolution. The closer the union of the workers and peasants is, the sooner will the Revolution be accomplished. As we have exerted a great deal of energy in the anti-imperialism movement, unification of Kwangtung movement and the movement for clearing away the anti-revolutionary factors, the future unification of China and overthrowing of the imperialists and militarists will depend upon our force. If we want to undertake this responsibility, we must become more closely united until the National Emancipation of China is completed. This will bring with it the emancipation of the laboring and peasant classes.

(From Min Kuo Jih Pao, 3-4-26)

2. THE DELEGATES OF THE LABOR AND PEASANT CONFERENCE CONSOLE THE STRIKERS.

In the present Canton-Hongkong strike the workers of the two regions have held on to their movement doggedly, thus inflicting a great loss upon the British imperialists and, at the same time, elevating the international position of the Chinese people. Their great merits indeed deserve the admiration of the people of

the whole country. In view of this, the delegates of the 3rd All-China Labor Congress and the 2nd All-Kwangtung Peasant Delegates' Conference, for the purpose of expressing their enthusiastic respect towards the strikers, especially assembled together at the building of the All-China General Labor Union at half past two on the afternoon of the 4th and thence proceeded to the East Garden to see the strikers. When they arrived, they were cordially received by the ushers of the Strike Committee and after they were led into the Fan Yuk Hall, one of the delegates was chosen to represent the visitors and to deliver a speech, offering the consolation of the laborers and peasants to the strikers. After that addresses were given by various other delegates, who, in their speeches, all expected that strikers would continuously struggle on so as to acquire glory for the people and increase the strength of the National Revolution. They also said that, besides thanking and admiring the striker-comrades, they themselves were also willing to cooperate with the strikers and support them to the very end. Then another speech was made by the representatives of the Strike Committee in answer to that of the visitors. Before they left the Fan Yuk Hall, they loudly shouted such slogans as "Long Live the Strike Committee" and "Long live the union of workers and peasants", etc.

The delegates were then led by the ushers to the offices of various departments of the Strike Committee in order that they might inspect the work that was being done. After that they all went to the Recreation Ground outside the East Garden to inspect the strikers at drill. The delegates were filled with admiration at seeing the good training of the pickets. The visitors departed at 5 p.m.

(From Min Kuo Jih Pao, May 1926.)

3. AN OPEN LETTER DESPATCHED BY THE LABOR AND PEASANT JOINT CONFERENCE TO CONSOLE STRIKERS IN CANTON.

Dear Comrades :

"More than ten months have elapsed since the General Strike in Hongkong and Shameen began. You, labor comrades, stand firmly in the front line of the Anti-Imperialistic campaign fighting for the emancipation and independence of our country. Though the imperialists directly or indirectly try their utmost to frustrate and oppress your patriotic movement, yet you strengthen your fort and continue fighting Imperialism under the administration of our Revolutionary Nationalist Government. Your action is the first struggle against the imperialists to be found in the history of our Chinese Labor Movement. You are aiming a great blow at the capitalistic imperialists by awakening all suppressed people in the world to a World Revolution. In this period of struggle you, besides exerting all your strength to fight for emanipation, have consolidated your forces into a strong organization. You have united with the Peasant Corps, joined in the front line with the merchants and cooperated with students, soldiers and all oppressed people to strengthen your

position in the Anti-Imperialism campaign. As a result, through your splendid struggle, all imperialists and especially the British Imperialists have suffered much through economic losses. Hongkong will, by and by, become a desolate island. Supported by your strength our Nationalist Government has been able to extirpate all reactionaries in Tungkiang and the Southern Districts. Constructive schemes such as road building, port development etc. have just begun. Since the consolidation of Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Hunan are now being subjected to the direction of our Nationalist Government. Economic independence is made secure by the consolidation of finance. Despising the strong oppression of the Imperialists who have planned intrigues to defeat the Strike, you have boldly gone to meet them and have succeeded in frustrating their plots. Therefore the Imperialists could do nothing but yield and make peace with us. Is this not a victory for the Chinese workers? Dear Comrades! you have won a magnificent battle for our China! You have succeeded in securing privileges for the masses of Kwangtung! Though you have sacrificed much personally for the sake of our great masses, yet your work will never be forgotten. Of course, our Nationalist Government has been gradually strengthened through your support.

We are taking this opportunity of holding the 3rd All-China Labor Conference and the 2nd All-Kwangtung Peasant Conference in Canton. Peasants' and workers' delegates from many places are meeting together. We respect you for your fighting spirit and at the same time we are very well satisfied with the success which you have already obtained. Therefore we, on behalf of more than 1,100,000 laborers and more than 800,000 peasants, send you this consoling letter and hope you will fight to the very end against the imperialists. Dear labor-comrades! Exert all your strength, consolidate your organisation, strengthen your fighting line, support our Nationalist Government in its plan of despatching a Northern Punitive Expedition, in order to overthrow Imperialism, militarism and all anti-revolutionaries. Success is at hand. Long live the victory of the Strike!

(Sd) The 3rd All-China Labor Conference
and the 2nd All-Kwangtung Peasant
Conference.

(May, 1926)

4. ENTHUSIASTIC "SUPPORT OF THE STRIKE WEEK" IN EVERY DISTRICT.

San Shui.

It is reported that the 21st. regiment of the 3rd National Revolutionary Army organized six propaganda and subscription corps in support of the Strike Week. Taking the opportunity of the Chinese Lunar New Year they started their campaign and began selling badges. On one side of the badge the following words were inscribed "Support the Strikers", while on the reverse side other slogans were engraved. It is said that their campaign was very successful.

Tung Kuan

On February 8 the various circles in Tung Kuan held a mass meeting at which they decided to start a campaign in support of the "Strike Week." On February 14 they convoked a Peoples' Meeting in the Public Gardens which was attended by several hundred people. Representatives of various circles spoke, emphasizing the significance of supporting the strikers. At this meeting they all unanimously agreed to despatch a telegram to console the strikers, and the meeting ended with loud acclamations of slogans. Simultaneously they held a bazaar and carried out a subscription campaign. It is reported that the bazaar has been closed, but the subscription campaign is still active, and that the money so obtained will be remitted to the Strike Committee as soon as they are ready.

Ko Tong

On February 18 the people of Ko Tong held a mass meeting in support of the Strike Week. On that day there was a large attendance, including more than a thousand soldiers from the 23rd regiment. At the meeting many delivered speeches describing the sufferings and perseverance of the strikers and the necessity of co-operation. They further encouraged the people to support the Nationalist Government and to unite on the same fighting front for overthrowing imperialism and militarism. The audience was greatly moved by these enthusiastic speeches. After this they drafted a telegram and proclaimed slogans. A parade followed and on the way revolutionary songs were sung and slogans acclaimed. It is reported that a subscription campaign has also been started.

(From Min Kuo Jih Pao, 2-23-26.)

5. THE PEASANTS' ENTHUSIASM IN CONTRIBUTING FUNDS TO THE STRIKERS
AND THE FAMILIES OF THE PEASANT MARTYRS.

On receipt of instructions from the Provincial Peasant Association that every member of the Peasant Union had to contribute at least ten cents towards the provision funds of the Strikers, the Pao An District Peasant Union immediately notified the members to hold a general meeting in order to act accordingly. Again, when the peasants drove Commander Tam's troops and resisted Commander Cheung Ngo-tung's soldiers, seven peasants lost their lives. In compensating the families of the martyrs, the district union held repeated meetings and passed a resolution that each martyr's family was to receive \$300 as compensation, for which every member of the village union had to contribute at least ten cents. The peasants did their best to assist in augmenting these contributions as requested by the district union.

(From a Special Report, January 1926.)

6. PAST EVENTS REGARDING HELP GIVEN THE PICKETS IN
PERFORMANCE OF THEIR DUTIES.

Pao An is very near Hongkong. By the water route, it takes only a very short time to travel from Pao An to Hongkong. During the Canton-Hongkong Strike, Pao An has become a very important place. When the pickets reached Pao An, the Peasant Union there, in the spirit of brotherhood, helped the pickets detain smuggled goods at the river mouths of Tai Po Chung, Fook Wing, Wong Tin, Koo Shu, Shi Hang, etc., and to protest for the suppression of the false militia in Wan Lam and Sha Chiang. In Shum Chun, the Peasant Union helped the pickets to guard the river mouths and to detain passengers going to Hongkong. As a matter of fact, at first the Peasant Union exerted all its strength to help the pickets in every possible way. Unfortunately, some members of the pickets were corrupt, especially the Water and Land Detective Corps. They robbed passengers and provisions en route to Hongkong; and especially in Shum Chun, they acted as marauders harming the peasants. Therefore, people of Shum Chun called the pickets bandits. The peasants also hated them very much, for once the pickets wrongly arrested a few peasants and beat them until they were unconscious. (The Third Division Peasant Union has brought this case to the attention of Provincial Peasant Union.) All the peasants were very angry and rose up together in revenge and organized Peasant Corps to prevent the pickets from smuggling.

On November 26th it happened that three members of the Water and Land Detective Corps of the Third Pickets Corps in Shum Chun secretly led forty-three women from Chak Lung to Shum Chun by train in order to take them to Hongkong and charged each woman twenty dollars as protection fees. All of the women were detained by the Peasant Corps who brought them back to the Third Division Peasant Union for trial. They wished to send them to the Strike Committee at Canton. Fortunately Comrade Hok Tsang happened to come to Shum Chun that day and so the Third Division Peasant Union handed this case to him. Comrade Hok Tsang ordered that they be taken to the Third Picket Corps. He and a number of members of the Peasant Union accompanied them to the headquarters of the Third Picket Corps. It so happened that Captain Man Kai and all responsible staff were absent. Only a clerk was left in the headquarters and he did not dare accept the responsibility of this case. The Third Division Peasant Union wished to send them to the police station, but the whole body of members of the Third Picket Corps signed their names that they were willing to stand the responsibility of accepting this case. Afterwards the Third Picket Corps cancelled the case and released all the women.

A few days later the Picket Corps in Shum Chun arrested a few members of the Peasant Union, falsely accusing them of smuggling provisions to Hongkong. The Peasant Union appointed delegates to negotiate with the corps and to request the

release of the members of the Peasant Union but nothing resulted. Peasants of various villages were very angry and assembled a few hundred armed Peasant Corps at Tsoi Ngok Yuen compelling the Pickets Corps to release those imprisoned members. If the Pickets Corps did not promise to do so, the whole body of Peasant Corps would rush the headquarters of the Pickets Corps. The Pickets Corps then released the imprisoned members of the Peasant Union. This trouble nearly brought about a big conflict.

At 5 p.m. on November 27, Comrade Hok Tsang returned to Pao An District from Shum Chun. When he reached Paak Sha Chow, he saw that four armed members of the 12th detachment of the Pickets Corps garrisoned at Paak Sha Chow were protecting about 20,000 catties of ginger to be smuggled to Hongkong. This shows the corruption of some members of the Picket Corps. As the Peasant Unions were not well organized, there were also two or three bad peasants who conspired with dishonest merchants to smuggle goods to Hongkong. The Peasant Union of Koo Shu, Naam San, Kwan Ha, etc. were also inflicted with such conditions. Once two members of the staff of Koo Shu Peasant Union called Kuen Shan-kiu and Kuan Wei-ting, conspired with the pickets and dishonest merchants to smuggle goods. They were detected by the Peasant Corps of Wong Tin, Sham Chuen, and Si Hang. Comrade Hok Tsang arrested these two members of the Koo Shu Peasant Union and imprisoned them in the headquarters of the 11th detachment of the Picket Corps. When Comrade Hok Tsang wished to send them to Canton to be punished Captain Man Kai bailed them because these two fellows were his relatives. Afterwards both were expelled from the Koo Shu Peasant Union. Tsoi Tai-kan, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Peasant Union in Sha Po village, also conspired with some notorious characters to smuggle provisions to Hongkong. They were detained by the Peasant Corps in Koo Shu and were submitted to the Picket Corps for punishment. Besides this, there were still a few occurrences of the smuggling of provisions by corrupt factors in various Peasant Unions, but all those were detained by the Peasant Corps of Koo Shu and various villages submitted them to the Pickets Corps for punishment.

Our lesson from this present strike is that we have learned that workers and peasants cannot do revolutionary work separately. The force of the strike depends a great deal upon the peasants because the peasants have the force of arms. Moreover, all provisions are produced by the hands of the peasants.

(From a report of the Pao An District Peasant Union.)

January 1926.

7. SHA CHANG VILLAGE MILITIA ATTACK PICKETS AND PEASANT CORPS.

The Sha Chang village of Pao An District is situated in the lower valley of the Pearl River. It is very near Hongkong and Macao. Since the commencement of the Canton Hongkong Strike the people of the village have often transported by boats provisions and fruits for dwellers in Hongkong and Macao. They also secretly conveyed passengers to the two places, and the amount they charged for harboring one passenger to go to Hongkong or Macao was \$5.. They had some guns and cannon which were for protecting their boats, on which were carried the passengers and goods to be conveyed to Hongkong and Macao, and also from being detained by the pickets. After their boats arrive at Hongkong, they then conveyed some contraband goods back to their village by the same boats. Since the villains of that village dared to carry on such illegal actions, which they themselves knew would certainly stir up the ire of the populace who are now all very enthusiastic in opposing imperialism, it was quite evident that they must be harbored by some force.

On account of this, the Picket Corps of the strikers were unable to execute their duties and to prohibit the villains from carrying on their illegal actions. On the October 23rd, the Picket Corps, being informed that some passengers and goods were again being conveyed to Hongkong on the No. 2389 boat from the village, immediately despatched members to intercept and detain that boat. But before the pickets began their work they were suddenly attacked by the villains. Five pickets were wounded and one kidnapped. On the night of the 2nd day of the 8th moon (Lunar Calendar), Chan Yiu-chai, Chan Sun, and other villains of the village were again found transporting goods on two boats to Hongkong. The boats were then intercepted and detained by the pickets who joined with the Peasant Corps in carrying out their actions. But several days later, on the morning of the 11th, Chan Yiu-chai and his colleagues, leading more than ten armed villains, went to Kiu Tau Sha and forcibly kidnapped Lam Chap-ming, a member of the Peasant Association, and took away many things including a boat carrying oysters, which belonged to the peasants. The boat which they took away was afterwards used by the villains to convey passengers and goods to the blockaded port of Hongkong. On the 9th of November some leaders of the Picket Corps, viz., Foo Yau-chor, Chief instructor of the 3rd corps, Tang Pak-woon, vice-commander of the 9th detachment, and Lo Kwong-wah, commander of the 11th detachment, arrived in the village to make an investigation of some cases of the villagers' attacking the pickets. On the 10th they invited the gentry and elders of the village to see them at the picket quarters for discussing some affairs, but their invitation was rejected. Then the three leaders of the Picket Corps led three pickets and ten members of the Peasant Corps to the village on the morning of the 11th to search for the villains, Chan Hip-yung and others, numbering in all more than one hundred, had all gathered together at Wan Lam,

and, seeing the soldiers coming to assist them were greatly encouraged and all fought bravely against the besiegers—the militiamen of Sha Chang. Unexpectedly, the leader of the soldiers under Chang Ching, after arriving in Wan Lam, suddenly changed his mind and persistently urged the Pickets and the Peasant Corps to make peace with the militia. At the same time, the militiamen of Sha Chang also sent some members to see the Pickets and the Peasant Corps regarding peace. Their request for peace was at first positively rejected by the pickets and peasants; but afterwards, on account of the soldiers under Chang Ching refusing to assist the pickets in the fighting, and insisting upon the reconciliation of the two parties, the peasant and the picket corps were obliged to give way to the militiamen and set forth the following terms of peace:—

(1) The chief authors of the troubles, viz., Chan Ping-nam, Chan Pak-soo, and Chan Yiu-chai, should be handed over to the pickets for punishment.

(2) The militia of Sha Chang should offer all their arms to the Peasant Corps.

(3) The militia should give compensation to the Pickets and Peasant Corps for their losses.

As the militia of Sha Chang would not comply with the terms set forth by the Picket Corps the two opposing parties are now still at variance.

(From a report of the Pao An District Peasant Union.)

January 1926.

C. RELATIONS OF PEASANTS AND WORKERS IN VARIOUS PLACES.

1. PROCLAMATION MANIFESTING THE AID GIVEN BY THE COUNCIL TO THE FEMALE WORKERS IN THE SILK FACTORIES OF SHUN TEH.

The owners of the silk factories of Nan Hai, Shun Teh and other districts do not conduct their business in trying to improve their shops; they only try to obtain more profit by discounting or deducting some amount from the wages of the female workers in the factories. It is often the case that half of the wages of the women are deducted by the owners. It is very unreasonable for the factory owners to discount the wages of our sister-workers who work all day long and receive only a small amount as pay. Against the recent strike of the female workers of the silk factories in Koon San and Sai Kou, the Silk Industrial Investigation Bureau of the whole province made a public declaration of their intention of boycotting the female workers and the silk cocoons produced by the farmers. In answer to such a declaration, our Canton Peasants' Association solemnly declared that if the silk factory owners still continue to close their factories in order to boycott our female workers they will be severely dealt with by the comrades in our council. We also urge the Revolutionary Government, which has promised to protect the interests of the farmers and workers, to put into practice the following steps, which are proposed for the relief of over one hundred thousand unemployed female workers in the various silk factories. The steps are:

- (1) The ordering of owners of the various silk factories to open their factories.
- (2) The commanding of the owners to recognize the right of the female workers to establish their unions and to introduce other workers into the factories.
- (3) The formulation of the rule that the fines of the female workers and the amounts deducted from their wages should not be put into the pockets of the factory owners and should be given to the Workers' Unions for the use of establishing recreation, sanitary and educational organizations.
- (4) The investigation of the toleration shown by the magistrates of Nan Hai and Shun Teh districts to the corrupt officials in their oppression of the female workers.
- (5) The prohibition of the right of the local soldiers to arrest and beat the female workers without permission.

*(Declaration of the Provincial Peasants Association),
May, 1925.*

2. SUPPORT GIVEN THE WORKERS' ORGANIZATION IN PAO AN DISTRICT.

Since the establishment of peasant unions in various regions, the peasants of Pao An have been enabled to acquire protection by their own organizations as well as various other privileges. Formerly the workers of the various villages of the district did not think of organizing any labor unions. But after the peasant unions were inaugurated they began to feel the need for organization and the workers of various guilds, such as the oil and rice workers, all rose up and set to work to establish their labor unions. The Peasant Union has assisted the oil worker in their attempt at organization, by finding for them a suitable building for their union and directing them in the proper preparation for the inauguration of their union. Some time afterwards a strike was started by the workers because their demand for an increase of wages was rejected by their employers. At that time all the capitalistic classes despised the workers very much and paid no attention to their strike which would have been a failure but for the assistance of the Peasant Unions and Peasant Corps who backed their declaration of supporting the strike of the workers with actual force of arms. Being threatened by the peasants, the employers immediately complied with, all the terms set forth by the workers regarding the increase of wages.

(From a Report of the Pao An District Peasant Union)
March, 1926.

3. THE RELATION BETWEEN THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND THE
 PEASANTS IN HAI FENG, CHIU KIANG, TSUNG CHENG
 SHUN TEH AND LO TING DISTRICTS.

Since the establishment of the Labor Union and Peasant Union by the laborers and peasants in Hai Feng, both have taken the same attitude in every problem or movement. Their close relationship is evidenced by the foregoing fact. Because Hai Feng is a place where agriculture has been the main occupation, and where industry has never thrived. Consequently the industrial unions of laborers were very scarce and most of the labor unions were trade unions. The latter kind of laborers have not suffered very strong oppression from the capitalists and they have not sufficient time to call frequent meetings. Hence their class-consciousness, uniting power and fighting spirit were inferior to those of the metropolis. For this reason the peasants had only contempt for them, and often told the officers of the Peasant Union and the publicity members of the Labor Movement that Hai Feng was not a big town and as there was a Peasant Union it was unnecessary to have a Labor Union.

The causes for the peasants taking such an attitude towards the Labor Movement, besides the above reason (the weakness of the Union in the peasants' village), were three in number:—

1. Because the laborers demanded an increase of wages and a reduction of working-hours, the unscrupulous merchants took the opportunity to raise the prices of merchandise which was strongly objected to by the laborers. The peasants inevitably attributed this evil to the labor movement.

2. Because the handiworkers raised the price of their products, a condition unfavorable to the peasants, the peasants also attributed this evil to the labor movement.

3. Because some of the labor members failed to understand the limits of membership and mistook the handiworkers (i.e. the farmers who did handiwork as a side-line) for laborers and insisted on these workers joining their labor union, which was a frequent cause for contention. Some of the peasants were over-zealous in speaking maliciously of the union and persuaded the laborers to join the Peasant Union instead of the Labor Union, which was also a frequent cause of discontent. Because of these contentions the peasants attributed all evils to the Labor Union.

The above three reasons, the bone of contention, so to speak, between the Peasant, and Labor Unions point to a vital question which must be settled urgently.

CHIU KIANG DISTRICT:—Although several labour unions, such as the Chap Yin Branch Labour Union, the Railway Workers Branch Union and the Coolie Union, have been organized in Chiu Kiang, they have not yet come into contact with the Peasant Associations, and there is no relationship between the two organizations. But at present, many of the peasants have acknowledged the necessity of cooperation between the Workers and the Peasants to oppose their oppressors, and we hope that the union of the two classes will soon become a fact.

TSENG CHENG DISTRICT:—When we were carrying on our Peasant Movement in the region of Sau Shui, we were greatly assisted by the labourers who helped us both in our organization and propagation. The peasants of the region have also acknowledged the necessity of uniting with the working class.

SHUN TEH DISTRICT:—The General Labour Union of Shun Teh is now managed autocratically by some worker-traitors. On account of this, our comrades have tried their best to launch attacks upon them. For instance, we have incited the tea-house labourers to seize Sit Chun, one of the worker-traitors, and we have also issued manifestoes to defend the tea-house labourers and the wooden-slipper workers. Hence, the various Labour Unions of Shun Teh have had relations with our Peasant Associations.

LO TING DISTRICT:—The Peasant Unions in Lo Ting District were promoted by a group of oil labourers and comrade Lee Fong-chuen. Up to the present the various Village Unions have not yet been formally opened and have not done much work.

*(From the report of a Special Delegate of the Provincial Peasant Association)
December 1925.*

D. PEASANTS AND VARIOUS SOCIAL CLASSES ARE ALLIED WITH LABOUR

1. PEASANT, LABOR, MERCHANT AND STUDENT COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION'S TELEGRAM REGARDING ITS INAUGURATION

On May 21, the Committee of the Peasant, Labor, Merchant and Student Cooperative Association issued a telegram regarding its inauguration, reading as follows:-

"To the various labor, peasant, merchant and student organizations reached through the various organs of the press:

"After the All-China Labor Congress, the All-Kwangtung Peasant Congress, and the All-Kwangtung Educational Congress had held their sessions in Canton, one step forward had been made in the cooperation of the peasants, laborers, merchants and students and the successful completion of the Revolution. Our Association was composed of the All-China Central Labor Union, Kwangtung Peasant Union, All-Kwangtung Educational Association, Canton General Chamber of Commerce, All-Kwangtung Merchant Union's Federation, Canton City Merchant's Union, Canton Merchants Federation, and the Free Occupation Circle. It was inaugurated on May 27 and called "The Peasant, Labor, Merchant, and Student Cooperative Committee." Its purpose is the building up and consolidating of the united fighting front of laborers, peasants, merchants and students in order to protect the welfare of the people and support the foundation of the National Revolution. The Board of Chairman and directors of General Affairs and Propaganda Departments were elected to execute their respective affairs. And now when the situation at Peking has become reactionary, imperialistic oppressions increased in vigor and severity and the people of the whole country was plunged into "deep waters and hot fire," all our fellow-countrymen ought to struggle cooperatively to save the country as well ourselves. Our Committee is willing to cooperate with the countrymen and await and accept the instructions of all".

(*sd*) Kwangtung Peasant, Labor, Merchant and Student
Cooperative Association's Committee.

(From *Kuo Min Hsin Wen*, 5-29-26).

2. SOCIAL GATHERING OF PEASANT, LABOR AND EDUCATIONAL DELEGATIONS.

At 7.30 p.m. on the 9th, the delegates of the Educational Conference invited the delegates of the All-China Labor Congress and the All-Kwangtung Peasant Conference to attend a social gathering held at the gymnasium of the Kwangtung

University. More than 1,000 persons attended and Ng Tai-kwong and Chen Sun-ming acted as chairman and speaker respectively. The attendants first bowed three times before the National flag and the Party ensign. Then the chairman solemnly read the last will of the late leader and also delivered the opening speech. After the chairman's speech, Tang Chung-ha, So Shui-ching, Chen Sun-ming, Chang Yuk-lan, Tse Hing-chai, Wong Chak, Shiu Mo-man, Tam Hung-kee, Li Oi, Tang Yat-chow, Wong Ming-shan, Chen Tit-heung, Chan Pak-hee, Lau Kuen-chi and many others addressed the gathering in succession. They all talked about the union of peasants, workers, students, merchants and soldiers for the consolidation of the National Revolutionary influence. Lastly, the resolution regarding the union of laborers, peasants and students (seperately recorded) was read out to the gathering by Tang Chung-hsia and Chen Sun-ming and it was then unanimously passed by the gathering.

The Resolution Regarding the Union of Laborers, Peasants and Students.

The present most important problem in China is the overthrow of the oppressions of the imperialists and the militarists, for it is the only way for the people to attain their liberty and emancipation. The labor and peasant masses are certainly the main forces for the National Revolution. It is, however, still very necessary for us to enlarge and consolidate the joint front formed by various classes. The students are the only educated people among the masses. They, like the labor and peasant masses, have also been suffering considerably from the oppressions of the imperialists and the militarists. They, again, like the labor and peasant masses are demanding the success of the revolution. Since among the constituents of the anti-imperialistic, anti-militaristic united front, the students bear a greater responsibility than other classes, the union of the laborers, peasants, and students is especially most necessary. Now the imperialists and their tools are trying their best to violate our united front of the three classes, and we must not fall into the trap of our enemies but must strongly and closely unite together so as not to be defeated on our resolution. We hereby unanimously resolve that the laborers, peasants, students and various other classes shall establish a strong anti-imperialistic and anti-militaristic joint front, and what we must do at present is to uphold the Nationalist Government and to support the Canton-Hongkong strike, for such things concern very much the interests of our country as well as the Revolution. Let us proclaim loudly:—

Laborers, peasants and students, unite!

Long live the success of the National Revolution!

(May 1926.)

3. IMPORTANT MANIFESTO OF THE COMMITTEE OF LABOR, PEASANT,
MERCHANT AND STUDENT COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION.

The following is an important manifesto issued by the Committee of the Labor, Peasant, Merchant and Student Cooperative Association:

It is hoped that the important resolution passed at the Peasant, Labor, Merchant and Student Cooperative Association, May 11, are known to the public. We, the peasants, laborers, merchants and students, hereby issue this declaration to the public, and same is based upon the resolutions of the congress. We hope you will pay attention to it.

After the Liu-Yang rebels were subjugated and the Nationalist Government was inaugurated, our government believed that the unification of military, civil and financial affairs and the securing of peace and order in Kwangtung province to be the most important steps in the administration in order that welfare work might be carried on for the people and the National Revolution achieved. Unfortunately the May 30 massacre took place. Our Hongkong and Shameen workers, being very indignant about the massacres of our fellow-countrymen and aware of the danger of losing the country, declared a general strike as a means of fighting them. However the British imperialists have not repented; but became more rapacious and perpetrated another wholesale massacre at Shakee within a month after. When we think of the past we are still sorrowful and shudder at the thought of these slaughters.

With the subduing of the Liu-Yang rebellion, our revolutionary strength was augmented, and the abhorrence of the people for the imperialists on account of the massacres reached its zenith, while the imperialists, traitors and renegades employed the most malicious methods to overthrow our Nationalist Government and to rid us of our most patriotic citizens. Our late Liao Chung-kai was the first victim of their plot and following this assassination the unruly soldiers created disturbances and plotted with the counter-revolutionaries to attack Canton. Fortunately the people cooperated with the Government and after a long struggle and accumulated hardships the rebels were successfully exterminated. After the Eastern and Southern Districts' Expeditions achieved victory Kwangtung became peaceful. But the province which has been devastated by the imperialists and reactionaries for a long time cannot return to the normal state of things at once and the foundation of the Government is also not very stable. In addition traitor Wu Pei-fu stealthily watches the south as well as the north. Hence our government has to unite the strength of the Two Kwangs (Kwangtung and Kwangsi) and Hunan to put up a resistance. But in order to achieve victory externally, we must first be consolidated internally.

We, peasants, workers, students, and merchants, for the sake of obtaining victory from the Northern Expedition, consolidating the revolutionary foundation

and returning to normal conditions brought forth several demands on behalf of the public and hope that the Nationalist Government will accept them. They are as follows:—

1. To abolish the monopoly of the sale of kerosene oil so as to decrease the people's sufferings.
2. To settle the strike by the cooperative efforts of the Canton and Hongkong Governments and the merchants and laborers, so as to help the strikers, who have been making sacrifices for over ten months, to be victorious.
3. To devise detailed plans to extirpate the bandits, tranquillise the people and clear up water communications, and use the strength of the people as a supporting force.
4. To establish an arbitration organ of working class and capitalists and landlords and renters in order to settle the disputes, etc.
5. To eradicate corrupt officials and reform civil administration.
6. To punish renegades who fabricate rumours which disturb the peace and order of the city.
7. To construct public thoroughfares, open up Whampoa as a commercial port, improve harbors, complete the Yueh-Han Railway, popularize and reform education, and increase the educational budget.

These seven demands are the most urgent necessities of the people at present and also the most necessary for the proper administration of the government. If the above demands could be successfully carried out, not only the relationship between the government and the people would become closer, but the people would also be more closely united. For the last few months, though the Nationalist Government is in a very difficult position, the various undertakings of the Government prove that it is really working for the welfare of the people and the peace of the Province. We, peasants, workers, merchants and students will support the Nationalist Government and try to obtain the fulfilment of our urgent needs.

Fellow-citizens: It is by this undertaking that we can consolidate our Nationalist Government, unite with all the people, fulfil our most necessary tasks and realise National Revolution. We hope that all of the citizens will rise and strive for it."

(Sd) *Committee of the Peasant, Labor, Merchant, and Student Cooperative Association, Canton Chamber of Commerce, Canton City Merchant Association, Merchants' Union Federation, Canton Merchants' Federation, All Kwangtung Educational Association, All-China Central Labor Union and All Kwangtung Peasant Union.*

(May 1926.)

4. FRATERNAL GATHERING OF WORKERS, PEASANTS, MERCHANTS AND STUDENTS.

On May 11th, the Canton General Chamber of Commerce, the Kwangtung Merchants' Federation, the Canton City Merchants' Association, and the Canton Merchants' Cooperative Union convoked a gathering for the welcome of the delegates of the 3rd All-China Labor Congress, the 2nd All-Kwangtung Peasant Conference and the 6th Educational Conference. The meeting was held at 7 p.m. at the gymnasium of the Kwangtung University and was attended by more than 1,000 persons. As the workers, peasants, merchants and students have never convened any joint meeting before, this grand fraternal gathering of the four classes was indeed an unprecedented one. Originally the four merchant organizations, the promoters of the convention of this meeting, wanted to name this gathering a "Reception Party" for the delegates of various conferences; but afterwards, as suggested by the Labor Congress, its name was changed into a "Fraternal Gathering" in order to show the close contact and friendship among the four classes. Ten members viz. Tam Tai-chi, Leong Pui-chuen, Poon Kam-hong, Hui Kin-sum (Merchants), Shiu Sik-men, Fung King (Workers), Peng Pai, Yuen Kee (Peasants), Chan Sun-ming and Chan Pak-hee (Educational class), were elected to form the Board of Chairmen. The programme of the meeting was as follows:—

1. Opening of the meeting.
2. Music.
3. Three bows before the National flag, the Party ensign and the portrait of the late Dr. Sun.
4. Reading of the last will of the late Dr. Sun.
5. Music.
6. Opening speech delivered by the Board of Chairmen.
7. Attendants bowing once to each other.
8. Music.
9. Speeches.
10. Music.
11. Acclamation of slogans.
12. Tea.
13. Finis.

First, Mr. Tam Tai-chi, one of the members of the Board of Chairmen, representing the Merchant Organizations, explained the reason for the convening of the gathering. He said: "Tonight's grand gathering was convoked by the four merchant organizations for welcoming the delegates of the 3rd All-China Labor Congress, the 2nd All-Kwangtung Peasant Conference and the 6th Educational Conference. We are favored by the enthusiastic attendance of our meeting from these various delegates. Now, let our four classes unite together to work for the revolution and for the relief of the country."

Then a welcoming speech to the delegates was delivered by Mr. Poon Kam-hong, another member of the Board of Chairmen, representing the merchant organization. He said, in brief: "Our Delegates: Our Comrades: To-night, our members of the merchant class welcomed the delegates of three other classes. This fraternity gathering is a very important one and it is expected that it will be a perpetual one. We also hope that the workers, the peasants, the merchants, and the students will unite together unanimously and will cooperate with each other in working for the relief of the country, and for the accomplishment of the National Revolution."

Later, comrade Teng Chung-hsia, delegate of the Labor Congress addressed the gathering, saying: "To-day's meeting was originally called a "Reception Party" for the delegates of the various conferences. But, seeing that the term "Reception Party" was not a very appropriate one, we made the suggestion of changing it to a "Fraternal Gathering" so that the intimate contact and the close unity of the four classes might be shown. Our delegates from the Northern regions should not think that since the Northern merchants oppress you, those of the Kwangtung province will act likewise. You must know that the merchants under the Nationalist Government are quite different from those of the North. The merchants under the Nationalist Government are revolutionary and are working for the overthrow of imperialism and the warlords. If you examine the actions of the four merchant organizations of Kwangtung, to see how they entertain our delegates at this gathering and how they requested all the merchants of the city to hoist their flags and celebrate this event, you will find that the Kwangtung merchants are not like those of the North and that they not only do not oppress our comrades as the Northern merchants do, but also unite with us and cooperate with our comrades in the revolution. If the Northern merchants would act as the Kwangtung merchants, our revolution would have been accomplished long ago. The Kwangtung merchants are the model merchants of the whole country. We hope that the Northern merchants will soon act in similar manner as those of Kwangtung. Furthermore, I have still one word to say to the delegates, and that is, the union of the workers and merchants of Kwangtung did not begin to-day, that the two classes have been collaborating with each other ever since the commencement of the Canton-Hongkong Strike last year. The unity of the two classes during the last year has inflicted a great loss upon the Hongkong imperialists as far as their finances is concerned. Their unity has also enabled the revolutionary foundation of Kwangtung to be consolidated, and has boosted the prosperity of the Canton commerce and the independence of the city. Our delegates: You must remember, the merchants under the Nationalist Government are revolutionary. Let us acclaim: Down with imperialism! Down with the warlords! and Long live the success of the National Revolution!"

After Comrade Teng's speech was finished, Comrade Soo Shiu-ching, another delegate of the labour congress, delivered an address. He said, in brief: "We have secured much assistance from the merchants in our present

anti-imperialistic Canton-Hongkong strike. The union of our workers with the merchants has caused the Hongkong imperialists to suffer a great loss and has brought about the unification of the Kwangtung province. We long ago set forth fifteen terms for the settlement of the strike, but on account of the insincerity of the imperialists, the settlement has not yet been made a fact. Hence it may be said that the losses sustained by our workers as well as by the merchants were caused by the imperialists. Indeed, we are willing to have the strike settled, however, it is our hope that the people of various classes will help us to acquire a victorious settlement." Comrade So's address was followed by that of Comrade Peng Pai, delegate of the peasant conference, who said, in brief: "This grand gathering of workers, peasants, merchants and students is an unprecedented one. It is the grandest gathering ever held. But the union of the peasants and the merchants does not date from today. In every place where there are Peasant Associations, Merchant Organizations have also been established. Today's grand gathering may therefore be called a fraternal gathering of all revolutionary bodies. Let our four classes cooperate to overthrow imperialism and the militarists and to achieve the National Revolution, so as to enable our comrades to convocate another fraternal gathering at Peking next year. Furthermore, recently rumors have been spread by the counter-revolutionists in the city and we should be careful to squash all of them."

Then another speech was delivered by Kwok Mu-yuk who said: "Today's gathering is an exceedingly grand gathering. We have known for a long time that the imperialists and the militarists are our enemies, that it is necessary for us to overthrow them, and that in order to overthrow them, we must all unite together before we can succeed. But our unity, though anticipated for a long time, has not been realized until today. We must not simply make some temporary and superficial social intercourse with one another at this gathering, but must actually and permanently unite. At present those who are always supporting the militarists are going to fall, and if we can all unite together, it is quite certain that the militarists will be extirpated by us. Hence I expect that the workers, peasants, merchants and students will unite together quickly."

Then Mr. Kan Kam-shek, delegate of the merchants, made an address, saying: "Not only is it necessary for us to overthrow imperialism and the militarists, but it is also important for us to clear out all the right-wing members among the workers, who always harm the labourers, and the wicked gentry who often oppress the peasants. After the means of gaining a livelihood of the peasants has been improved, they will be able to buy more and better things and consequently our merchants will also profit from it. Furthermore, whenever a peasant association has been established in any place, the bandits formerly located in that region have not dared to stay there any longer and have fled to other regions because they are

afraid of the Peasant Association. And so the merchants dwelling in those regions where there are Peasant Associations are grateful to the peasant organizations for the convenient communications which they enjoy. Consequently there is a close relationship existing between the peasants and the merchants in regard to their economic conditions. Now, as the kerosene monopoly has caused much suffering to the merchants, the peasants, as well as various other classes, should request the Government to abolish it."

After Mr. Ken's speech another address was delivered by Choy Yat-sun, another delegate of the peasant conference. He said, in brief: "Our conference should pay special attention to that very important problem, the extirpation of the corrupt, avaricious officials and the bandits. The two classes are always in collusion with each other to harm the common citizens. In Tung Kuan, Pao An and Shun Teh, cases of their cooperation in devastating the peasants have been found. Hence it is necessary for us to join together in requesting the Nationalist Government to eradicate all the corrupt, avaricious officials and bandits."

Then Chan Sun-ming, another educational delegate, stood up and addressed the gathering. He said, in brief: "Formerly the educational class were non-revolutionists. But now the educational class of Kwangtung are all revolutionists. Our education aims to popularize our ideas and to revolutionize the people, to overthrow the old customs and rites of the students and the capitalization of the merchants. Unless our works are accomplished our aim of achieving revolution cannot be attained."

Then Mr. Hui Kin-sam, another delegate of the merchants, delivered a speech, saying: "We should not join together for a certain limited period, such as a day, a month, or a year, but must cooperate with each other permanently, until the National Revolution is accomplished. We know that the workers, the peasants, merchants, and the students are the most important factors in the country. If our four classes do not unite together, our country will be exterminated. We also know that our Revolution does not mean the revolution of a village, a town, a city, or a country, but the revolution of the whole world. Since this responsibility is very great, therefore our four classes should bear it upon themselves. We are under the oppression of the imperialists. Our four classes must cooperate with one another, exert themselves strenuously to uphold the Nationalist Government which is endeavoring to promote the welfare of the people, and try our best to make it a unified Government for the whole country. Let us acclaim: "Workers, Peasants, Merchants and Students: Unite together!"

(May 1926).

5. CIRCULAR TELEGRAM ISSUED BY THE 2ND ALL-KWANGTUNG PEASANT DELEGATES' CONFERENCE REGARDING ITS INAUGURATION.

To the Comrades of various classes, reached by the press :

The 2nd All-Kwangtung Peasant Delegates Conference and the 3rd All-China Labor Congress hold their inauguration simultaneously in Canton today. The total number of labor delegates is more than 400, representing over 1,100,000 organized laborers; and that of the peasant delegates is about 250, representing more than 800,000 organized peasants. There are also delegates of the labor unions of England, Russia, France, Germany, America, Japan and other countries, as well as representatives of the military, political, commercial, educational and other circles of Kwangtung, participating in our conferences. The atmosphere of our meeting is very enthusiastic. Our conference unanimously recognize the sufferings of the people of China to be the results of the aggression of imperialism. We understand that the worker and peasant masses, in order to emancipate themselves from their oppressions by other classes, must join with the students, merchants, and other revolutionists in working for the overthrow of imperialism and its tool, the militarists of our country.

Our conference also recognizes the labor and peasant masses as well as the oppressed peoples of the whole world as the pioneers in the struggle for the overthrow of imperialism. Hence the labor and peasant masses as well as the oppressed people of our China should closely unite with those of the whole world the pioneers in our struggles. On the other hand, since the counter-revolutionists, compradora class, militarists, corrupt officials, bullies, depraved scholars and worker-traitors are obstacles to our emancipation movements, we should exert ourselves strenuously for the eradication of these evil elements.

The 3rd All-China Labor Congress and the 2nd All-Kwangtung Peasant Conference are both continuing the spirit of the May 30 Movement and are calling the labor and peasant masses as well as the oppressed people of the whole country to struggle for the restoration of our lost privileges from the oppressing devils of the world. We hope that the laborers, peasants, and all oppressed people of all nations will unite, struggle strenuously forward, and never cease until our aim of achieving Chinese national emancipation and liberty has been attained.

(Sd.) *The 2nd All-Kwangtung Peasant
Delegates Conference. (May 1.)*

6. PROVINCIAL PEASANT UNION WELCOME SEAMEN DELEGATES OF ALL CHINA.

On January 10, the Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Union held a reception party in honor of the seamen delegates of all China. Peng Pai, the Chairman, and Lo Yee-yuen made the opening speech of the meeting and also the address of welcome. Following this, Yuan Siu-sin reported on the events of the peasant movement.

Hereunder is the opening speech of the meeting made by Chairman Peng Pai.

"Worker and Peasant Comrades: To-day is the day when the Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Union welcomes the seamen delegates of all China. Before I make my speech, I should like to express my gratitude to you, delegates, who are so pleased to be present at this party. Our seamen-comrades earn their living on the sea while we, the peasant-comrades, do so on the land. We are separated from each other and it is very seldom we have an opportunity of coming together. How happy we are that to-day we are all able to gather here in this hall. Since our laborer and peasant masses are in the same oppressed class, we are brothers. Our laborer-comrades are oppressed by their capitalist proprietors and our peasant comrades are under the oppression of their great landlords. In a word, they are all under the same oppressors. Again how happy are we that today so many beloved brothers meet together. What do the international imperialistic capitalists fear most? It is the joint attack of our laborers and peasants upon them. If our peasants and laborers cooperate together, there is no doubt that the imperialists will be defeated. It is exactly like a fatal blow which will end the sordid life of imperialism. We might say that this gathering is a meeting at which we ring the death knell of the imperialists. This meeting which we are now holding could only be held in Kwangtung, not in Hongkong, Shanghai, Peking etc. As regards the other countries, with exception of Soviet Russia, we are also not allowed to hold such a meeting as this. And so our peasant and laboring classes have to cooperate together at the fundamental base of revolution and to struggle strenuously on one battle front for the overthrow of imperialism and militarism, so as to realize the Chinese Revolution and the World Revolution."

Lo Yee-yuen's address of welcome was as follows:—

"Our Union is very grateful to you, Comrades, the seamen delegates of all China for attending our party to-day. Peasants and laborers are of the same family. The advantages and disadvantages are equally shared among us and our relationship is inseparable. When we unite we win and when we divide we lose. Therefore to-day's meeting for welcoming you by our Union does not have the ordinary meaning of social intercourse. In reality, I should say that this is a gathering especially for our brothers to come together. Although we are all beloved brothers, we are not from the same parentage. We are good brothers who stand on the same battle-field to fight against our common enemies. We are representatives of peasants, or in other words, the revolutionary peasants' representatives. For our seamen brothers, who have long been strenuously fighting against imperialism and have won a victory, and who recently convoked the Congress of the delegates of all China at the fundamental base of National Revolution, we express our great admiration and cordially welcome them. At the same time when recalling the memory of those

seamen comrades who were killed by the imperialists and militarists in the struggle for the Chinese National Revolution, we are overcome with great sorrow. During the seamen strike in the 11th. year of our Republic, we realized that the immense co-operative force of the seamen of the whole country was capable of making the imperialists scared. At that time we knew that there was a ray of light and hope in the dull career of the emancipation of the Chinese Nation. In fact the imperialists make use of the unequal treaties to embarrass China, but the reason why they are able to maintain their various special privileges is quite evident to us because they conspired with the militarists of our country for their protection. Furthermore they have easy means of communication and therefore there are no hindrances obstructing their prosperity. Consequently unless all transportation workers are united, the power of the imperialists in China will not be abolished. Since the seamen occupy the most important position among the transportation workers, they are not only capable of grasping at throats of the imperialists but also of putting the militarists into a panic. These latter flee, when defeated, to the foreign concessions where they roam leisurely about ; but recently they have been so frightened that they even have taken passage on steamers. When we recall the latest event regarding the assassination of Hung Shao-lin by Comrade Wai Teh, we realize the spirit of the seamen comrades who make sacrifices for the Revolution. Formerly our peasants knew nothing about the united force of classes. Therefore for several thousands of years we were under the oppression of landlords, corrupt scholars, officials and rowdies. Since the commencement of the labor movement we have been benefited, and moreover we have learnt how to organize and prepare for war. Now we understand that if we want to relieve our sufferings, we must unite together with our brother to launch attacks upon our enemy forces. We still realize that the using of the united strength of all classes to proceed with revolution is the best of all policies for us who are participating in the Revolutionary movement. If we wish to attain the aim of emancipating all the classes we must unite with all the laborers."

(January, 1926).

CHAPTER VII.

THE PEASANTS

AND THE

CONTROLLING CLASSES.

A. GENERAL.

THE CONTROLLING CLASSES IN RURAL DISTRICTS.

When persons of a certain standing occupy the same economic position in society, they are said to be in the same class. In feudal times, the organisation of society was very complex, so the people were divided into many classes, as the noblemen, common people and slaves in ancient Rome and the feudal princes, noblemen, land proprietors, hired workers, apprentices and slaves in the Middle Ages. These classes were further divided into many grades. With the advent of capitalism the classification of people has been changed from complex to simple. The whole society is divided into two classes:- The capitalists who own property and the proletarian workers, who do not own property. From a political point of view, the capitalists grasp the controlling power and occupy the superior position, while the proletariat are in the exploited position and controlled by others.

The rural districts of China remained for a long while a feudal society; with its complex organisation and multifarious discrimination of classes. The invasion of foreign capital has, however ruined this peculiar feudal system. The new and old landlords have concentrated the ownership of land in the hands of the few, thus bringing about the decomposition of classes in rural districts. In the rural districts there are now only two classes:- the landlord class and the Peasant Class. The landlord class utilize their political and economic privileges in the rural districts, as village self-government, and organisation of militia for self-defence, as tools for extorting the peasants. The peasants, under this oppression, toil all the year and give the landlords all their earnings, only to find that they are still not satisfied. Sometimes, the bodily freedom of the peasants is restricted. On account of this difference in economic position, these two classes of people have repeatedly come into conflict.

THE CONTROLLER OF RURAL DISTRICTS.

From the above explanation, we understand that the controller of the rural districts is the landlord class. As rule, when the controlling class attempts to grasp absolute power, the foremost prerequisite is an economic basis. The economic basis of the controller of rural districts is land, which constitutes the productive organ in these districts. Since the landlords control this organ of production, they are able to usurp all political and economic privileges and become the controllers of the place.

Land is originally a kind of natural element, similar to sunlight, air and water, and cannot be occupied by any person. The system of private ownership of land was created after the monopoly ownership system. Before the time of

feudalism, all possession of land was acquired by usurpation. In feudal times, all land was under monopoly ownership, as the "feudal states" of ancient China and as exemplified in the old saying, "all land within the Four Seas is sovereign soil." After the fall of feudalism, the possession of land was changed from monopoly into private ownership. With the progress of capitalism, the industrial and commercial capitalists have brought about collective ownership of land and industrialisation of agriculture. Hence the system of private ownership has become concentrated in the hands of a few.

Private ownership of land is also one of the ways by which the capitalists extort the proletariat. As land is a natural element, its produce should be considered the result of the labour of society. If you want to change barren ground into arable land, you must depend upon the labour of society for cultivation (agricultural implements, fertilizer and seed are also the result of social labour). Since the peasants are producers of agricultural products, it is but natural that they should get what they produce with their labour. But on account of private ownership, the capitalists control the land and rob the peasants of all the results of their production, leaving them nothing as compensation for their toil. When the industrial capitalists extort the workers, they simply rob them of a greater portion of the value of their labour and leave them just enough to enable them to maintain themselves to continue production. But the agricultural capitalists are still worse. In their exploitation of the peasants, they not only fail to allow them a small portion of the value of their labour to maintain their productive capacity, but often cause them to become destitute of any means of subsistence, and compelling them to leave the organ of production. Such treatment is indeed more cruel than that of the industrial capitalists. These are not mere words. We can prove it by facts in the following table.

Statistical Table showing the Annual Livelihood of a Farmer cultivating his Field with a "Shih" (Chinese Bushel) of grain seed.

Average annual harvest of a field to accommodate a "Shih" of seed is 15 "shih" of grain @ \$6.00 per "shih," hence his annual income			\$ 90.00
Payment of Rent (at 50%)	\$ 45.00		
Cost of 1 "shih" of grain	6.00		
Fertilizer	30.00		
Repairs to Agricultural Implements	2.00		
Cattle feeding	\$ 3.00		
Cost of living for 1 person for 1 year	80.00		\$166.00
Gross loss for the year			\$ 76.00
Deduct by-products such as straw &c. about.....			4.00
Net loss for the year.....			\$ 72.00

From the above table, we can see that the peasant's livelihood is many times worse than the worker's, or in other words, the agricultural capitalists are many times more cruel than the industrial capitalists. There are many reasons why the peasants have not risen against this unjust system. One explanation is that they have been able to supplement their regular income by side lines, such as gathering fire-wood if near some hills, fishing if near some rivers, doing odd job whenever possible, or planting potatoes, corn, wheat &c. after harvest time. But with all these supplementary occupations, they are never certain that they will be able to compensate their loss, and so they are often forced to live in the most abject poverty. When we visit the rural districts, we often see the peasants with insufficient clothing and food. If they should still fail to maintain their living, they would have to lower the living conditions of their parents, wives and children, pawn their clothes and ornaments or in worse cases, borrow money from the landlords at high interest. To this To this last means, the landlords would readily agree, as they could take this opportunity to rob the poor peasants of their future labour and restrict their bodily freedom. Should they still fail to subsist with all these means, they would have to leave the productive organ and sell themselves as slaves or join the bandits!

The more forms the agricultural capitalists create to extort the peasants, the more the peasants will be driven to poverty and, of course, the more stable the economic basis of the landlords will become.

THE CONTROLLERS' ORGAN IN RURAL DISTRICTS.

A controller must have a controlling organ. For instance, the controlling organ of a country is the government which consists of the central government and the local governments. The local governments are established according to their sphere of jurisdiction and bound to take orders from the central government. It is the Chinese custom, when addressing an official governing the locality, the gentry class often call themselves "governed subjects" which means "under the government." But the common people in such an address should change the style and call themselves "ant people" which signifies that the life of the common people is similar to that of ants and liable to be trod upon by the governing class. They are practically the "governed subjects" of the "governed subjects!",

In the controlling organ the controller is at the head with officials, army, and police to control the governed class and the law and prisons to restrict and imprison them. The controllers may thus safeguard their supreme authority for ever and the governed class will be permanently under their iron heels.

The controller of rural districts is the landlord class. Although they do not establish uniform organs or organize any government to govern the peasants, their authority over the peasants is even greater than that of the real government. For the sake of convenience we may call the controlling organ of rural districts the "Rural District Government" because they possess the same supreme authority as an actual "government."

In what form does the "rural district government" manifest itself? There is no definite form, as each one differs from the other. Such organisations as Self-governing Village Associations, Village Councils, Ancestral Temples, Militia Boards, and Defense Corps are organs of the "rural district government." They are too many to be enumerated here. In short, those organisations that the landlords of rural districts make use of in oppressing and extorting the peasants are the organs of the controlling class for governing the peasants. No matter by what names such organisations may go by, they can invariably be called the "rural district government."

The posts of officials in the "rural district government" are sometimes held by the landlords themselves, and sometimes by the native bullies, gentry, and rascals. They represent the controlling class of the rural districts and are supporters of the landlords. They may be called the executioners or slaughterers of the workers in rural districts.

For the sake of safeguarding the interests of the landlord class, for the sake of extorting the peasants' well-earned fruits of labour, and for the sake of suppressing the reaction of the peasantry class, the "rural district government" has also laws, army, police, and prison to restrict the workers under its jurisdiction. The village by-laws, regulations of self-governing associations, regulations of ancestral temples, rules of the militia board and defence corps are the laws of the "rural district government." The militia and defence corps represent the military force for protecting the landlord class and oppressing the peasantry. Peasants may be arrested and imprisoned at any time by the self-governing association, village council, ancestral temple, militia board, or defence corps in the same way as is done in the government prison.

To illustrate the aforesaid let us take as a concrete example, the facts concerning the oppression of the peasants in Pao An district.

Pao An is an important district in East Kwangtung. When Chen Chiung-ming occupied the district, the peasants were severely oppressed. Land taxes were collected in advance, and all sorts of extra taxes were levied, including even a coffin tax on the dead. Peasants were commandeered as coolies, people's residences were occupied and the prohibition on opium-smoking and gambling were lifted. As for the Yunnan, Kwangsi and Kwangtung troops who were despatched to attack Chen Chiung-ming, they were nominally a revolutionary army, but practically were just as bad as the rebels.

Whenever a district was occupied, the official posts would be offered for sale. This was the case among Chen's troops and the so-called revolutionary army. As a result, the officials paid no attention to the people, especially the peasants, but only obeyed the orders of their masters, the military leaders. They would consider it their duty to inform the troops of all ways and means for extorting the peasants.

Therefore the tax collectors appointed by the local authorities and the troops always extorted money from the peasants for their selfish ends by such unnecessary compensations as "Horse Riding Allowance," "Chair Coolie Allowance," "Special Allowance," "Light Allowance," "Flower Allowance," and many others were always collected. The peasants used to pay their taxes blindly because they lacked a thorough understanding of the system of taxation. All taxes were paid twice a year. Under such bad circumstances 20% of them have sold themselves as slaves overseas. As for the magistrate, the lawyers and the police officers, they also oppressed the peasants, especially in the matter of legal procedure. Even the servants in the magistracy, court of justice, and police stations oppressed them with the knowledge and protection of their higher offices.

In addition to the local authorities and the garrison troops, their hunting-dogs, the corrupt gentry and the native bullies, are also found directly oppressing the peasants. The cruellest members of this class are found in the western portions of the districts. Here there are two parties of gentries and bullies—one is called the "Harmful Party" with 12 members under three leaders, nicknamed the "Three Evils," and the other is called the "Shin Party" under Shin Shin-chi, a great landlord. These two parties have been fighting each other ever since their conflict over a local election some time ago. Either party whether Sun's or Chen's troops would be in power if it occupied the district. (The natives there used to call the revolutionary troops "Sun's Troops," and Chen Chiung-ming's troops "Chen's troops"). If Sun's troops occupied Pao An, the "Harmful" Party would contribute a large sum to the military funds with the ambition of becoming officials. Then, to make up for their losses, they would levy a poll tax and a land tax. (In general the poll tax were from 20 cents to 30 cents per person, while the land tax was from 10 cents to 15 cents per Chinese acre.) If Chen's troops occupied Pao An, the Shin Party would do the same thing. If one failed and the other won, the winning party would accuse their opponents of being in league with the enemy, arrest them, and extort a large ransom. The members of these two parties used to oppress the peasants by becoming Director of the Fund Raising Bureau, or adjutant or advisor to the garrison troops, the magistrate or the police officers. But their best scheme for extorting the peasants were the allied Militia and the Self-Defence Bureau by means of which arms and taxes were all taken away from the peasants. When either Sun's troops or Chen's troops attacked Pao An, the corresponding party would help the garrison to resist the enemy. In case of failure, they would fly to Kowloon or Hongkong in order to be under the protection of British Imperialism and wait for further opportunities. Another constant oppressor of the peasants for these five or six years have been the bandits. For instance, in the North-eastern part of the district, hundreds of acres of land have been left uncultivated because of the raids of the bandits.

On the economic side, the peasants are also oppressed by the landlords and capitalists. Heavy rent, low wages, high rate of interest, compelling the son to pay his father's debts, fluctuating value of the goods, are typical examples. About 70% of the peasants are tenants who have to pay in advance at least 50% of their crops as rent to their landlords. There is no reduction in rents in case of poor crops. For example five piculs of grain may possibly be gained each year from one acre of land, but at least two and a half piculs would have to be paid to the landlords. If the tenants settle their accounts at the end of the year, they would suffer a very great loss. The hired farmers form 3% of the total number of peasants. The wages of each hired farmer is at most \$100 and in general is \$60.00 or \$70.00 a year. As for women and children, they receive at the most from \$10.00 to \$20.00 a year. Some of them even receive no wages (generally the female workers receive about half as much as the male workers). The treatment is also not so good. Moreover, a portion of the farmers who care for the oysters in the oyster-beds, are also working under the same conditions as the hired workers. The daily wage is about 30 cents. The oyster-beds are situated near the shore of the sea and occupy almost 1,000,000 acres in the whole district. It is learned that Yü Tak-tong of Sha Ching owns the majority of them. Some of the oyster-beds are rented to the tenants at a high rate and some of them are cared for by hired workers. The oysters are cleared from the oyster-beds once a year. If they should die, the tenants would suffer a great loss. For instance, in a certain year the people of Sha Ching village could get no work in the oyster fields and almost seventy girls had to be sold as a consequence. In addition, the so-called boatmen are also hired farmers to till the sand-fields which are owned by three or four great landlords. The rent of the sand fields is just as high as for the other fields. Moreover the landlords and the Sand Field Protection Bureau have always extorted the tenants mercilessly.

From all that has been said, we can see that in the rural districts there exists two classes, landlord and peasant, oppressor and oppressed, and between them there exists a constant state of warfare, a continuous class struggle which, we may be sure, will end in the victory of the oppressed and the emancipation of the long-suffering multitude of toiling peasants.

(From "The Chinese Peasant", January 1926.)

B. THE OPPRESSION OF THE PEASANTS BY THE CONTROLLING CLASSES.

1. Landlords.

1. THE TREATMENT OF PEASANTS BY THE LANDLORDS.

(from the resolutions of the 2nd All-Kwangtung Peasants Conference.)

The human being depends upon the land for his living just as he does upon air and water. By acquiring ownership of the land, the landlord has seized control of one of the most important factors in the life of the human being. On account of this, he can always apply oppressive measures in dealing with other classes and especially with the peasants to whom, the landlord knows, the land is as important as water is to the fish. Having acquired such privileges, the landlord often raises the rent of his land to an amount equivalent of 50 to 80 per cent of the value of the products of the land. In addition, he also adopts many harsh regulations regarding the treatment of the peasants. The demand for advance payment of rent is one instance of this. For fear that the peasant may not be able to pay the required amount of rent during years of dearth, the landlord there collects his rent in advance. The peasant, after leasing a piece of land from the landlord will commence work to fertilize his land. But after his field have been thus improved and made more productive, the landlord will demand an increase of rent on the field. As this frequently happens, many of the tenants have now changed their minds and no longer trouble to fertilize their fields. Again, when the landlord wishes to have the rent of his field increased, he would take back the field from the tenant who had formerly contracted with him for the lease of the field and who has refused to comply with his demand for increase of rent, and let it to another peasant. Sometimes when a landlord sells his land to another landlord, the new owner will consider it a custom to change the tenant and to increase the rent of the field. But this habit of the new landlord would often render the peasants to be unemployed and cause them to become bandits. Moreover, the landlords have established the custom that when they go to the peasant's houses to collect their rents, the peasants must prepare a feast for them and their companions. The landlords have also fixed the food which the peasant must prepare, but they have not fixed the number of people who may partake of the dinner. Sometimes even more than 10 people may partake of the feast. The landlords also demand that the peasants offer them extra "presents" besides the proper

amount of rent, such as hens, ducks, rice, wine or sometimes money. Again, at the time when the peasant makes an agreement with the landlord for the lease of a piece of land, he is forced to give a certain amount of money to the landlord for deposit (usually from 10 to 20 dollars for each mow of land). When the landlord collects his rent, it is customary to take his Tou (an instrument for measuring rice) as the standard for measuring the grain. On account of this, the landlord enlarges his Tou every year, so as to "squeeze" more grain. Moreover, after measuring the grain, the landlord forces the peasant to carry it to his house. Even though the peasant may have to carry the grain for a very long distance, the landlord would not pay him anything in remuneration. Rather the peasant may even be beaten by the landlord for having done his work slowly. Then there is also the system of "fixed rent." Under this system, the peasant will never have his rent reduced even in years of dearth. However poor the peasant may be, the fixed amount of rent can never be reduced. Sometimes when the landlord sends some of his servants to go to collect the rent on his behalf, the peasant is demanded to pay some money to the rent collector for remuneration. It is also provided in the lease that in case of delay of payment of rent by the peasant, his property shall be seized by the landlord directly. In executing this agreement, the landlord always forcibly takes away the cows, pigs, agricultural implements and surplus grain of the peasants, or even his wife and children. The landlord may even strike and detain the peasant for not serving him submissively and humbly. This often occurs in various parts of Kwangtung. It is the decision of the Conference that it request the Government to have all the abovementioned unjust and harsh modes of treatment cancelled.

May 1926.

2. INTRIGUES OF THE LANDLORDS AND THE MILITIA TO DESTROY THE PEASANT UNIONS.

The landlords of Kwang Ning have always been in opposition to the Peasant Unions. On seeing the influence of the Peasant Unions being extended to the West River Districts, they are also trying to extend their forces in those regions. According to reliable reports, their main force in the West River Districts is the troops under a certain Mok in Wuchow. Recently the landlords of Kwang Ning have despatched representatives to Wuchow for secret purposes. In the present trouble in Kao Yao, the landlords of the three districts of Kao Yao, Teh Ching, and Kwang Ning joined together to attack the Peasant Union, and this was the starting point of the union of the reactionaries of the West River Districts. In Ho Pin and its vicinity, they secretly joined with the garrison troops there. They also asked the garrison soldiers to set apart certain waterways to be protected by them, and planned to organise a Commercial Transportation Self-Defence Corps and to appoint Leung Po-chuen as Commander. They have obtained permission from Commander Wong of the

Yunnanese Troops for such an organisation and have commenced their preparations. As to their movements in the region of Kong Tuen, although Leung Hang, the ex-chief of the militia corps there, has gone away, the corps under Kong Yan, an old Comrade of Leung Hang, has been reorganised into the present Merchant Volunteer Corps, and so the force of the landlords is still as powerful as ever. Moreover, the landlords there recently advocated the convocation of a landowner's conference at Pak Shi, Fook Hon, to discuss the organisation of a Militia General Office. Hence it is feared that trouble will soon arise in the region of Foo Hon.

The following two letters seized by our comrades were being secretly sent by the landlords; they discuss the convocation of a conference for opposing the Peasant Unions :—

1. Letter from Kong King-chow and Kong Ming-hing, landlords of Kongtuen, to the Landlords of the 24th and 25th Divisions.

"Upon receipt of a letter from Mr. Che Yik-ting, we learn that you wish to know something about our actions against the Peasant Union. Yesterday, Messrs. Kong Wan (Kong Hon-ying), Wong Shiu-san and others came to see us, and, after discussing for some time our actions against the peasant union we decided to organize temporarily a United Militia Corps by joining together all the militia of Tam Po and Kong Tuen and to station them in Kong Tuen. We also resolved to establish an office for managing the affairs of the corps at the Wai Yeung Club in Chung Tung, and to maintain that office by collecting subscriptions (at a fixed rate of 20 cents per picul of rice received as rent) from the landowners.

Since there are also landowners in your division, we think that you will be in sympathy with us and that you will join us in organizing the corps. We hereby request you to call a meeting of all the landowners of your division to discuss the despatching of delegates to our division for carrying on negotiations with us.

Moreover, please give information of this matter to the militia leaders of the 24th division and ask them if they would join our United Militia Corps."

Yours truly,

Kong Ming-hing and Kong King-chow.

December 10, 1925.

2. Letter from the Landlord, Wong Yiu-tong, to Ming Ny.

"Mr. Yu Lau has just arrived and from him we learn that the rascals of our region have again become very violent and fierce. If we do not deal with them strictly, they will harm our region for the second time. Consequently we deem it necessary for the Branch Office to issue a notification ordering the members of

various villages to make preparations for resisting those rascals, so as to uphold righteousness and to frighten the rebels. At present they are only very small in number and can be extirpated easily, if we can join together to suppress them. But if we do not make up our minds immediately, they will soon become so strong and numerous that it would be very difficult for us to clear them off. Consequently it is very necessary for us now to arrest some of those rascals and hand them over to the authorities for punishment. If we can do so, then there will be no more trouble in our region.

On the whole, if we can carry out our plans, we will have nothing to fear, even if our enemies do take advantage of the name of any party or association. Recently in Kwang Ning many associations and societies were organized by the rascals of the region who have become very proud of their actions. This is indeed a bad thing for our region. If you look at various other cities and towns and examine whether or not there are such things in these regions, you will find that our words are right.

As for the militia corps of Pak Chuen village, Yee Shan, if they do their best to suppress the local bandits and to maintain peace and order in the region, the people of the place will be greatly benefited by their actions. But if they do not adhere to their former policy of self-government (i.e., the policy of suppressing and killing the peasants) and attempt to adopt new measures and schemes, then they will be only doing harm to the region and will surely not be able to stay long in that place.

Since you, dear Mr. Ming Ng, are a clever and decided person, we do not think that you will be misled by those wicked fellows. We hope that you will do your best to uphold the cause of justice and righteousness, so as to set an example to the people of other villages."

From these letters we see that the reactionary landlords of the West River Districts are cherishing many wicked and evil intentions. Since this is not a small matter, it is to be hoped that the authorities will pay attention to it.

(From a Special Report, April 1926.)

3. THE KAO YAO LANDLORDS AND THE PEASANT ORGANIZATIONS.

(A Special Report of the Kao Yao District Peasant Union.)

The peasant movement at Kao Yao was started in the winter of 1924. At the time, there was already a Tax Maintaining Society formed by the landlords to oppress the peasants. The object of the Society was to increase rent by force and to use

large bushel measures in collecting rent. The landlords, accompanied by several tens of the Magistrate's patrols, would enter the various villages to collect the grain tax. If the peasants offered the least resistance or delayed the payment of these taxes, or if the grain paid was not quite good, they would chain the peasants and threaten to bring them before the Magistrate.

At last, finding their position unbearable, the peasants, who were once envied by Confucius on the grounds that his condition was not as good as a farmer's, and who are ever so timorous, united and called a Peasants' Conference. At this Conference, a resolution was passed to establish a Tun Yuen Workers and Peasants Union. Over ten villages joined the Union, giving it a membership of more than 2,000 persons. A Declaration was issued stating that if any landlords should try to increase rents by force or use large bushel measures in collecting rent, the peasants of the whole region would unite to resist them.

On observing these actions, the landlords feared that they would not be able to carry out their evil designs and so they sent a petition to the Magistrate stating that the peasants had gathered together in crowds and were collectively refusing to pay rent. The landlords did not immediately resort to drastic measures, but employed what they call lawful procedures and which they regarded as a kind of toleration of the peasants.

Notwithstanding this, the farmers held another meeting and decided to resist the officials and troops also, if they should listen to the instigations of the landlords.

Up to the Spring of 1925, the membership had been increased by over eight hundred. After the formation of the Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Association on the 1st. of May, the Tun Yuen Peasant Union was reorganised in accordance with the regulations passed at the First Provincial Conference. The reorganisation scheme was carried out by delegates who had been present at the Conference. Ten District Peasant Organisations have since been established. By uniting these ten peasant organisations, the first branch of the Kao Yao District Peasant Union was formed.

The Reaction of the Landlords.

Since the establishment of the First Branch of the Peasant Union in June 1925, the landlords have constantly spread rumours stating that nationalization of property and of women will be practised by the Peasant Unions.

From this, we see that the landlords are fabricating the same rumours as the Imperialists, the Militarists, and the reactionaries to injure the Chinese Emancipation Movement.

Sometimes they would spread rumours of "revolts" and "bandits" to defame and intimidate the peasants. But although they have suffered incessant intimidations and oppressions from the landlord class, the peasants have not stopped their work but rather have continued it with increased efforts. Several more District Peasant organisations have been formed and preparations are being made to organize a Second Branch of the Peasant Union of Kao Yao.

On seeing that the peasants were forging ahead with their work in spite of all their efforts, the landlords united with the gentries and local rowdies. They gathered together the militia corps of the district and established a secret organ at Luk Po Hsu with the title of Tung Siu Society. But in reality, their aim was to smuggle contraband munitions into the district and to assemble bandits to exterminate the peasant organisations.

At that time a rebellion was started by Yang and Liu in Canton, and the political situation was undergoing a change. The landlords therefore decided to attack, in three directions, the Kao Yao and Kwang Ning Peasant Unions.

The first line was formed by the bandits of Wy Chap District who were to attack the peasants from the rear; the second line was formed by the bandits of Kwang Ning, who were to attack the flanks, and the third line was the militias of the interior who were to respond to these attacks. They decided also to mobilize in the middle of June.

On being informed of the matter, the Peasant Union immediately despatched Comrades Chen Hak-mu, Lu Yin-moon, and Yang Yat-leung to cope with the situation and to unite the peasants.

Thereupon the First Branch was besieged by the landlords who announced that they would arrest the above-mentioned three comrades and shoot them. The Lon Yuen and Tung Yuen Village Peasant Unions were also disbanded. But the First Branch of the Kao Yao Peasant Union still fought on, convened a general meeting and organised a Military Council. A resolution was passed that all members should join the Peasant Defense Corps, that the corps should be consolidated, that they should guard the vantage points, and that they should take the defensive and not the offensive without due consideration.

The enemy could not advance a step. A few days later, when there were news that the rebels Liu and Yang had been defeated, the militia and the bandits who were in league with the enemy, dispersed and dared not make any further movements. But they secretly hired assassins to murder the peasant members, promising each a thousand dollars reward, thus showing that they had not yet stopped in their evil designs.

The events of the massacre and the appeal of the Peasant Union.

The rebellion of Yang and Liu lasted only a short while. The Kao Yao landlords were therefore unable to carry out their "Iron and Blood" policy. But they had shown that by uniting their ranks, they could easily shed the blood of the peasants. So the situation was still a situation of trouble and not one of peace.

Moreover, in October 1925, during the rebellion of Lim King-wen in Chung Shan District, Li Chai-yuen, the reactionary landlord and bandit chief, went to Hongkong to negotiate with the Imperialists and their hunting-dogs, Chen Chiung-ming and Chen Lien-pai. He also went to Chung Shan District to consult with Lim King-wen, and on his return to Kwang Ning, assembled the reactionary landlords and bandits of Sum Tung and Ying Tung. They decided to attack the Kwang Ning Peasant Union so as to weaken the forces of the government, and shake the foundation of the Revolution. Then they would start a big rebellion in response to the rebellion in Chung Shan.

But they were suppressed by the veteran Peasant Corps, and Lim at Chung Shan was also defeated not long after. But, although defeated several times, these reactionary forces have not yet been eliminated. Mr. Wu Chi-fai has well said that the unity of the counter-revolutionists is like a pile of rubbish. The January 3rd massacre was but evil that came forth from this pile of rubbish. It was an evidence of the unity of the reactionary landlords of Kao Yao, Kwang Ning and Teh Ching with the militia and the Tai To Society').

Circular issued by the Provincial Peasant Association on the Kao Yao Massacre:

Since the formation of the Peasant Policy of the Kuomintang was decided by the First Delegates' Congress and since the promulgation of the Regulations governing the formation of Peasant Unions, the peasants of Kwangtung have risen, through the support of the Party, to plan and struggle for emancipation.

But, as can be seen, no Peasant Union has been established without being devastated by the counter-revolutionary gentries and landlords. We need not mention the sad incidents at Kwang Ning and Hua Hsien of the past two years. We will relate a recent fact.

At the beginning of January 1926, when the counter-revolutionary forces in both the Eastern and Southern District had been defeated, when Kwangtung was on the eve of unification, and when the Second National Delegates Congress was meeting in at Canton, reports were received that the peasants of three districts, namely, Chung Shan, Nan Hai and Kao Yao, were being oppressed by the counter-revolutionary militias.

How can such reactionary activities be tolerated at a time when the Party wishes to lead the peasants and workers to participate in the National Revolution?

Upon investigation, it was found that on the December 27, 1925, Wu Shiu-yuen, a leader of the Peasant Corps at Tak Nung To in Chung-shan District, was assassinated. The conspirators of this assassination were Wu Hing-shan, and Lim King-kung, degenerate gentries of Chang Ka Pin Village, Wu Mui-shau, a militia leader, Wu Koon-yat, chief of the 3rd Police Station, and Wu Shun, an officer of the Sandfield Protection Corps. This is the first incident.

On the 30th of December, Ngan Hi-tsou, a member of the Third Branch Peasant Union at Tsik Ma Sha Village of Chung Shan, was assaulted and killed by Liang Sei, a degenerate gentry of that village, and Muk Kwan-chi, a militia officer. This is the second incident.

On January 1st of this year, the Peasant Corps of Tai Tin Village Nan Hai went to Tung Chun Po to offer sacrifice at the tomb of their dead comrade Liang Lu. On their return, when they reached Shek Wan, they were unexpectedly shot at by the militia there, who would not allow them to pass. Three peasants whose names are Liang Yi, Liang Keu and Liang Nan were wounded. This is the third incident.

On January 7th, the Second Branch Peasant Union of Chung Shan District reported that Li Kung-pun, Director of the Defense Corps and Commander of the Militia, had secretly colluded with the bandits to disarm the Peasant Corps at Chung Pin, Chung Tao, and How Shan. Previous to this, a conflict had taken place between the peasant corps and the militia, in which the arms and banners of the peasants were forcibly seized by the militia and a peasant named Tsung Wa-yi wounded. This is the fourth incident.

But the foregoing incidents are but slight when compared with the plight of the First Branch Peasant Union of Kao Yao, the sufferings of whose members are even more terrible than those of Kwang Ning and Hua Hsien.

This Association has just received a report from the Kao Yao Peasant Union, reading as follows: "This Union has been attempting to establish peasant organisations in various adjacent villages. The Peasant Union of To Kun Village was formed on the 3rd of this month. The peasants of Si Ho Wu and Lo Kin Villages have also despatched delegates to organise Peasant Unions there. But the landlords and gentries realized that the establishment of Peasant Unions would not be advantageous to them and so they collected, on the 3rd of January, 500 militiamen and at 3 a.m. the next morning attacked Tai Ling Village where this First Branch Peasant Union is situated.

The peasant corps were taken unawares. They held out bravely until 9 a.m. when, being out-numbered, the enemy broke through and entered the village. Three peasants were instantly killed, and over thirty houses were burnt. A peasant named Chen Tai, who was 63 years of age, was burnt to death as he was too old to escape. A village woman, Mrs. Tse Kung-hing, aged 58, who was suffering from paralysis, was shot. Over 20 peasants were seriously wounded.

At the same time, the enemy seized 100 heads of oxen, 300 heads of swine, furniture and other belongings of the farmers.

On hearing of this outrage, the peasant corps of the adjacent villages came to our rescue, but they met the militia at Liang Chuan Village and a battle was fought in which a member of the peasant corps, Chen Shin-ngo, was killed.

The Peasant Corps of the Ten Villages of the Second Branch, and the Peasant Corps of the 16th Branch at Kwang Ning, numbering over 100 strong, also came to our rescue. But the Kwang Ning peasants were repulsed by Wong Wei-lan's militia at Tong King, and ten members were wounded. The Peasant Corps of the Ten Villages were also defeated, with over 20 casualties, by Chen Choi-yan who led a troop of militiamen to attack them at Lo Pan.

On the 4th, the Peasant Corps of the Kwang Ning 16th Branch and of the various branch peasant organisations at Kao Yao assembled at Loo Ling Village to protect the peasant organisations.

But at 10 a.m. on the 5th, over one thousand militiamen and bandits from Wer San village, and about the same number of militiamen from Kwang Ning attacked the village.

The peasants fought with them for two hours. Then, their ammunition supply being exhausted, they were forced to retreat to the 16th Branch at Kwang Ning. The enemy thereupon entered the village and burnt every house.

In this battle, 5 peasants were killed, 8 were arrested and shot, and large numbers were wounded. Summing up the battles fought on the 3rd, 4th, and 5th, our peasants have suffered over 100 casualties, excluding those who have fled and whose whereabouts are unknown.

The enemy looted all the cattle and furniture of the peasants, who were thus forced to flee to the forests, without food, shelter or clothing. The hardships they are suffering are indescribable. At present the enemy are still assembling at Wu Chuan and Lo Kin, and they are searching the forests for victims in order to satiate their thirst for blood. They threaten to set fire to the remaining villages of the First Branch and to all the villages of the 2nd and 3rd Branches. Thus the lives and properties of 5,200 peasants of 27 villages are in danger. We, therefore, request you to despatch an army here to protect the peasant organisations and severely punish the murderers."

On reading the above report, our sorrow and indignation knew no bounds. This circular is issued in the hope that the Government will adhere to the Kuomintang's Peasant Protection Policy; that it will investigate and strictly deal with the above-mentioned cases; that it will give special protection to the peasant organisations; and that it will punish and disperse the local rowdies, degenerate gentries, landlords and militia who are oppressing the peasants.

Report of the Delegates of the Provincial Peasant Association.

The Provincial Peasant Association regarded the Kao Yao massacre as a matter of great importance. In addition to issuing the above circular, they also sent special delegates to the district to make a full investigation. The following is the report of the delegates.

"In the present attack on the Kao Yao peasant organisation, the landlords and degenerate gentries of the 3 divisions of Kao Yao, namely, Yay Yuen-tsao, Shun Tung-tao, and Luk Po-tao, were the chief conspirators, while the landlords and degenerate gentries of Teh Ching, Wen Fan, and Kwang Ning were the chief supporters.

The forces of the landlords are composed of the bandits and militias of Teh Ching, the bandits of Kwang Ning, the militias of Sam Tao, and the Ta Tao Society of Sam Sing Kung, numbering in all about 3,000 or 4,000 strong.

The enemy have built many fortresses and strongholds for their protection, and it is to be feared that cannons must be employed before they can be eliminated.

The forces of the enemy are by no means weak. Although aware of the fact that government troops have been sent against them, they still dared to burn Lo Pan and Kun Ten, and besiege Tong Mei. They have even rejected the peace negotiations of the Magistrate, which shows their insistence on carrying out their counter-revolutionary actions. This is but natural, since their combined forces number not less than 3,000 or 4,000. Hence this is not a minor case. Unless adequate military forces are used, not only will the peasant unions in Kao Yao be completely devastated, but the peasant unions in Teh Ching and Kung Ning will also find it very difficult to carry on.

We should take the following stand with respect to this case:—

- (1) Request Magistrate Li to protect the interests of the peasants.
- (2) Advise the peasant fugitives to return home and participate in the Revolutionary struggle.
- (3) Give special care to the training of the peasants.

- (4) Peasant Unions should have departments to manage their affairs so as to inform the peasants as to what sort of organisation is needed in a struggle.
- (5) Advise the peasants to unite with the soldiers.
- (6) Advise the peasants not to harbour any ill-feelings and not to take any revenge on the villages of the enemy.

Name of the Ringleaders.

SOONG KOOK-CHO, a big landlord, living at Lo Kin village, possessing ten thousand mow of land.

LU SHEN-TIEN, a big landlord, living at Shu Nam Village. He is the director of the militias.

WU YU-MAN, owning over ten thousand mow of lands, and living at the East of the Si Ho Village. He is also a militia leader.

WONG WEI-LAN, a degenerate gentry living at Wen Chow village.

CHEN CHOI-YAU, a petty landowner, living at Lo Ran.

KUM KAT-WEN, a degenerate gentry, living at Shu Nam.

TSE TAAT-HING, a big landowner living at Ling Chuan.

LIANG SHIK-YIN, a big landlord and the Commander-in-chief of the Sen Kung Chai (The Ta Tao Society).

LIANG WING-PONG, a big landlord, living at Wu Chuan village. He is a director at Sam Tao.

Number of Casualties, of Houses Burnt, and Valuables Looted at Various Villages.

LING CHUAN VILLAGE.

148 houses burnt.

85 heads of cattle captured.

12 casualties.

All property and valuables of the village were looted.

PO HO VILLAGE.

39 houses burnt.

50 heads of cattle captured.

10 heads of swine captured.

Property all lost.

LIANG CHUAN VILLAGE.

12 houses burnt.

11 heads captured.

10 heads captured.

13 Peasant killed.

All property lost.

KUN TEN VILLAGE.

3 houses burnt.

All property lost.

SHENG YUEN LONG VILLAGE.

One peasant killed.

Ho To VILLAGE.

One peasant killed.

TUNG YUEN VILLAGE.

One peasant killed.

SHUN TUNG VILLAGE.

Two peasants killed.

THE 16TH BRANCH OF KWANG NING

One peasant wounded and one killed.

(January 1926.)

4. THE PU NING LANDLORDS AND THE PEASANTS.

In Pu Ning, the landlords and peasants have repeatedly come into conflict. The chief reasons for this are:—

1. The yearly increase of rents by the landlords.
2. The extortion and the oppression of the corrupt gentries and bullies.

The landlords and bullies surnamed Fong are the worst oppressors, because the Fong family is the largest family in the district. This oppression dates back to the Tsing dynasty. Owing to some conflict, a battle was started between the landlords and the peasants, lasting for over forty years. Finally, when Fong Yiu was appointed Military Commander by the expiring Tsing Government, he oppressed the peasants very much and compelled them to indemnify the damages of the landlords during 'the forty years' war. He also forcibly increased the rents. Being unable to pay the indemnity, numerous peasants were consequently slaughtered and plundered by the Fong family, and their lands confiscated. The Fong landlords also seized the lands in the villages of Lung Shai, Che Kor and New Shai Chai. They burnt down the whole village of Ma Yuen Kui and then built houses for themselves on the old site.

To-day the landlords live in cities, but at the end of every year, they would return to the villages to collect their money from the peasants. They would say to the peasants, "Your grandfathers owed our grandfathers a large sum of money." Should any peasant dare to speak a word in protest, he would be assaulted or imprisoned by the oppressor. The amount of this extortion from the peasants is estimated to be \$6,000 per year. With this ill-gotten money, the landlords would spend their New Year's Day in vice and luxury, while the innocent peasants would have to endure their sufferings in silence.

The peasants are often compelled to honour the landlords as their adopted fathers in order to lessen their maltreatment. Each year they would have to present the landlords with several tens of piculs of grain. Consequently it is often found that one landlord has as many as several tens of adopted sons. Recently the peasants are being oppressed more greatly than ever before. For instance, in order to establish a Self-Defence Militia Bureau, many illegal taxes have been levied on the peasants. A tax of \$5.00 is levied on a marriage ceremony, and a tax of \$3.00 on each pig sold.

As soon as the Revolutionary Armies captured Chiu Chow and Mui Yuen, the landlords in Pu Ning lost their political protection and the peasants were able to establish peasant unions according to the policy of the Kaomintang. But the landlords devised many plots and bribed the rowdies to assassinate the propagandists and the staffs of the peasant unions. On the one hand they worked in league with Magistrate Chan Chi-keng in suppressing the peasants and on the other hand they tried to stir up bad feeling between the villagers and the city people, so that the rowdies could insult or strike the peasants who went to the market or city. In the evening of February 11th, Fong Hon-yau, a rowdy, who stole some oranges from Lam Wai San Village, was arrested and handed over to the Magistrate for punishment. Fong Hing-cheung, a landlord, thereupon instigated Fong Chi-chuen to accuse the people of Lam Wai San Village of kidnapping his daughter, and to assemble the members of his clan to attack the peasants and the propagandists.

On February 14th, at noon, Yau Yuet, a peasant of Mah Tow Shan, went to sell his vegetables by the side of the firm of Fong Yik-hing, which was situated at Tung Mun Street, Pu Ning City. (This place was usually assigned for the vegetable sellers). He was insulted and scolded by Fong Yik-hing and seriously wounded by the blows of other members of the Fong family. Upon hearing this, the family of Yau Yuet appealed to the magistrate for an examination of wounds, but the magistrate was in league with the landlords, and refused their appeals and even imprisoned Yau Yuet.

On the same day, the landlords of the Fong clan also instigated the rowdies, militiamen, and policemen of the 1st Division to attack the peasants who went to Pu Ning City and seize all their belongings. But the peasants in the neighbouring villages sided with their unfortunate peasants, pursued the rowdies, militiamen and policemen, and arrested some of the members of the Fong clan, and imprisoned them in the 1st. Division Peasant Union. On the 15th, the landlords and gentries gathered together the armed militia to attack the 1st. Division Peasant Union saying that the 1st. Division Peasant Union had kidnapped their members. But the other Division Peasant Unions in Pu Ning District and the peasants of Kit Yueng and Hai Feng despatched reinforcements as soon as they heard of the news. On the other hand the landlords were also helped by the militias of the other villages who declared that all the peasant unions should be eradicated.

On the 16th Mr. Kwok, the chief officer of the Organisation Bureau, and Mr. Hu, a battalion commander, were appointed by the Political Department of the 1st. Army to investigate into the disturbance and act as mediators. But the landlords maintained a firm attitude, secretly bought a large quantity of ammunition, fortified their castles strongly, and prepared strenuously for a second attack against the peasants. On the other hand, the peasants organised a Peasants Self-defence Corps for their own protection. For the convenience of administration, the District Peasant Union was removed to Hap Keuk Village, where a market based on the co-operative plan was also established so as to frustrate the evil designs of the landlords and gentries.

(From a Special Report to the Provincial Peasants Association)

March 1926,

5. HOW THE LANDLORDS USE THE FAMILY SYSTEM FOR THEIR SELFISH AIMS.

Below is a secret letter despatched by the Landowners' Association in Hua Hsien, in order to terrify the peasants and prevent them from joining the Peasant Unions. A means which is commonly employed by the landlords in many districts of Kwangtung, where the influence of the Family System is still strong.

Confidential:

We beg to inform you that the Land Owners' Maintenance Association has been established. All families should go to their respective family temples to report their names, amount of land they own, and amount of rent. They should at the same time pay their membership fees to the Association. All the sons and nephews of members of the Association should refrain from joining the Peasant Union. Offenders of this regulation shall be expelled from the family and severely punished.

Pin Shan Inter-village Self-Protecting
Federation.

(From a Special Report, May 1925.)

II.—Gentry, Bullies and Rowdies.

1. HOW THE GENTRY EXPLOIT THE PEASANTS.

One of the bitterest enemies of the peasants are the gentry. Their influence in the Kwangtung villages is enforced by the wide-spread system of the so-called public fields, ancestral fields, and scholars fields. The administration and practically the ownership of these fields are in the hands of the gentry, who often depend upon them for the support of their families. They would often magnify trivial matters in order that they may be able to embezzle these public funds. They also pay out large sums every year under the pretext of paying tributes to the tombs of ancestors,

and maintaining and repairing bridges and ancestral halls. As regards the presents to be given to the returned students, only the sons and nephews of the degenerate gentries and big landlords could hope to have a share. The sons of peasants have absolutely no chance to benefit from these funds.

For fear that the peasant would rise against them, they have adopted a policy of military protection by organising the militias. Furthermore, by organising these militias, they have even more opportunities to squander the funds in order to satiate their selfish aims. Under these circumstances, the militia have naturally become effective weapons of the gentries and the terror of the peasants.

Notwithstanding this, the gentries deny that the militias are organized to protect their special privileges, but say that the organization of the militias is for the maintenance of the peace and order of the village, as well as for defending it against the attacks of bandits.

Before the organisation of the Peasant Corps, the peasants thought, too, that the militias were formed to protect the interests of the peasants. But by comparing the Peasant Corps after they have been organised with the militias, the peasants then saw that they had hitherto misplaced their trust.

The Shun Teh and Chung Shan Districts have very large public funds. The Shung I Ancestral Temple is the common property of the people of the 8 sections of Chung Shan District. It has accumulated a wealth of over several tens of millions of dollars which is now in the hands of the gentries who monopolize these funds under the pretext of maintaining the militias. Nearly every public office in Chung Shan is thus occupied by these evil gentries, who are then able to exploit and oppress the peasants by virtue of their political as well as of their economic power.

(From a report of the Provincial Peasant Association.)

May 1926.

2. DEPRAVED GENTRIES OF NAN CHUAN VILLAGE OPPRESS PEASANTS.

(A circular of the Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Association.)

A report has been received from Nan Chuen Village Peasant Union in the First Division of Nan Hai District reading as follows :

"During the formation of our Union, the gentry tried every means possible to suppress our Union. Later, when our Union had been successfully established in spite of all their efforts, they organized a Branch Division of the Kuomintang and utilized it to try to disperse our Union. At the same time, they established the Chuen Kan Agriculture Company and employed peasants to cultivate their farms for them. Their aim is to prohibit the peasants in their employ from entering our union so as to violate our regulations. Moreover, they have organized false peasant

unions in other villages in order to frustrate the peasant movements there. But the peasants saw through their evil designs and were not fooled by them. Thereupon, they were forced to resort to armed force. On the 8th, they led about ten armed militiamen and about ten armed persons without uniforms, carrying clubs, etc., to besiege the residences of the members of our union. Our members, namely, Leung Charm-wa, Leung Charm-ki, Leung Iu-ki, and Lei Kui-wing, were seriously wounded, and Leung Chu was captured. This outrage has caused great alarm in our village, and many people are moving to other villages."

After receiving this report, delegates were sent to make investigations, and it was found that the report was true. As these gentries are oppressing the peasants, and destroying the peasant unions, they are violating the peasant policy of the Party and the manifestoes of the Government. We cannot allow even a bit of this anti-revolutionary force to exist in Kwangtung, which is being unified by the Revolutionary Army. Otherwise, it will not only be an obstacle to the development and expansion of the peasant movement, but will also shake and weaken the foundation of the Revolution. Therefore, in regard to this case, we demand the following:

- (1) The arrest of the trouble-makers, namely, the gentries Leung Foon-yan, Leung Yeh-luen and Leung Tsoi, and their strict punishment.
- (2) The disarmament of the militia.
- (3) Compensation for the wounded.
- (4) The release of our comrade, Leung Chu.

We hope that the Revolutionary Government will accede to our requests and that the people will give us aid.

(sd) *Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Association,*
(April 1926.)

3. KWANG NING BULLIES ATTACK PEASANTS.

On July 7, the bullies of Kwang Ning with more than a thousand bandits suddenly attacked the Peasant Union of Kong Tung. The Peasant Corps tried to resist them, but in vain. Finally the bandits were able to capture the Peasant Unions Building after 4 hours' fighting. On the next day, the Peasant Corps nearby gathered together and tried to drive the bandits away but were again beaten back. On the 9th, the bandits surrounded the Peasant Corps at the village of Kong Hup. They used machine-guns and especially cannons to bombard the village, with the result that a great number of peasants were killed. The Peasant Union of Kwang Ning has reported the outrage to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang and soldiers will soon be sent by the Government to the aid of the peasants.

(From *Min Kuo Jih Pao*, July 1926.)

5. THE GENTRY AND ROWDIES IN TUNG KUAN DISTRICT.

(Collection from Various Reports to the Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Association.)

a. *Destroy Peasant Union Branch.*

The Third Branch of the Peasant Union of Tung Kuan District was organised on November 9th. Thereupon the chairman of the Village Association, Tang Yuen, chang, a gentry, and the vice-chairman, Tang Tin-hui, a big landlord, led a dozen armed men to the Branch Union building and destroyed all the furniture, including a portrait of Dr. Sun and the flag of the Unions. Two of the members were arrested-beaten and chained, and then imprisoned for over a week in the Village Association building.

b. *Society Organized by Bullies and Gentries in Tung Kuan.*

Recently the bullies and depraved gentries of Shiu Pin village of Tung Kuan have organized a "Democratic Society." The aim of the promoters of the society is to unite all the bullies and gentries to oppress the peasant unions.

c. *Usual Trick of the Privileged Class.*

The depraved gentries, Chu Shiu-pun and Lai Wan-shang, of Nam Sha Village of the 10th Division of Tung Kuan have always oppressed and extorted the peasants of the village. Recently, strengthened by the force of the militia, they have acted even more violently and cruelly, declaring that they would overthrow all the peasant unions. On September 7th, they openly kidnapped Tam Shan-chung and Chiu Hop-chai, officers of the Tung Kwar Yu Village Peasant Union. Chiu Hop-chai was released afterwards on paying a ransom of \$40. On September 9th, Wan Sing and Lo Hee, two members of the Lo Wan Peasant Union, were also kidnapped by them.

d. *Rowdies' Assembly in Tung Kuan District.*

It is known that the peasants of Tung Kuan and Pao An Districts are thriving, and on account of this, the rowdies and irresponsible politicians are getting afraid of them. Recently they intended to transport general merchandise to support the British Imperialists with profit to themselves, but this underhand work was discovered by the peasants who immediately took steps to frustrate their plans.

Realizing that their force was insufficient to conquer the peasants, the rowdies organized an association and assembled all the rowdies, unscrupulous gentries, irresponsible politicians and militia for an attack on the Peasant Union. It is said that over one hundred persons have been tempted to join the Kung Wo Association by the rowdies, and that they are well armed. After the Peasant Union received the above news, it immediately sent out a notice ordering the different villages to form Peasant Defence Corps, and also petitioned the Government to despatch Revolutionary troops to protect them and to disband the "Kung Wo Association."

(December 1925-January 1926)

6. BULLIES AND BANDITS OPPRESS TUNG KUAN PEASANTS.

On May 23, very early in the morning, the Peasant Union of Tung Kuan was suddenly surrounded by bullies, bandits and soldiers of the Kwangsi Army under Taan Hai-siu, numbering in all, several hundred men. They killed the chief officer of the Peasant Union and his small daughter. Not satisfied with this, they cut off his ears and opened up his stomach. Eighteen members of the Union were arrested and more than ten were badly wounded. After the attack, they burnt the Union building and the houses of the members of the Union. All the guns belonging to the Union were taken away, and the members were also robbed of their clothing and valuables. The total loss was more than \$10,000. The Peasant Union has already reported this to the Revolutionary Government and is asking for help.

(From *Min Kuo Sih Pao*, 5-26-25.)

7. RECENT CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES OF GENTRY IN RURAL DISTRICTS.

The Peasant Union of Tzu Chin was monopolized by the gentries, who utilized it to "squeeze" the peasants of their hard-earned fruits of labour. Awakened to this fact, the peasants recently called a general district conference to reorganize the Union, and to kick out the profiteers. Seeing their power slip from their hands, the gentries determined to prevent the reorganisation by breaking up the conference with armed force.

For the first time, and greatly to his honour, the magistrate stood firmly by the peasants' side. The fight went on for half a day, and the gentries' forces were repulsed with casualties when the Peasant Corps from the surrounding villages came to the rescue.

Last March, a story of the same character but with a more tragic epilogue happened to the Namlin Peasant Union. The Tangwan village had established a Union and Namlin sent 10 representatives to take part in the celebrations. The gentries organized a pitfall, caught all of them, murdered 5 of them with the utmost cruelty, and severely wounded the other 5.

As an act of revenge, the landlords of the 3rd division of Tien Pai have not only withheld their land from all members of the Peasant Union, but they have also bribed the gendarmerie to make war against them. Last June, under the pretense of searching for bandits, the gendarmerie broke into the houses of 3 members of the Peasant Union, looting all the property and beating the owners, and kidnapped one of them. The Union thereupon sent a delegation to the magistrate protesting against the unlawful act of the gendarmerie, who are his subordinates. What did the worthy official do? He simply accused the Peasant Union of "mingling with politics" and insulted them!



This placard contains another resolution on peasants passed by the Second National Convention of the Kuomintang, namely, to prevent the village bullies and corrupt elders from monopolizing village politics, and to promote the establishment of peasant self-governing organizations.

The cartoon at the top depicts the peasants ejecting the bullies and elders from the Village Council.

We further learn that the Tien Pai gentries are in collusion with the French Imperialists, who are supplying them with arms.

(From the Canton Gazette, 7-28-26)

8. GENTRY AND BULLIES OPPRESS PEASANTS IN LEI CHOW.

Most of the gentries in Lei Chow are in league with the officials to maltreat the peasants. They employ the militia as their tools to oppress the peasants and workers so cruelly that they have no means to earn a living and so turn bandits.

On account of this, the bandits in Lei Chow are so numerous that they cannot be entirely eradicated.

When we arrived at the place, we were deeply impressed by the miserable conditions, and besides requesting the 12th Division to exterminate the Sam Tong and Puk Lo bandits so as to set the people free from their bondage, and despatching propaganda corps to the various villages to carry on propaganda work with the hope of awakening the people, we called a meeting of the representatives of the people, officials and military officers on January 12 and formed a Rehabilitation Association. The aim of this Association is on the one hand to eradicate all rebels and evil-doers, and on the other, to protect the good. At present bandits and homeless people are still very numerous. We hope that our Government will pay attention to the rehabilitation problem of Lei Chow, devise plans to aid the homeless, appropriate funds to improve agriculture, and promote the formation of Peasants Corps for self-protection. Furthermore we hope that all will try hard to recover Kwang Chow Wan so as to exterminate the source of bandits.

*(From a report of the Political Bureau of the
4th Revolutionary Army, January 1926.)*

9. CORRUPT GENTRY OF SHUN TEH KILL PEASANTS.

Fan Min, a member of the Peasant Union of Yu Chun village in the 8th division of Shun Teh, was shot by the notorious bandit Leung Chiao, and the native scoundrels Leung Yu-kai, Leung Tai-han, Leung Ling-yi and Li Si-pat, who were instigated by the corrupt gentry of that district, Poon Min-ngok. The dead body was removed to Fan Tai Chia by the commander of the Peasant Corps.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen, April 1926)

10. RICE FIELD SWINDLERS CONTINUOUSLY OPPRESS PEASANTS.

Recently, Tung Kai-yen, who is a member of the On Ping Rice Field Bureau of Chung Shan District, led about ten soldiers, and accompanied by the notorious bandit Lee Shun, to every village and demanded Red and Black permits (a certain permit for tax). They also went to Tung Lau Sha Village to attack the Peasant

Union and looted four boats which were full of rice. Soon after this, they went to Pak Lau Sha Village where they attacked the Peasant Defence Corps, looted one rice boat and kidnapped a member of the Peasant Union of that place. They are demanding not only the Rice Field Protection Tax, but also a Military Tax and fees for the Red and Black Permits²). Upon refusal, he will order the soldiers and bandits to loot the entire village.

(From a Special report, May 1926.)

11. CHUNG SHAN DISTRICT GENTRY DEMOLISH PEASANT UNIONS.

Since the Peasant Union of Nam Ping Village in the 7th section of the Chung Shan District was demolished by the militia by order of the degenerate gentry Young Luin-fang of that village, many peasants have lost their homes and become wanderers, presenting a most pitiable sight. Three months have elapsed, but the case is still unsettled.

At present, the gentry of that village have not yet awakened. They continue to employ every means to oppress the enthusiastic peasants who have been most active in their struggles. It is reported that a local bully named Young Cheung-ling has arrived at Canton with the intention of organising Anti-Peasant Union organs. He submitted a petition to the Government on behalf of a Fellow Countrymen's Union requesting that the original Peasant Union of Nam Ping village be reorganised, expelling all the former active peasant members from the village, and replacing them with counter-revolutionary gentry and local rowdies. The gentry have now reorganised the Peasant Oppressing Militia into a Peasant's Self-Defense Corps to beguile the Government with the view of preserving their position.

But the Peasant Union discovered their plot and reported to the District Peasant Union, requesting it to ask the Provincial Peasant Association to take up strict measures against it.

(Min Kuo Jih Pao, 9-30-29)

III.---The Local Officials.

1. THE DISTRESS BROUGHT UPON THE PEASANTS BY THE LOCAL OFFICIALS.

(From the Proposals of the Second Kuomintang Congress)

Besides the landlords, gentries, and militia corps, another cause of the peasants' pain and distress is the local troops and officials. These troops and officials declare themselves to be revolutionists and experienced Kuomintang members, but they aim only at their own rank and wealth. Thus they are always acting against the principles of the Party, disobeying the orders of the Government, and acting in league with the bandits, corrupt gentries, and landlords to oppress the peasant and destroy

their organizations. The splendid results of the peasant movement directed by our Party have frequently been set at naught by their evil actions. Recent instances of this are very easy to find. In Kwang Ning District, the 3rd Division of the Kwangtung Army and the magistrates were bribed by the bandits, corrupt gentries, and landlords to oppress the farmers. The two conflicts between the landlords and the peasants were largely due to the interference of the troops and officials.

The local soldiers under Li Fu-lin, and the magistrate, Tang Hung, of Shun Teh District have acted in a similar manner, and as a result, tragedies have occurred in the villages of Li Kou, Yu Chung, Li Ti Kee, Wan Lo, Tai Chow, and Po Chow. In Chung Shan District, when Li Fu-lin's troops joined the bandits and corrupt gentries to rob and set fire to more than 30 villages, in order to work havoc on the peasant unions of that district and to arrest its members, the magistrate, Lo Ka-kui, pretended to be ignorant of their actions and unruly deeds. In Fan Yu district, the troops under Li Fu-lin united with the corrupt gentries to arrest the members of the peasant union of that region, and to disarm the Peasants Self-protecting Corps there; at the same time, the United Militia Corps of the Sung Man and other villages forced the peasants to pay extra field taxes and massacred many members of the peasant union there. When these actions were reported to the magistrate of that district, he not only refused to redress the grievances of the people, but also supported the oppressors by arresting the peasants and putting them into custody. Chow Shing-wing, the magistrate of the district of Hua Hsien, was bribed by the Landlords' Maintenance Association to attack the peasant unions, to rob and set fire to the villages of Kou Wu and Yeun Tin, and to massacre the peasant members. The soldiers stationed in Tung Kuan District were bribed by the United Militia of Lin Kai and other villages to slaughter the peasants of Wai Tak, Hou Kong, Shiu Pin and other villages and destroy their organizations. The magistrate of that district, a certain Mr. Leung, though informed of the matter, paid no attention to it. In Pao An, Tam Kai-sau, commander of the troops stationed in that district, and Chung Shi-chee, magistrate of the district, joined with the United Militia of the Western Regions to oppress the peasants in Lo Tin, Yin Chun, Lau Chuen and other villages. Recently, in the same district, Chang Ngo-tung, leader of a newly-organized regiment of the 1st division of the National Revolutionary Army, and Leung Shu-hun, magistrate of that district, directed the militia corps, the bandits and the corrupt gentries and made an unexpected attack upon the Peasants Self-protecting Corps there, destroying several tens of villages, and slaughtering many members of the peasant unions. The troops under Lam Hoi-shan, stationed in the district of Wei Yang, oppressed the farmers in their same way as those in the other districts. Accounts of other similar actions would fill the whole of this book. These actions of the unruly soldiers and officials arouse the suspicions of the peasants concerning our Party and our Government, and are hence obstacles to the practice of the Peasant's Policy of our Kuomintang. For the

sake of delivering the peasants from their pain and distress, and of enabling them to be faithful to our Kuomintang and to cooperate with us, we must strictly investigate the actions of those troops and officials who proclaim themselves to be revolutionists and to be under our control, and we must also keep an eye on the landlords and corrupt gentries who are always bribing the local officials and soldiers to join with them in oppressing of the peasants. Only in this way will the peasant organisations be fully developed and the Peasant Policy of our Party become a reality.

(January 1926)

2. DELEGATES OF THE ENLARGED CONFERENCE OF THE PROVINCIAL PEASANT ASSOCIATION PETITION FOR THE PUNISHMENT OF RENEGADES AND CORRUPT OFFICIALS.

During the past several years, the peasants in Kwangtung as well as those who undertake peasant movements have frequently been maltreated by renegades, corrupt officials, depraved gentry, local rowdies, unruly soldiers, bandits and reactionaries. A large number of them have been killed; and though many were lucky enough to have escaped with their lives, yet their conditions is very pitiful.

On account of the above, all the delegates of the Enlarged Meeting of the Provincial Peasant Association of Kwangtung and the peasants in the suburbs of Canton, numbering over a thousand, went to the Central Kuomintang, Nationalist Government and the Provincial Government to submit their petition.

Before starting they assembled on the grounds in front of their union's premises with Peng Pai as the leader. Yuan Siu-sin, member of the Standing Committee of the Provincial Peasant Association, delivered a speech on the violent actions of the renegades in injuring the peasants. He emphasized that those renegades should be strictly punished, and also explained to the delegates the significance of the petition. On the whole, he said, their petition for the punishment of the renegades would on the one hand reduce their own sufferings and on the other hand would strengthen the rear during the Expedition and stabilize the Revolutionary foundation. His speech was enthusiastically received. Loud applause was given and high acclamation was shouted by the participants after the speech ended.

Comrade Peng Pai exhorted them to remain orderly when presenting their petition. At 11 a.m. they started bringing along with them a piece of white cloth bearing the following words:

Petition the Government to punish—

- (1) Renegades who destroy peasant unions.
- (2) Corrupt officials who oppress peasants.
- (3) Unruly soldiers who burn peasant villages, kill peasant and rape women.

- (4) Depraved gentry and rowdies who extort money from the peasants.
- (5) Militia who extort and cruelly massacre peasants.
- (6) Bandits who rob peasants, etc.

There was another white banner with the following inscription: "Demonstration and appeal of the Delegation from Seven Directions³) of the Enlarged Conference of the Provincial Peasant Union of Kwangtung," written on it.

There were many other white cloth flags with the undermentioned inscriptions written on them:

- (1) Support the Labour and Peasant Policy of the Party.
- (2) Support the decisive resolutions of the 2nd All-China Delegates Congress of the Kuomintang towards peasants.
- (3) Support the 1st and the 2nd Declarations of the Nationalist Government in regard to peasants.
- (4) Support all the slogans of the Nationalist Government.
- (5) Support the Canton-Hongkong Strike.

The parade was quite orderly. They first proceeded to the Central Kuomintang. Wong Hok-tsang, Wong Him, Chang On-yeong and Sueh Lok, the representatives of the whole body went in and were received by Pang Chak-man, a member of the Standing Committee. They told him the object of their coming, which was sincerely accepted by comrade Pang on behalf of the Party. Pang then accompanied the four representatives to the gate of the Kuomintang premises and made a speech before the petitioners. In brief he said:—

"Peasant comrades! Every day in the newspapers there are news reports mentioning how the peasants are molested by renegades, bandits and reactionaries. Now they even defame and falsely accuse the peasant unions of being bandit organisations. We should say that those who call the peasant unions bandit organisations are renegades and should be given suitable punishment.

As you all have taken the trouble of coming here with your petition, at the meeting of the Central Executive Committee which will be held on this Saturday, I shall undertake the responsibility of putting it up for discussion, so that measures will be devised to hasten the Government to relieve the peasants from their troubles at an early date."

Following comrade Pang's speech, Wong Hok-tsang, representing the whole body, spoke. After that, slogans such as "Support the Kuomintang," etc. were acclaimed. They then marched very orderly down Wai Oi Road to the Provincial Government, but all the responsible persons were out on public affairs.

The Peasant delegates then proceeded to the Nationalist Government, and were received by the chief secretary Chen Shu-jen. After the interview, slogans such as "Support the Nationalist Government," etc., were acclaimed. When marching out of the premises towards Wai Sun Road they participated in the demonstration for supporting the Canton-Hongkong Strike which was being held by the citizens of Canton.

At 3 p.m. they returned to the Provincial Peasant Association and dispersed. The delegates of the recent Enlarged Conference and the peasants, numbering over a thousand, who put forth this great petition were indeed enthusiastic. Although they walked under a strong burning sun and acclaimed slogans all along the way, yet they did not seem to be effected.

PETITION OF THE DELEGATION OF THE ENLARGED CONFERENCE OF THE PROVINCIAL
PEASANT ASSOCIATION TO THE CENTRAL KUOMINTANG FOR THE
PUNISHMENT OF RENEGADES AND CORRUPT OFFICIALS.

"Since the reorganization of the Kuomintang Party, the Peasant Department of the Central Executive Committee of your Party has drawn up regulations for the peasant unions of various grades according to the outline of peasant politics fixed by the 1st All-China Delegates Congress as well as the resolutions regarding the peasant movement passed at the 2nd All-China Delegates Congress. The regulations formerly had been submitted to the late Generalissimo Sun and was announced by him. Besides, the Revolutionary Government under your Party has successively issued many declarations and orders regarding the peasant movement.

Through the help of your Party and the Revolutionary Government which is under your guidance, over 800,000 peasants in 66 districts in Kwangtung have become members of the Peasant Unions and have organized themselves in two year's time.

Now as Kwangtung has been unified, the National Revolutionary troops have been despatched for the Northern Punitive Expedition and incidentally the Revolutionary strength has extended all over Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Hunan, so the peasants in Kwangtung should have obtained benefits, but the contrary is the truth.

Not only have our peasants no protection for their lives and properties, but also they have been deprived of the freedom of assembly and holding parades. Moreover every now and then, we are abused, falsely accused of being bandits, communists and rebels. We cannot voice our protest and even if we did, nobody will listen to us.

Analysing the source of this suffering, half of it is from the renegades, bandits, depraved gentry, local bullies and militia and the other half from the corrupt officials and unruly soldiers in the various districts under the administration of the Government of your Party.

During the last three months, our peasants have been most inhumanly maltreated and oppressed by the renegades, bandits, depraved gentry, local rowdies, militia, corrupt officials and unruly soldiers under your Party Government in the Central, Tungkiang, Sikiang, North River, Southern and Kiang-ngai districts.

For example in the Central districts, namely Chung Shan and Shun Teh, the bandits are very troublesome. The peasants have been suffering for a long time and are anxious that soldiers be sent to suppress them; but upon their arrival the soldiers were found to be worse than the bandits.

When the 60th Regiment of the 20th Division of the 1st National Revolutionary Army were despatched to Chung Shan for bandit suppression, they killed Leong Lai-hung, vice executive Committee member of the Peasant Union at Nam Ma village of the 9th Division of the district and one other member. Eight women were raped, one of whom died because of the inhuman outrage. All the peasants' homes were looted. Comrades Li Wah-shiu and Leong Wai-man, the special delegates of the Peasant Department of the C.E.C. of your Party for investigating this case, were detained and maltreated by the Regiment. Besides, they were forced to issue circular telegrams, pleading for the unruly actions of the soldiers.

Once the 15th Division of the 5th National Revolutionary Army went to Lung Ngan in Shun Teh District ostensibly to suppress the bandits. Instead of doing so, they plundered the peasants' homes and outraged their women. All fruits were plucked and fish taken. Leong Tsui-chung, a member of the Standing Committee of the 6th Sectional Branch, and 4 other peasants were arrested by them. They tried to force the villagers to establish a militia body composing of 50 members. The villagers would not concur because they had no money, moreover the village had already a peasant corps for self-protection purposes. The soldiers were as stubborn as ever and insisted that a militia body of at least twenty militiamen must be established; if not, all the peasants in the whole village would be tied up.

When suppressing bandits at Wong Ma Chung, a peasant was killed and his corpse was removed by the soldiers. During their suppression of bandits at Chung Hok, they raped several tens of women, two of whom died instantaneously on account of the outrage. When suppressing bandits at Ma Kong, the soldiers devastated peasant unions and destroyed all the union's belongings, such as flags, etc.

Hsu Chu, the Magistrate of Chung Shan District, does not recognize the peasant unions as legal and proper organisations of the people. When the peasants make any demands he never replies to them, but when the gentry, bullies and the militia demand anything it is done right away. Moreover he bribes rowdies and

rascals, who are against the peasant unions, to go to the villages and fabricate rumours in order to deceive the peasants and falsely accuse the peasant unions of having interfered with the administration. For example, the head of the sub-police station at Koon Tong of Seong Chak of the 6th Division, Leong Shiu-pem actually absconded with public funds but reported falsely to his superiors that he was forcibly expelled by the peasant unions.

Chen Shui-wei, magistrate of Shun Teh District, was in alliance with the bandits, depraved gentry, local bullies, militia and soldiers. When the soldiers were carrying out bandit suppression at Lung Ngon Village he proceeded there with the district patrolling corps. He not only allowed his men to plunder houses and outrage women, but also joined with the soldiers to force the peasants to establish militia corps. He said that the peasant unions must be summarily dissolved and if no militia body was established, he would not be responsible for their protection.

According to reports, the reason why the recent bandit suppression campaign was carried out, is because that the magistrate was bribed with \$600 by Leong Shui-heng, a depraved gentry. The magistrate took the pretext of suppressing bandits to suppress the peasant unions and establish militia bodies. In that campaign, three bandits were arrested by the magistrate. The peasants unions reported to him the crimes of the bandits and demanded that they should be punished. Instead of doing so, the magistrate was so audacious as to accept a bribe of \$1,200 from the bandits and took no notice of the peasants. When the peasants at any place, who are molested by the bandits, demand him to despatch troops for their protection, he never pays any attention to them.

The magistrate of San Shui District, Yang Chung-chiung, always makes it a practice of devastating peasant unions and killing peasants. He imposes various exorbitant taxes upon them. The following are some of the unruly acts perpetrated by the above magistrate:

(1) On July 12, when the Peasant Union at Lam Kong was holding its inauguration ceremony, he despatched a large Patrol Corps to dissolve it.

(2) On August 10, he despatched a large Patrol Corps to Wang Chung under the pretext of suppressing bandits and arrested 8 members of the peasant union. Up till now four of them have still not been released. Besides, he has issued notifications asking the people to prefer information against them.

(3) On August 9, he despatched Lo Pak, detachment leader of the Patrol Corps, to Seong Cheun in order to arrest Kwan Ting-wah, preparatory deputy for the peasant union of Fat Chu Village. After many negotiations Kwan was released but was robbed of over \$800.

(4) He directed the various militia bureaux to force the peasants to buy public loan bonds, each head 20 cents and each family not less than a dollar. All orphans and widows are not exempted.

(5) Commandeering of coolies under the pretext of enlisting them.

The peasants of Tung Kuan District have also suffered very much. On the day when the peasant union of Ha Keng Village was inaugurated (1st of the 4th Moon last year) the bullies in the village, namely Mak Ting-kai, Mak Kwong-chuen, etc., conspired with bandits, militia and rebellious troops to devastate the union and kill Mak Fook-shiu and Mak Yew-tong, vice-chairman and member of the committee of the union, respectively. Besides many members were also killed. A large number of houses were burnt down and all the women of the various peasant families of the village were robbed and outraged. This case is exceedingly serious, yet up till now no settlement has been brought about by the Government.

Unexpectedly on January 17 this year, the village was again attacked by bullies and others, who conspired with the bandits of Wong Kwok Village in the 9th Division of Chung Shan District and over 500 bandits from the vicinity of Bocca Tigris. The village was razed at night by the bandits. One peasant comrade named Mak Chung was killed and two were wounded, one of whom was a woman. Twenty-eight houses of Peasant Union members were pulled down and all the ripe corn belonging to the peasant comrades of the village were cut away. The peasants suffered very heavy losses. Afterwards the peasant soldiers of the various villages came to the rescue and the bandits ran away.

On the 20th instanc the bandits attacked the village again. The peasant soldiers were defeated, and so the village was entirely occupied by the bandits who freely indulged in plundering and killing. Thousands of male and female peasants in this village are now starving and are scattered everywhere. During the last few days the bandits have transhipped large quantities of arms and ammunition there with the intention of creating further trouble. They attempt to disturb Bocca Tigris. Wong Man-hon, the commander of the Bocca Tigris Fort, does not take any notice of the above matter. He only issued a notification saying that the villagers were having an armed struggle among themselves.

In the East River Regions, the peasant comrades of Wu Hua District have struggled very well against rebel Liu Chi-lok. Because of that, over 20 peasants were beheaded and over a hundred men wounded. Houses were burnt, treasures were taken away and numerous male and female peasants were rendered homeless. Their grievances have still not been avenged.

Hu Chun, the magistrate of the district, who is against the peasant unions, falsely accused the peasant unions of conspiring with rebel Liu to create trouble and so telegraphed the 1st Army asking the despatch of soldiers to suppress them. He falsely charged them as being bandits and communists. Recently he again fabricated rumours saying that the peasant unions always held meetings in order to create disturbances at the rear during the Northern Expedition. The Administration Committee for the East River Districts and the Yamen of the Pacification Committee have jointly issued orders to the various magistrates to restrict peasant unions and prohibit armed parades.

Regarding the West River Districts, such as in Kwang Ning, bandits have been very violent there during the last few months. Thousands of peasants are at death's door. The soldiers despatched by the Government are useless. Instead of rescuing the peasants, they conspired with the bandits. (Bandits Chen Pat-heng and his staff officer Lee Siew-kee are now in Sze Hui colluding with the 4th regiment of the 5th Army of the National Revolutionary Troops.)

The magistrate of Yu Nan District, Mok Sui-ying supplied the depraved gentry, bullies and militia with bullets to attack the peasant unions of five villages of Sin Tsai, etc. Members of the peasant unions were arrested by him. The peasant unions petitioned for their release but were ignored. He said that the peasant unions were in league with the bandits. The fact is the magistrate himself is in league with the bandits, and when Li Kong-ha, a notorious man in league with bandits recommended bandit Liu Ming-gon to him, he accepted and gave him a post. Besides, he appointed Li Kong-ha to organize district soldiers.

Regarding the Southern District Regions, for example, there is the magistrate of Hua Hsien, Yang Shek-yuan, who was formerly the magistrate of Tin Pak Hsien. He conspired with the gentry, bullies and militia. On June 12 and 13, bully Tsoi Yen-heng led the militia to attack the peasant union at Tan Cheong Chai Village of the 8th division. 5 members of the Executive Committee, namely, Tsoi Chin-son, etc., were arrested. On the night of June 28, Lai Shu-fan, Patrol Corps leader of the 3rd Sectional Militia Bureau directed over 30 militiamen to attack the peasant union of Chin Tse Village in the 3rd Division. Chen Kong-leung, a member of the Executive Committee, was arrested and four members were wounded, while all houses were looted.

On July 15, bully Chen Shek-luan gathered together many rascals and attacked Chen Ah-kwong, a member of the peasant union of Chin Tse Village, beating him almost to death. The day following Tang Kong-yen, militia director of the 8th Division, led over ten militiamen to destroy the peasant union at Chang Tou Po Village. Tang Chan-foo, a member, was arrested and beaten and was seriously

wounded. On August 16, Wong Yick-sam, militia director of the 3rd Division, directed the Patrol Corps of that Division and over ten armed militiamen to arrest members of the Peasant Union of Wu Tong Village, namely, Wong Tung-nam, Wong Tung-yuen, Wong Foo-chun, etc. Even now assassins are employed to murder the staff members of peasant unions and special delegates of the Peasant Department of your Party. The reactionaries have organized an organ called the Pat Po Wui and have received the appointment of Anti-Red soldiers from Kwang Chow Wan. They bought large quantities of arms with the intention of exterminating the peasant union. Those members of the peasant unions who have been arrested are all imprisoned in the District Yamen. They are falsely accused of being in league with the bandits. All the above prove that the peasants in that district are very miserable.

Regarding the North River Regions, the peasants there also suffer greatly. For instance, Chiu Kiang Hsien, where the Commissary-General forced the peasant unions to hire 200 coolies for him. Just at that time it was the busiest period of the year for farming, so the peasant unions could not procure the required number of coolies. The Commissary-General then reproved the peasant unions and intended to arrest all their staff members.

The recruited regiment of the 2nd National Revolutionary Army at Ying Teh District always conspired with the gentry, bullies and militia to oppress the peasant unions. Wong Weng-wang, magistrate of Ten Hua District, personally ordered the head of the 5th Section Police Station to despatch police to interfere with the meetings of the Peasant Unions.

All the above are the most conspicuous events, and which show that our peasants in Kwangtung are being bitterly maltreated and oppressed by the bandits, renegades, gentry, rowdies, militia, corrupt officials and unruly soldiers.

All the branch offices as well as this general union and all the delegates acknowledge that the present sufferings of the peasants in all Kwangtung are the oppression and maltreatment of the bandits, renegades, depraved gentry, bullies, militia, corrupt officials and unruly soldiers under your Party Government. These corrupt officials, unruly soldiers, gentry, bullies, militia, bandits and renegades should be strictly punished and exterminated; if not, the peasants in the province will be irretrievably devastated and oppressed by them, which will affect the National Revolutionary Movement of China very greatly,

Since the commencement of the organization of peasant unions by the peasants of the whole province up to the present, we have been and are still supporting your Party and the Revolutionary Government which is under your guidance. For example, the Merchants' Volunteers' rebellion at Canton, the Yang and Liu revolt, the two

campaigns in the East River Districts to avenge the death of Comrade Liao Chung-kai, to extirpate reactionaries in the province for bringing about the unification of Kwangtung and the recent expedition of the National Revolutionary Troops, proves that the Kwangtung peasants have given much assistance.

During the various battles, our peasants in the whole province have shed much red blood, sacrificed many lives and treasure for the interests of China's Revolution. We all willingly did it.

Our union for the sake of the present interests of the peasants in the whole province as well as the welfare of China's National Revolution, is obliged to inform you of all the facts. We represent 830,000 members of various peasant unions in 66 districts to petition your Party, urging the issuance of an order to your Party Government to hastily punish all the corrupt officials, unruly soldiers, gentry, bullies and militia, who maltreat and oppress the peasants. We also demand the carrying out of the plans for suppressing bandits and renegades.

The minimum demand of our peasants in Kwangtung is to ask the Government to punish Yang Chung-chiung, Hsu Shui-wei, Hu Chun, and Hsu Chu, magistrates of San Shui District, Wu Hua District and Shun Teh District respectively as well as the 60th Regiment of the 20th Division of the 1st Army at Shun Teh District, the gentry, bullies and rowdies at Yun An Hsien and Tien Pai Hsien and to suppress the bandits of Kwang Ning together with the renegades at Au Kong in Tung Kuan District.

(sd) *Delegation of the Enlarged Conference of the All-Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Union on behalf of 830,000 members.*

To

The Central Executive Committee of
the Kuomintang, China.

(From *Min Kuo Jih Pao*, 8-30-26.)

3. THE MAGISTRATES OF THE SOUTHERN DISTRICTS.

(From a report on the Peasant Movement in the Southern Regions.)

The magistrates of the Southern Districts are mostly conservatives, and though Kuomintang members, they are ignorant of the policies of the Party. Some time ago, at a magistrates' meeting convoked by Comrade Kan Nai-kwang, Administrative officer of the Southern Districts, several resolutions regarding the improvement of police and militia administration, the construction of public roads, the setting up of telephones, and the building of Chung Shan Public Gardens, were passed. But as soon as those magistrates left the meeting hall, they immediately forgot all about

those decisions. Nominally the magistrates of the various districts have devised plans for the construction of public roads, and the improvement of militia administration, while the magistrates of the districts of Wu Chuan, Sui-chi, and Hai-Kang have even convoked general delegates' conferences of the citizens of those districts for discussion of affairs in connection with the constructional works of those districts. But, since the people of the various districts have not as yet been organized, these general delegates' conferences are only meetings of the representatives of a minority of the citizens (for most of the delegates were gentries and members of the Militia Corps) and would certainly be made use of by the magistrates for deceiving the people as well as their superiors. The magistrate of Sui-chi, when asked by our peasant comrades to abolish all the Defense Boards of the various divisions, to appropriate the funds of those boards to the Peasant Unions for expenditure (this was one of the resolutions passed at the 1st Citizens' Delegates Conference of the district), and to devise measures to assist us in our peasant movements, positively rejected our requests. Again, when the peasants of the 2nd Division of that district, unable to endure any longer the severe oppressions of the Director of the Defense Board of the division, petitioned the magistrate for his dismissal, the magistrate not only rejected their request, but also secretly told the Director of the Board to sue the peasants in court. The magistrate of Hua Hsien also acted in a similar manner. When the peasants asked him to disband the Farmer Society, which was established a long time ago, so that the people may not confuse it with the present Peasant Union and in order that a large amount of public funds may not be wasted for the maintenance of a useless organ, the magistrate refused, saying that the Farmer Society, being an organization for the management of affairs regarding the improvement of agriculture, should not be abolished. He then employed a new director for the Society and subsidized him with \$25 every month. On the other hand when the peasants petitioned him, through the Hua Hsien District Kuomintang Branch, for a monthly subsidy of \$52 for expenditures, he replied to us that he could not accede to the request as he had not obtained permission from the Provincial Treasury to do so.

On the whole, the magistrates in the Southern Districts are very much against the peasant movement, and though they do not openly interfere with and oppress the peasants, they are doing their best to destroy the peasants' organizations and to cause harm to the peasants' interests.

(April 1926.)

4. NAN HAI DISTRICT MAGISTRATE SUPPORTS DEPRAVED GENTRIES.

The Chung Pin Village Peasant Union of the Ninth Division of Nan Hai District has several hundreds of members. All of them understand that under the present oppression of the imperialists, militarists, depraved gentries, and notorious

rowdies, they cannot get rid of their sufferings or even exist unless they try their best to unite. The notorious rowdies and depraved gentries of this village are very much against the peasant union. During the inauguration ceremony of the union in December of last year, a notorious gentry, the chief of the Local Self-defense Corps. Chung Ming-tso, led his conspirators, Chung Wai-men, Chung Tso-hang and several armed followers to the Peasant Union to arrest the members of the Executive Committee. Fortunately, all the members had already left so that Chung Ming-tso was only able to seize three rifles belonging to the peasant corps, to tear the portrait of the late President, and to destroy the furnitures of the union. Ever since they have conspired unceasingly for the suppression of the union. The peasants have become very indignant at their unlawful deeds, and have repeatedly denounced Chung Ming-tso. Finding public opinion thus against him, he thereupon entered into conspiracy with the Magistrate of Nan Hai District, Chang Ka-shui, in order that he may be able to utilize Magistrate Chang as his supporter in oppressing the peasants. This act was detected by the peasants who reported it to the office of the Nan Hai District Peasant Union and requested for help. After receiving the request, the District Peasant Union sent a deputy to interview District Magistrate Chang. But the District Magistrate not only refused to aid the peasants but also tried to threaten this deputy. He said: "I have the authority to control all the inhabitants of this district. With regard to this case, I shall have to consult with Chung Ming-tso. Peasants have to obey my orders when they want to join peasant unions. If they attempt any violence, I shall punish them strictly."

This deputy, upon hearing his conversation, knew that the Magistrate was in league with Chung Ming-tso and so left it. At present, the peasants of the whole Nan Hai District are very much dissatisfied with the attitude of Magistrate Chang and are considering the holding of a demonstration parade so as to draw the attention of the Government to the importance of the case.

(From The Plough, April 1926.)

5. THE MAGISTRATE AND THE PEASANTS IN LO TING DISTRICT.

(From the report of Lo Ting District.)

(1) The present magistrate is named Chan Wai-chow who was appointed by the Nationalist Government. Outwardly he is pretending to help the peasants, but in reality he is oppressing them. For instance, he recently sent out a police force of about 20 men to demolish 20 or 30 peasants' houses in Tap Kuk Village and arrested 3 men and 1 woman. The cause of the trouble was that the site of the village belonged to the Public Educational Endowment Estate. The present families have been living there for several hundred years. In the Ching Dynasty, they paid rent to the District Education Board and now they pay it to the

Education Encouragement Bureau. During the last year Provincial Treasurer Chan issued a notice to the effect that all public properties should be disposed of. At that time the peasants tried to purchase the site. A fund of \$3,000 was raised and paid to the Provincial Treasury for registration and a title deed was issued. Notice was also served to the magistracy to register this case. Unexpectedly, during the present year, the local magistrate detailed a police force to demolish the houses. In spite of the objection of a staff officer of the 3rd Division, who happened to be there, the houses were demolished by the police.

(2) At present this magistrate is attempting to organise a Militia Union as soon as possible. He is in league with a group of unscrupulous gentry, villians, the Tung Shin Society and the Christians. They have monopolised the District Kuomintang Branch and have organised a "Peasant Union" of their own. He has taken the funds of the Yau Ming School in the district city to organise this "Peasant Union." It is said that the magistrate is now going around the villages under the pretext of organising their "Peasant Union" but is in reality trying to press for payment of outstanding taxes. If the peasants fail to pay such outstanding taxes, they are sure to be arrested. There are 15 branches of the Kuomintang in this District. The magistrate has now established a "District Peasant Union," but the number of members and divisions has not yet been ascertained.

(3) The Peasants' attitude towards the magistrate is one of indifference. They dare not oppose him because they are ignorant.

(October 1925.)

6. THE GARRISON SOLDIERS AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES OF SHUN TEH.

The former magistrate of the district was Tang Hung. He not only opposed the organisations of the peasants but also united with the corrupt gentries and native rōwdies to suppress them. He entirely disregarded the fact that Li Fu-lin's soldiers garrisoned in the district always arrested the peasants unreasonably under the pretence of eradicating the bandits in the villages. The most violent and unruly action of the garrison-soldiers was their devastation of Li Kau Village of the 5th Division by cannon fire. Other instances of their unreasonable actions, are their apprehension of the members of the Yu Chung Village Peasant Union, their assault on Comrade Chan Nam in Tai Chow, and their arrest of Lemg Yau-sing, a member of the committee of a certain Peasant Union of the district.

(From a report on the Shun Teh Peasants Movement.)

October 1925.

7. POLITICAL CONDITION OF TUNG KUAN DISTRICT.

(a) The present magistrate of the district is Mo Ping-lai. He was appointed to the post by General Chiang Kai-shih. He plays Mah Jong all day long and pays no

attention to the political affairs of the district. He only knows how to accept bribes and how to cajole the local gentries. Hence, we can see what sort of a man the magistrate is.

(b) The magistrate is a sluggard and has done no work towards the improvement of the various affairs of the district.

(c) The peasants of the district, realizing the corruption of the magistrate, have attempted to join with the Worker, Student, and Merchant classes to expose his faults and misdeeds. Hence, an ill-feeling has been created between the peasants and the magistrate.

(d) The officials collect the usual land tax, at 170% of its normal value. Moreover, they levy various other exorbitant taxes, such as Tobacco tax, Wine tax. Gambling tax, Cattle tax, Leather tax, Hog tax, Sand-field tax, Mat tax and Boat tax. (But before the organization of the Peasant Union in the district, many more such extortionate taxes were imposed.)

(From a Special Report, October 1925.)

8. THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN CHIU KIANG DISTRICT.

One month ago, the magistrate of Chiu Kiang was Wong Yueh, a man who did not understand that the principle of the National Revolution rests in the protection and support of the peasants and labourers and who did not know what Peasant Unions are. Consequently he only knew how to oppress the peasants on the pretext of maintaining the peace of the region and paid no attention to the Peasant Organisations.

The present magistrate is Pang Keng. His attitude towards the Peasant Unions is much better than that of his predecessor. Though we cannot say that he is supporting the Peasant Unions, yet on his assumption of office he gave a personal interview to the Peasants Unions, and afterwards he paid a visit every week to the Preparatory Committee of the District Peasant Union and made inquiries concerning the organisation of the Peasant Union and the conditions of the various villages. Moreover, when the Peasant Unions requested the release of some of their members who had been commandeered as coolies by the Hunanese Troops at the time when they were despatched to the front, their request was granted and their members were all released. The magistrate has also issued notifications, prohibiting the soldiers from commandeering the union members as coolies.

From the political point of view, all the magistrates, other officials and garrison soldiers looked upon the oppression of the peasants as a matter of course. And so do the corrupt gentries.

Educational facilities for the peasants are exceedingly few. Not only are public schools very rare, but there are also very few private ones. In ten villages, only 2 or 3 private schools are found, and each of them have only about 10 students. Thus we can see the reason why the majority of the young peasants are uneducated. Owing to the backward development of education in the various villages, the customs of the peasants of Chiu Kiang at present are very similar to those of more than one hundred years ago. Whenever a drought, flood or insect plague occurs, the peasants simply pray to their gods for relief. For instance, when a drought occurred in Chiu Kiang this year, the peasants of the villages in the 5th Division spent more than \$3,000 in preparing their ceremony of praying to their gods for rain.

(From a report on the Chiu Kiang Peasant Movement)

December 1925.

9. THE MAGISTRATE OF TAI SHAN DISTRICT.

The Magistrate, Lau Tsoi-po, had been Magistrate of the district in 1924. His post was later occupied by Chuk Yen-ki. Upon the failure of Chuk's counter-revolutionary attempt, Lau was supported by the masses and became the magistrate again.

But now he has entirely changed his attitude towards the people, upon whom he has levied many exorbitant and obnoxious taxes. He is now an object of hatred and disgust to the people. For instance, he has levied a Tallow-candle tax and a Tallow-candle trading tax, on the grounds that the Tallow-candle tax is different from the tallow-candle trading tax. He says that the Tallow-candle trading tax is a tax on the transaction of business and not on the commodity, and that as each transaction has its profit, therefore the Tallow-candle trading tax is not at all a repeated levy. Besides this, he has levied taxes on witchcraft and night soil. The people is very indignant over the latter levy, which has almost incited the merchants to revolt.

Origin of the Night Soil Tax: The night soil of the houses and hotels in Tai Shan Hsien were formerly bought by peasants from the villagers who utilized it for fertilizing the fields. But last year a tax swindler named Yip Taet saw that he could make money from the night soil and so submitted a petition to the Magistrate, offering to contract the collection of a night soil tax at \$3,000 yearly.

At first the Magistrate feared that the people's indignation would be aroused and refused to accept his proposal. But in March, this year, Yip Taet falsely claimed that he had explained the proposal to various organizations, and that no opposition had been aroused. He then again requested the Magistrate to sanction his proposal. Thereupon the Magistrate, under the pretext of raising funds for sanitation and

education, allowed him to undertake the contract on trial. The tax agent Yip Taet then established a Wei On Company at the West Gate Street to collect the levies, and built sheds at the outskirts of the district for storing night soils.

The Outbreak: The contract had been in operation for less than a month when the merchants began to realise that formerly the night soil was sold by them to the peasants, but now it was monopolised by the company, which fact decidedly inflicted a severe loss on them. The peasants also saw that before the company was established, they could purchase all kinds of fertilizers from the city, but now they had to buy these materials from the company and not from the city merchants. This provoked them to indignation.

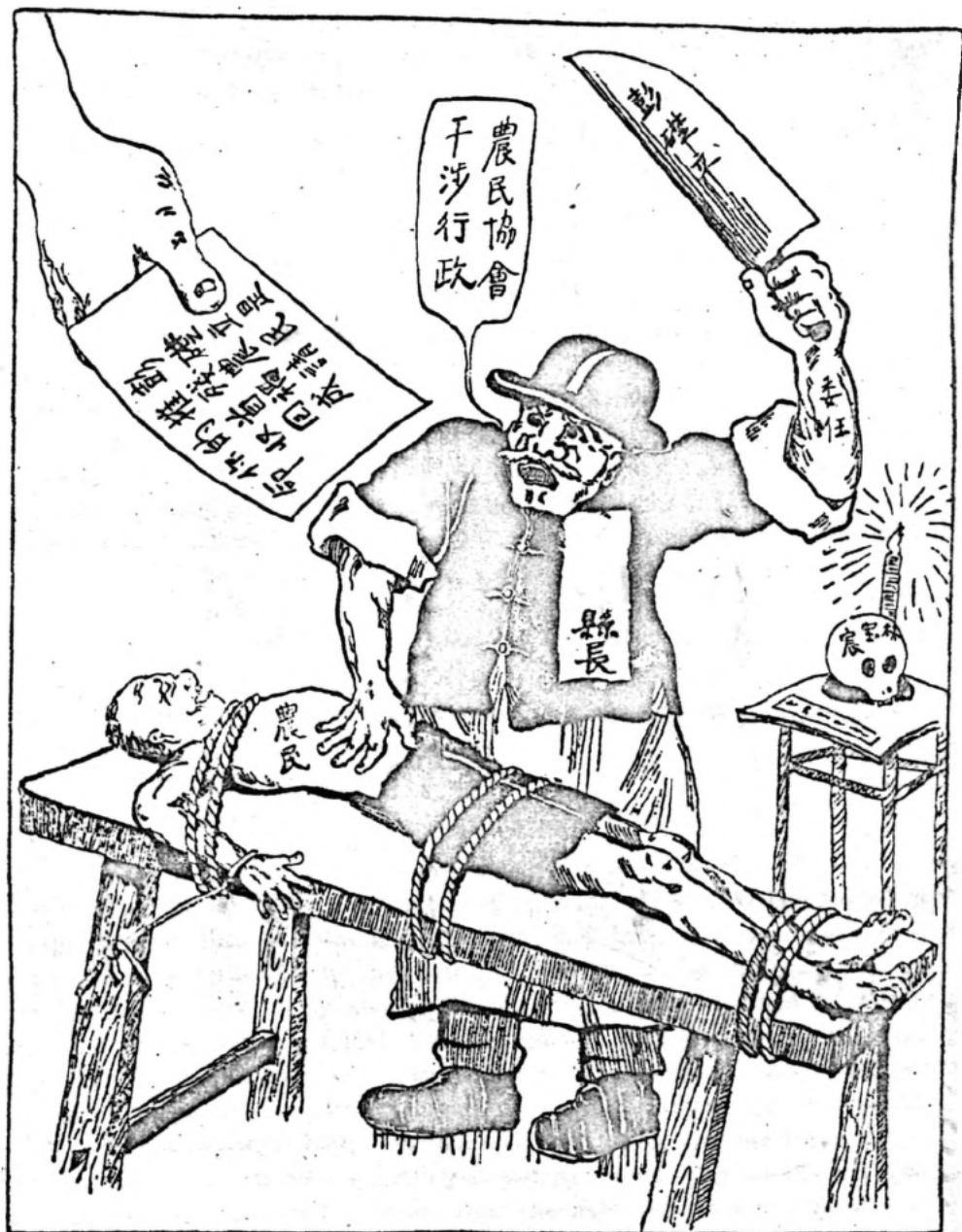
On the 5th of May, the peasants of the various villages in the vicinity of Tai Shan Hsien spontaneously held a great meeting at Nam Moom Long, thirty miles from the city. Carrying bamboo poles, they marched to the Si Moon Hsu and devastated the Company, burning all the sheds which had been built for storing night soil.

The despatch of policemen to the rescue of the Company increased the indignation of the mass, and the outcome was that several policemen were wounded. The outbreak was only ended upon the arrival Patrol Corps, which arrested five persons from the crowd, accusing them of making use of the occasion to plunder. (Upon investigation, it was found that no looting or plunder had occurred during the outbreak).

The next day, the peasants of all the villages gathered over a thousand peasant corps members and held an armed demonstration, intending to attack the Magistrate. The trouble was calmed down by the Magistrate promising to abolish the night soil tax and holding himself responsible for the release of the five persons who had been arrested. But at present these five persons are still held in custody at the Judicial Court awaiting trial.

The cause of the trouble was entirely due to the exorbitant taxes which had provoked the people to indignation. The peasants who started this outbreak are mostly member of the Tan family of Pek Sui village near the city. The Magistrate at first did not dare to arrest the peasants but, encouraged by Tan Wai Ting, a degenerate gentry of the village, who guaranteed to suppress the peasants and that no further outbreak would ensue, later made the arrest and found them guilty.

Tan Wai-ting is the most influential, and also the wealthiest of the degenerate gentry of Tai Shan. He was formerly a vice-chairman of the Provincial Assembly. It is said that Lan Tsoi-pao's resumption of post this time was due to the pecuniary aid he received.



The one bound to the bench typifies the peasantry. The peasants say that the district magistrate is the prime mover in afflicting the peasants and therefore ask the Government to cancel the appointment of Pang Cho-lap as district magistrate of Punyuhsien. The one standing with the sword in hand represents Pang Cho-lap, who is very angry over the interference of the Peasant Union with the administration. The skull is the remains of a martyr named Lam Po-shan.

After the occurrence of this incident, the people have become greatly dissatisfied with the Magistrate.

(From a C. E. C. Kuomintang Special Delegates Report, June 1926.)

10. PEASANT UNION ATTACKED BY MAGISTRATE OF LU FENG DISTRICT.

Magistrate Li of Lu Feng District has been in close connection with the anti-revolutionary militarist, Chen 'Chiung-ming. When Chen was in power in the Eastern Regions, Li did everything he could to devastate the Peasants and Worker organizations. After the defeat of the anti-revolutionary troops by the Revolutionary Army, he managed to retain hold of the magistracy. As public opinion was against his previous anti-revolutionary actions, the citizens of Lu Feng called a mass meeting and petitioned the Government for his dismissal. He suspected that the matter had been started by the local Peasant Union and so issued a warrant for the arrest of the officers. At present the active members of the union have fled to other places and have applied to the Government for protection.

(From a report to the Provincial Peasant Association, February 1926.)

11. ORGANIZE ANTI-MAGISTRATE MOVEMENT.

The magistrate of Pu Ning named Hung Kui is a very corrupt official. Ever since his assumption of office, he has been allying himself with the depraved gentry and the native bullies, devastating the Peasants and Labourers organisations. He is very much hated by the people, and that for a long time. Recently he also neglected Party affairs, arrested Party members arbitrarily, and besides took a bribe for the release of an important criminal, Chan Kwok-wah and a notorious bandit, Chan Wing-yam. His crimes are so numerous, that it is very difficult to enumerate them in detail. The people of various classes in the district, besides repeatedly petitioning the Government to punish him, organized a Committee for Ousting Hung Kui on the 13th instant, when they were attending a meeting convoked by the District Kuomintang Branch. One delegate was elected from the organisations of the various classes present at the meeting, to leave for Swatow to appeal to the authorities to dismiss Hung from his office and also to detain him. It is said that in managing the affairs relating to the issuance of local loan bonds recently, Hung received from Chan Yik-chai and other depraved gentry of the division of Wong Kai and Lau Sha bribes to the amount of \$6,000.

(Kuo Min Hsin Wen, 27-2-26)

C. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE OPPRESSION.

1. Oppression of Peasants to be Strictly Dealt With.

Recently the Peasant Union in Kao Yao has been suppressed by the landlords and depraved gentries and its members butchered by the militia. Fighting between the peasants and the militiamen have continued for several days, and over hundred peasants have been killed, and several tens of houses burned. Such incidents have occurred again and again during these last two years. The general notion of the people is that these incidents are less serious than the rapine and burnings committed by the disbanded soldiers and bandits or the extortions of the militarists and unruly soldiers. For this reason, they seem to have no effect on the hardened-hearts of people who have seen many a trouble.

But if we would give a little attention to this matter, we would instantly discover that these incidents are very common and not at all accidental. Since they are not accidents, we should find out the cause and devise a remedy.

As for the miserable peasants who are being oppressed, unless we belong to that privileged class which is against the interests of the Peasants and Workers, we certainly would not accuse them of being rioters or brigands who well deserve punishment. Observe that in every tragedy there is always the militia or the soldiers who are screening the militia and that the cause of every tragedy is always the interference of the militia with the peasant organisations. Why do the peasants want organisations? Because they want to protect their own interests and to participate in the National Revolution. Why should the militia or the soldiers who are screening the militia, want to interfere with the peasant organisations? Because the militia or the soldiers who are screening them are the representatives and tools of the local rowdies, degenerate gentries and avaricious officials. It follows therefore that these tragedies are but struggles between the oppressed peasant class on the one hand, and the degenerate gentries, local rowdies, and avaricious officials on the other.

The participation of the peasant class is indispensable to the success of the National Revolution because they form a majority of the population. But there are two prerequisites:—

- (1) Self Consciousness.
- (2) Complete organisation.

These two prerequisites are death blows to the oppressing class which is composed of the local rowdies, degenerate gentries and avaricious officials.

On this account, we think it necessary to eradicate this special class which jeopardises the interests of the peasants and prevent them from participating in the National Revolution. But owing to the hindrance of long established systems and traditions, we have no other way to overthrow this special class except through Revolution.

Inasmuch as the support of the Peasant and Worker Movements is one of the political policies of our Party, it is incumbent on this Party to render appropriate help to the oppressed peasants and to put a stop to these frequently occurring tragedies. It is therefore obvious that the local officials of the Nationalist Government have a definite responsibility towards these matters. Whether the existence of the militias, which are protecting the interests of the special class, is necessary or not is too plain to need discussion.

Investigations have shown that most of these militias are composed of peasants who, under the direction of the local rowdies, degenerate gentries and avaricious officials, have become their tools and foes of their fellow peasants. Hence, it will take no great effort to disperse these armed militias and to bring about peace and order. What we need is only the determination. If we adopt an indulgent policy, these tragedies will almost certainly become more and more frequent and also more and more serious.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen, 1-13-26.)

2. The Struggle Against Economic Oppression in Kwang Ning.

Since the formal inauguration of the Kwang Ning Peasant Union, its force has been continuously increasing. It therefore decided to start a movement for reduction of rent. But as this was an important matter, it was first necessary to carry out a vigorous propaganda campaign and to unite and arm the peasants. Those who undertook to carry out the movement were a small number of students who, coming from small capitalistic families, did not have to work for their living and consequently could spend all their time for the movement. They were assisted by about forty persons, who were all poor peasants and labourers.

A. COMMENCEMENT OF THE MOVEMENT.

After the executive committee had resolved to carry out such a movement, it was then proposed and passed at the general delegates conference. A committee was organized, and meetings of the executive committee of each division union, and joint meetings of the executive committees of division and village unions were held to discuss ways of procedure. Meetings of the members of the division unions were also convoked so that the matter could be thoroughly discussed by all concerned.

The year happened incidentally to be a deficient year. On account of this, and also on account of the misrule of Magistrate Li Chai-yuen, the peasants were very poor at the time, and consequently very eager in demanding for reduction of rent. Hence, at the meetings of the members of each division union, the peasants were very enthusiastically united together. Moreover, splendid results had been obtained from the propaganda work of the students of the Peasants' Training Institute, who had returned to their villages to offer their services to the movement. Owing to the above causes, the movement was not affected even during the period when the Merchant Volunteer's Rebellion was started in Canton and when rumours were prevalent in the district.

It was decided that the peasants should pay sixty per cent of their original rent to the landlords. Three-quarters of the amount deducted was to be kept by the peasants and the remaining one quarter was to be appropriated to the Peasant Union. Upon hearing this, the landlords of the district immediately began to devise wicked measures for frustrating the plans of the peasants. They convoked a meeting of all the gentries and rich men of the district and unanimously decided to protest against the movement of the peasants. The slogans they used in their reactionary movement were "Violent slaves have rebelled against their masters," and "We must rise up to oppose them with force of arms, in order to prevent greater troubles from being created." Societies were secretly organized, regulations were made, and schemes of alliance were formed. On the one hand they organized all the gentries and rich men into a Property Protection Association and on the other hand, they pasted everywhere notifications stating "Any reduction of rent will not be recognized; those who accede to the requests of their peasants will only be deceived by the Peasant Unions". At their meetings they all looked very violent and furious, and acclaimed loudly, "Our landlords and the Peasant Unions are at logger heads; we must destroy those Peasant Unions." They decided that when they went to collect their rent from peasants, they would bring firearms with them and that they would rather fight to the death than give a part of their rent to the peasants. They also tried to induce their tenants to assist them by promising to exempt them from paying their rent, if they would help them to attack the Peasant Unions. They also promised to indemnify with a sum of \$600 those peasants who died while assisting their landlords to fight against the Peasant Unions, and to completely heal those who were wounded while engaged in the same cause. The following is a typical example of the notifications which the landlords pasted everywhere:—

"Agriculture is a very important occupation. The peasants depend upon the products of the fields for their sustenance, while the landowners rely on the rents of their lands to support their families and to pay their taxes. Hence the fields are equally important to both landowners and peasants. Unexpectedly some

shameless villains recently wish to occupy the fields themselves. They have joined together to oppose their landlords. Their thoughts are very malicious and their actions are very harmful to the landowners. But they do not know that by acting thus as robbers, they will never achieve any good result but will only be condemned by all concerned.

"Consequently we have decided that any reduction of rent will not be recognized by us. Those who accede to the demands of their tenants for reduction of rent will only be deceived by them. We hope that every one will take notice of this and be warned accordingly."

Meanwhile the landlords had established a systematic organization. They decided to organize a militia at Tam Pui Village, to be composed of 120 members. In Kong Tuen and Fu Kai, there were originally 50 militiamen, and they decided to enlist one hundred and forty more. They also decided to united secretly with the remnants of the forces of Li Chai-yuen, numbering about 400 strong and stationed at Lo Kong and Min Shui. Their aim was to unite all their forces to launch attacks upon the peasants of Shi Kong and Chak Shek.

The arms of the peasants consisted of their rifles, 10 pistols, and 60 old-model powder rifles, making a total of 100 guns. The peasants had still some more guns, but they could not be collected together immediately at that time. The provisions of the peasants corps were supplied by the members of the peasant unions in their respective regions. The peasants were fully equipped and were ready to meet their enemies. They also sent letters to the Central Kuomintang and the Civil Governor asking them to order Magistrate Tsoi to issue notifications immediately for the protection of the peasants. Petitions were submitted directly to the magistrate, and the peasants decided that if notifications for protection of the peasants were not issued by the magistrate within three days, they would appeal from Magistrate Choy to the Civil Governor.

On the 15th, the "Ta Tao Union," a band of bandits, despatched some members to interview our comrades, asking if we would allow them to join us as they were being hard pressed by the official soldiers. They promised to despatch two hundred members of their union to cooperate with us to resist the gentries and landlords. The peasants then stated their terms, demanding them to come with their arms, to sincerely protect the interests of the peasants, and to willingly obey the directions of our Peasant Union. These terms were accepted, and the peasants then secured the assistance of the Ta Tao Union.

A manifesto regarding the reduction of rent was issued, and a letter was addressed to the landlords by the Peasant Union. The discipline of the peasant

unions was strictly regulated, and Training Corps were organized. Members of the corps were despatched to the various villages to make investigations and to enforce the discipline regulations of the Peasant Union.

(1) *Discipline of the Peasant Union.*

- (a) Peasants shall not forcibly occupy the fields which others are cultivating.
- (b) Peasants shall not act against the will of the majority nor infringe the rules by secretly paying their rent in full amount to their landlords.
- (c) Peasants shall not pay to their landlords less than the required percentage of their rents nor commit other corrupt practices.
- (d) All the members of the Union shall rise up to oppose the unreasonable oppression of the landlords.
- (e) In case of events occurring in any division, the peasant corps of other divisions shall join together to go to that division to help the peasant-comrades there.
- (f) Members shall obey faithfully the directions of the Executive Committee of the district, division and village unions.
- (g) Members infringing the discipline regulations of the Unions shall be strictly punished by the Disciplinary Committee.

(2) *Manifesto Regarding Reduction of Rent:*

"The world of today is a world in which the prices of materials are rising higher and higher day by day. Since the prices of materials are rising higher and higher day by day, the profits of the producers of these materials should also become greater and greater day after day. But at present, while the peasants are trying their best and labouring hard in the production of materials, the profits derived from such production are all enjoyed by the landlords. Can this be called just? As the landlords own only the land which the peasants cultivate, what they should receive should be only the interest on the money which they have expended in buying the land. On the other hand, the peasants, besides expending their labour in the cultivation of the fields, have also to invest money in purchasing cows, seeds, and fertilizers, in employing labourers and in supplying the food of these labourers. Hence what the peasants should obtain from their fields should be the interest on the money which they have spent on the fields and the wages for the labour which they have spent in cultivating the fields. Such can then be called fair. But now, the landlords, taking advantage of the weakness and ignorance of the peasants, have applied oppressive measures, increasing the rent of the fields annually, and forcing the peasants to pay more than the fixed amount. Such actions take away more and more of the earnings of the peasants year after year. If so, then how can the peasants obtain money for their food and clothing, and for the sustenance of their families?

"Consequently the peasants, in order to deliver themselves from their distress and recover the lawful rights, have resolved at a meeting of the the District Peasant Union, that the rents paid to the landlords be reduced, the rate of reduction to vary with the conditions of the different divisions. By taking this action, we are seeking only what is right and just, the means to obtain a living. We think that our landlords will acknowledge our sufferings and show sympathy for us. This is our sincere expectation. But if there be some rich but unkind landlords who do not acknowledge our difficulties and still continue to enforce their policy of extortion and oppression, then we shall strengthen our Union and resist their evil actions. We shall not stop, until we have accomplished our aim of reducing our rents and recovering the earnings due to us."

(3) *Letter to the Landlords.*

To the Landlords:

We have unanimously decided to reduce the rent of the fields which we are cultivating. We were obliged to do so, because in recent years our fields have been repeatedly devastated by bandits, unruly soldiers, droughts, and other calamities, prices of all sorts of commodities have risen and we have found it very difficult to subsist, even on the lowest terms of living. You know that for the past few months, communications have been interrupted, and we have been unable to sell our goods. In addition, this year is a deficient year, and our crops are very bad. Seeing that we were in such a poor condition, many of the kind landlords have expressed their sympathy and taken pity on us in a practical way.

"We sincerely hope that you, our dear and kind landlords, will be generous enough to accept our rent-reduction request which we have unanimously passed at our meetings. We know that you will certainly accede to our request, so as to relieve us from our sufferings and distress."

(sd) *The tenant peasants of Kwang Ning Peasant Union.*

B. THE CONFLICT:

After the Peasant Union had issued the first declaration regarding the reduction of rent, the landlords immediately organized the Landowners Supporting Society and the Land Protection Society. This was the breaking point, and was tantamount to a declaration of war between landlords and peasants. The peasants now knew definitely that the landlords were opposed to their movement, and would use force of arms to suppress it if necessary. In fact, during the next few days, the landlords did indeed lead the bandits to attack the peasant unions in many places, plundering the villages and wounding many peasants. Thereupon the District Peasant Union issued a second and a third declaration.

The Second Declaration.

"The reason why we should uphold the rent reduction movement is because it was unanimously passed by the delegates' meeting of this Union. Moreover, the the Government, in its manifesto on the peasant movement, has promised to relieve the sufferings of the peasants and improve their livelihood. In our 1st declaration and in our letter to the landlords, we explained very fully the reasons why a reduction of rents is imperative to our well-being. We had also submitted the matter to the Civil Governor, the Magistrate of this district, and the Peasant Department of the Central Kuomintang. So our aims and motives were very clear and upright. If the landlords had any conscience at all they would have accepted our proposals and reduced their rents according to our request. But, notwithstanding our warning and declaration, the landlords of Tam Pao decided to oppose us. They suppressed us by force, assembled bandits and vagabonds, united the landlords and gentries of the whole district, organized secret associations, besieged and attacked our Peasants Corps at Koiau Ying, attacked our Peasant Union at Shek Kong by surprise, plundered our peasants at Tung Mei, disarmed our Peasants Corps, attacked our sentinels at Tong Kin and, in short, did everything they could to frustrate our movement. Disregarding the suggestion of magistrate Tsoi that a general meeting be held to settle the trouble, they suddenly attacked us when we were still hoping that the trouble could be settled peacefully. After being defeated twice by our Peasants Corps, they assembled as many bandits as they could and renewed their evil designs. Therefore, in order to protect the interests of the peasants we hereby appeal to the Government for help and at the same time we shall exert all our strength to defend ourselves. We shall restore by force the Peasant Unions of Tam Pao and Kong Tuan and fight desperately against those classes which are working in opposition against the peasants and workers. We shall under no circumstances stop half way, but shall reach our destination or die."

The Third Declaration,

"In our present movement for the reduction of rent, we have issued several declarations and also sent letters to the landlords, explaining the reasons for our carrying on such a movement. We have also submitted petitions reporting our actions to the Magistrate, the Civil Governor, and the Peasant Department of the Central Kuomintang. If the landlords had any conscience at all, they would have undoubtedly accepted our demands, so that they might not be called "unkind rich men." But unexpectedly, the landlords of Tam Pui depended upon their power and tried to suppress us by force. They gathered together the rowdies and vagabonds of the various villages. They united with the gentries and wealthy classes of the whole district. They secretly established organisations. They decided at their Meetings to overthrow the peasants. They besieged our peasant corps at Koo Lau Ying. They launched surprise attacks upon our peasants union at Shi Kong. They plundered our

peasants at Tung Mei Village. They disarmed our Peasant Self-Defense Corps. In short, they have not only tried every means possible to frustrate our movement, but have even violated the orders of the Government.

Though Magistrate Tsoi sent some soldiers to suppress the trouble and issued notifications ordering both parties to wait quietly for a settlement, yet up to the present time he has not taken any action for the punishment of the rioters or for the arrest of the chief authors of the trouble. Such disregard of the peace and order of the locality and of the laws of the Government have enraged the masses so much that they have unanimously decided to convoke a meeting of the representatives of the whole district, and appeal to the Magistrate, asking him to accept the following terms:—

- (1) To dissolve the Land Owners Supporting Society.
- (2) To search for and arrest the chief authors of the trouble, Kong Hon-ying, Kong Wai-ying and others.
- (3) To arrest the bandit militiamen of the Tam Pui Militia Office.
- (4) To disband the Tam Pui Militia.
- (5) To disarm the landlords' forces.
- (6) To arrest those gentries who destroyed the offices of the Peasant Unions, and whose arrests are called for by the Civil Governor.
- (7) To instruct the landlords to indemnify us for our losses during the trouble.
- (8) To give orders for the re-establishment of the Peasant Unions of Tam Pui and Kong Tuen.
- (9) To issue proclamations, instructing the landlords to accept the demands of the peasants regarding reduction of rent.

If the Magistrate does not accept the above-mentioned terms, this Peasant Union, in order to support the peasant organisations and protect their interests, will be forced to take independent action. We swear to struggle strenuously against those classes which are working against our peasants, and will not stop until our aims have been fully accomplished.

(December 10, 1921.)

In response to the repeated appeals of the peasants, the government sent a company of Armoured Car Corps to their rescue. They seemed a small force, but they were excellent fighters. The peasants fought bravely side by side with the Armoured Car Corps in attacking their enemies, the gentry and bandits. Many fierce battles were fought and the peasants were able to defeat their enemies, although greatly outnumbered. The gentry, after their defeat used a large sum of money to

enlist more bandits to guard a hill called Wong Kong. They again sent men to attack Kai Shek in an attempt to annihilate the peasants. They surrounded the Peasant Corps, who were greatly outnumbered. The brave Peasant Corps knew that they were in great danger, but they charged up the hill to meet the enemy, whereupon the bandits turned and fled. Since then, the gentry have not dared to attack the peasants, but continued to guard the hill of Wong Kong day and night.

It is said that Wong Kong is a den of the bandits. They have two strongly built forts there. The Peasant Corps tried to capture them but failed. They then used dynamite, but the result was also unsuccessful. The peasants then changed their plans and laid siege to the forts. Finally the bandits in the forts were forced to surrender because they lacked water. A peace conference was held between the gentry and peasants, and 14 demands were put forth by the peasants. The important ones were: Indemnity for the losses of the peasants, punishment for the murderers, recognition of the Peasant Unions, and acceptance of the rent reduction demands. But the gentry were still obstinate. They purposely delayed the conference, for they learned that Chen Chiung-ming's troops were going to attack Canton and that the Government was very much engaged in other matters. The Armoured Car Corps had to return to Canton, and this put a stop to the peace conference.

During the absence of the government troops, the gentry again gathered their defeated men and in all sorts of ways attempted to destroy the peasant unions. But the peasant unions had been greatly strengthened and were able to resist for several months. The reason was that the gentry had not regained sufficient power and the government's foundation had become stronger and stronger since the defeat of Chen Chiung-ming's troops in the Eastern Districts. Meanwhile the gentry had been preparing cunning plans of revenge.

1. To arrange for the cancellation of Li Chai-yuen's arrest.
2. To enlist bandits as soldiers to guard all the villages.
3. To supply money to Li Yi-yam to seize the magistracy of Kwang Ning, on the agreement that Li Yi-yam will help the gentry to oppress the peasants.
4. To cooperate with troops under Mok Kwok-wah of the 3rd Regiment so as to protect the gentry in collecting rents by force.

The harvest in Kwang Ning this year was abundant. The gentry had been long awaiting it. When the Shakee Massacre *) occurred, the government had no time to pay close attention to the peasants of Kwang Ning, and so, all of a sudden, the gentry gathered more than a thousand bandits and surrounded the Peasant Corps once again. The Peasant Corps had to fight, otherwise they would have been annihilated

by the gentry. They fought steadily and at the same time covered the retreat of the unarmed peasants. The bandits used machine-guns and several hundred peasants were killed. The battle this time was a sanguinary one. After the Peasants Corps were defeated, the bandits took the opportunity to kill many more peasants. The bandits after occupying the village, collected the following taxes:

1. Peasants belonging to the Peasant Union had to pay a fine of \$5, otherwise they would be severely punished.
2. Each family had to pay \$1 Military Tax. (The Military Tax is to cover the expenses of the gentries and bandits for attacking the Peasant Unions.)
3. On each buffalo owned by the peasants, a tax of \$1 was exacted.
4. On every "shek" (140 catties) of rice, 1 "Tow" (14 catties) were appropriated as food for the bandits and soldiers.

Besides forcing the peasants to pay the above taxes, soldiers under Mok Kwok-wah are helping the gentry to collect rents from the peasants. The new magistrate, Li Yi-yam, has ordered the immediate payment of all rents and taxes, and entirely disregarded the sufferings of the peasants. The peasants have again asked help from the Government. The Peasant Department of the Kuomintang has asked for the dismissal of Li Yi-yam, the disbandment of the soldiers under Mok Kwok-wah, and the sending of soldiers there to clean up the bandits and punish the cruel gentry. Though the Government has promised to help the peasants, it has not yet carried out its promise. Thus the peasants in Kwang Ning are still suffering terribly.

(October 1925)

3. The Struggle Against the Landlords in Hai Feng.

In the district city of Hai Feng, there is a wicked landlord named Chu Mak. He is in constant touch with the officials and has some influence behind him. Some time ago, he wished to increase the rent of six of his tenants in Wong Nei Tong Village of Kung Ping Division. They refused to comply with his demand, as it was unreasonable for him to increase the rent on their "mortgaged field," i.e., fields leased to their ancestors upon payment of a certain sum to the landlord as security, on the basis that if there are no arrears in rent, the landlord could neither cancel the lease nor increase the rent. Since the rent on such fields is comparatively low, it is favourable to the tenant farmers and there have been cases of a lease running for several hundred years.

Then Chu Mak became indignant and sent his servants to disturb the houses of these tenants. Yu Kwan one of the tenants concerned, reported the case to the General Peasant Union of Hai Feng, saying that he could not bear the cruel treatment

of that landlord and that if he insisted on increasing the rent, he preferred to withdraw the tenancy. His suggestion was approved of by the Peasant Union. But Chu Mak became more angry, as he knew that no one would dare to cultivate any field which had been given up by a member of the Peasant Union. He told the 6 tenants to hand back all their fields amounting to about three "shih" (a Chinese measure of volume used here in the sense that the area is so much as to accommodate such a quantity of seeds in sowing). They did so. But, on the following day, Chu Mak accused them in court of destroying the landlord's property, that is to say, they did not fully return what was leased and stole a portion of it. Thereupon, Judge Cheung Tsak-po despatched three policemen to summon them to court. When the policemen arrived at Wong Nei Tong village, the villagers, women and children were much frightened and shut their doors or else fled elsewhere. Seeing that the villagers were frightened, the policemen exercised their power still more and arrested Yu Kwan and the other tenants, demanding \$6 as travelling expenses, \$2 for lodging expenses (what lodging expense was necessary since that village is only 40 li—1 English mile is equal to 3.3 li—from the district city?), and one tael Sycee silver (equivalent to \$4) as warrant fee (they took advantage of the peasants' ignorance of the value of Sycee silver). As Yu Kwan and the other tenants had no means wherewith to meet the demands, they were beaten by the policemen and then taken to Kung Ping market, where Yu Kwan pawned his clothes for 60 cents, which he gave to the policemen as tea-money, and had a certain shop furnish a bond to pay the rest to the magistracy on the following day. Thereupon he was released. The following day, Yu Kwan took the money to the Peasant Union and reported what had happened. He was advised by the Peasant Union as follows: (1) With the exception of the one tael warrant fee which should be paid as demanded, if the policemen demanded the other expenses, say "I have prepared and left the money at the Peasant Union, where you can call for it." (2) When you are tried in court, say to Judge Cheung Tsak-po that in future he may summon you through the Peasant Union instead of coming to your village. He was also given some advice regarding the giving of his evidence. On the day of trial, Judge Cheung Tsak-po scolded Chu Mak, saying, "Your accusations are absolutely groundless. Since there is no proof, it is a false charge." Chu Mak kept silent for a while and then said that he would bring his proofs next time. Thereupon the court was declared adjourned. Yu Kwan then suggested to the court that in future they should be summoned through the Peasant Union. To this the Judge agreed and the court was then dismissed.

Since his failure at the first trial, Chu Mak told the other landlords that he had never seen a failure on the part of landlords in their lawsuits with the peasants, and so his failure must be due to instigation by the Peasant Union. He warned the others that if the Peasant Unions were not early extirpated, they would prove to be great obstacles in the future. He also said that Judge Cheung Tsak-po was influenced

by the Peasant Union. The first to respond to his movement was Chan Yut-po, who held a dinner party in Chu's ancestral temple inside the city, which was attended by more than 500 landlords and gentry including Cheung Sze-ho, Chief of the Defence Corps, and Chen Hoi-ting, the 6th uncle of Chen Chiung-ming and the most influential man in Chen Chiung-ming's headquarters. The guests were all in long robes and wore gilt-rimmed spectacles, gold watches and golden chains, and their faces were as round and plump as millionaires'. Chan Yut-po acted as chairman.

At the meeting, the Peasant Union was denounced as an organ of communism and polygamy, and an insult to the landlords. They went on to say, "Since we have bought the land with money and pay taxes on it to the Government, we have absolute right of control. But bad characters as Peng Pai have stirred up the ignorant peasants and encouraged them to perform lawless acts. If we do not get after him at an early date, we will suffer considerable losses. They would also endanger the Government in two ways: On a small scale, they could prevent the landlords from paying the regular taxes and thus hinder the government finances. On a big scale, they could rise in a rebellion." The speech was loudly applauded. A motion was then made by Wong Tsok-san, a landlord and wicked gentry, for the organisation of a landlords' union to counter-act the Peasant Union. Chu Mak seconded the proposal and the name of "landlords association" was suggested. But Chan Yut-po said that this name had nothing to do with the Government and suggested "Land Tax Maintenance Association." His proposal met with unanimous approval. Then Chan Yut-po was elected President, Wong Tsok-san Vice President and Chan Hoi-ting Treasurer. The regulations of the Association was to be drawn up by the President. Chan Yut-po then brought forth the question of expenditure, saying, "In the near future, we shall have to fight with the Peasant Union. If we have not sufficient funds, we can hardly succeed. In my opinion, if \$1 is levied on every picul out of the 100,000 piculs of rice collected as rent on the fields in the outskirts of the district city, a sum of \$100,000 would be realized. We shall then be able to bury them with silver coins." To this, the major landlords all agreed, and the minor ones showed indifference, as they dared not oppose it. The proposal was at last carried unanimously. Chan Hoi-ting said, "Judge Cheung Tsok-po is a wicked person since he is influenced by the Peasant Union and disregards the landlords' property. In my opinion, all of us should go to question him and explain to him that if he does not arrest the peasants, we shall secure his dismissal." This was loudly applauded and the whole body then set out for Hai Feng Court to see the judge.

Judge Cheung Tsok-po was very much frightened when they came. Chan Hoi-ting scolded him very severely and told him to arrest the peasants at once. The judge promised to do so, but a trial of both parties must take place again. Then the

members of the "Land Tax Maintenance Association" went away. On the 3rd, Judge Cheung Tsok-po sent a warrant to the peasant union to summon Yu Kwan and the other tenants. As it came all of a sudden, a meeting was held by the Peasant Union to discuss the necessary steps. At first, it was intended to send some members to attend the Court but owing to the lack of time, this could not be done. Moreover, it was thought that, since this was a civil case, the Court would not imprison Yu Kwan and the others before a verdict had been given. So it seemed safe to let Yu Kwan and the others go in person and get as many of the staff of the peasant union as possible to attend the trial as visitors. Acting on this resolution, we were preparing to go as strangers to attend the trial. Suddenly, somebody came to report that there were more than one hundred persons laid in ambush at the Eastern and Northern city-gates and that they would sally forth to attack us when we entered. In order to ascertain the truth of the report, we sent a detective to make further enquiry and obtained the same information. Thereupon, we ordered Yu Kwan and the five others to go first, and told the other persons to remain in the Peasant Union to wait for further advice. When Yu Kwan and the other five peasants appeared in court, there were about eighty persons in the visitors' seats, all of whom were noted figures of the local gentry. The judge was overwhelmed with their awe-inspiring influence, and did not question Yu Kwan very much, but gave an order to have them imprisoned and fettered. Then the landlords went away in high glee.

On receipt of the above news, the Peasant Union found that, since the judge was so lawless as to imprison persons against the law, the people should not recognize him. A notice was at once issued to the peasant unions in the adjacent villages announcing a special meeting where a resolution was to be passed "to appeal to the Court tomorrow." In that very same evening, 40 peasant comrades were despatched to go in all directions to notify the members of the various villages to gather at Lung Sit Po the next morning at 10 o'clock.

At the appointed time, there were more than 6,000 peasant members assembled, each holding a small flag in his hand. The meeting was opened with a speech by Peng Pai as follows:—

"Comrades! Our innocent peasant-comrades have been wrongly imprisoned by the judge, who though a judicial official has dared to violate the law. We must not consider this case as a private affair of Yu Kwan and the other 5 tenants, but consider it as affecting all of us as a class. If they fail, our 100,000 peasant members will all fail. If they succeed, it will be the success of our 100,000 comrades. As this is a life and death struggle, I swear to do my utmost without caring for my life and I hope you will all endeavour to do likewise."

A speech was then delivered by Wong Fung-lun :

"The landlords have now joined together and contemplate taking proceedings against our peasant union with a fund to be raised by imposing \$1 on every picul out of the 100,000 piculs of rental grain collected from the fields in the outskirts of the district city. In spite of their attempt, we should not be afraid of them in the least. Even if they have millions and millions of piculs of rental grain, we will not fear them, to say nothing of their having 100,000 piculs now. Rental grain is grain which is kept within the thresholds of our peasants' houses and not in their stores. If they seriously go against us, we will not pay them any rent at all. Then the 100,000 piculs of rental grain will be in the hands of our peasants and not in those of the landlords. Of these 100,000 piculs, we may preserve one half for our provisions and with the other half we shall have more than enough to struggle with the landlords. What rental grain will the landlords have then? Comrades! Do not be afraid! (loud applause.)

"At present, the 'Land Tax Maintenance Association' of the landlords is in great activity. A war between landlords and peasants is imminent. Comrades: I hope you will not be threatened by others. I have a very good plan to propose. If the landlords really want to fight with us, we will destroy the main dykes as well as the small boundary dykes and make the patches of fields into a big borderless ground so that the landlords will not be able to distinguish their own fields from others. In this way I believe we need not worry ourselves to fight with the landlords but they will fight among themselves." (applause.)

The Chairman then announced that the peasant union had prepared congee for 6,000 comrades. After taking congee at noon, they set out for the court. It happened to rain on their departure. The peasants were glad to see the rainfall after such a long drought. Meanwhile the court had sent a deputy to negotiate with us but we did not heed him as we had determined to make an appeal at any rate. When we arrived at the entrance of the court, it was guarded by many patrol corps of the district magistracy who would not permit us to enter. In spite of their refusal, we shoved ourselves in. They dared not fire at us. When we approached the reception hall of the court, we elected 20 peasants as our delegates to see the judge. By this time, Judge Cheung Tsak-po had already locked up his door. Escorted by some armed policemen, he came out to receive the delegates and offered them tea and tobacco in a hospitable manner. He asked us what we had come for. We put forth the following claims:—

- (1) The imprisoned peasants should be set free at once.

- (2) When set free, the innocent prisoners should be escorted to their homes with a band followed by a display of fire-crackers.
- (3) The judge should apologize to the peasants.

Judge Cheung Tsak-po said, "I was compelled by the venerable Chen Hoi-ting to have the peasants imprisoned. Mr. Peng Pai, you are my good friend. Please be good enough to ask the peasants to go home first. I will set the prisoners free to-morrow." I replied, "To-day, I come to represent the peasants and cannot regard our friendship." By this time, the peasants were very indignant and some of them cried loudly outside: "If you will not set them free, say so at once." "You bring so many people here," said the judge, "I am afraid you will violate the prison." We replied, "Our delegates can guarantee that such things will not occur. We can order the crowd to stand ten paces away from the prison." Thereupon, the judge was obliged to release the peasant prisoners and the 6,000 peasants shouted the slogans of "Long live the peasants" and "Down with the landlords!" When they saw Yu Kwan and the others, they hugged them and jumped about in high glee. In their enthusiasm, they destroyed the fences and lamps of the court. On their way home, it rained still more heavily and the peasants were very joyful at the rainfall which they regarded as a sign of appreciation from Heaven. When we passed the streets, some school-boys cried loudly: "We welcome our peasant comrades out of prison." Their voices were accompanied by the sounds of fire-crackers which were being burnt in large quantities by the crowd to show their enthusiasm. On their arrival at the General Peasant Union, rain ceased, and I began to deliver a speech to the mass. The following was the gist of my (Peng Pai) speech:—

"For hundreds of years, the peasants have suffered from false accusations and cruel oppression by the landlords, gentry and officials and have dared not to say anything in return. But to-day, we have been able to release six peasant comrades from prison. I wish you will answer my question. Whose strength is it due to?"

Thereupon, some said, "It is due to Peng Pai," and others, "It is due to the Peasant Union," while others attributed it to the strength of the intellectual comrades.

Then I continued:

"It is not exactly right to say that our success is due to the strength of the Peasant Union, or to the intellectual comrades, but it is not far from the truth. But if you say it is due to my strength, you are absolutely wrong. If I had sufficient strength, why did you 6 or 7 thousand people have to go there?"

I believe that, with my individual ability, however great it may be, I could never have gotten our peasant-comrades released. Also, the Peasant Union is simply an organisation of peasants and is not feared by the officials, to say nothing of the individual members. The reason of the present success lies in the ability of the Peasant Union to cause six or seven thousand peasants to assemble at one place and act in a unanimous way. The strength to assemble six or seven thousand people is a great one, and it is this strength which has awed the officials and brought about the release of our peasant-comrades. Since we have had this experience today, we should be still more united together henceforth in order to extend our influence and in order that the great success of today may be repeated in the future!"

Finally, three cheers were given to the peasants and the gathering was dismissed.

Since the above demonstration by the General Peasant Union of Hai Feng, the peasants have recognized the Peasant Union as an organ which is struggling for their interests. At the same time, their hatred of the landlord class has become more intense, and the influence of the Peasant Union has been spread to the adjacent districts. On this account, applicants for membership in the Peasant Union are very numerous, and the number of members is increasing daily. The General Peasant Union of Hai Feng has been reorganized into the Peasant Association of the Wei Chow District with branch offices in each district. In less than two months' time, the organisation has been extended to Chiu Chow, Pu Ning and Wei Loi Districts. Then the organisation was developed into the Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Association, with a District Peasant Union in every district under its control. Meanwhile the affairs of the Peasant Union had become very complex, as three or four hundred peasants used to visit the union every day. Fortunately our working force (the peasant movement comrades) had also increased. Comra Li Lo-kung was one of our new members. He was a native of the 6th division of Chit Sing and was studying at the sericulture school. He did not know me, but sympathized with the Peasant Union of Hai Feng. One day he decided to leave school and wrote me a long letter expressing his sympathy towards the Peasant Union and his desire to have an interview with me. I replied at once, asking him to come to see me. Thereupon, he came with comrades Lum Mo-nung and many others, and gave me much advice on the peasant movement. From that time on, he has been a responsible worker in our movement.

The "Land Tax Maintenance Association," composed of landlords, gentry, and aristocrats of Hai Feng, was also frightened by the grand demonstration of the six or seven thousand peasants, a thing which had never been seen or heard of before. At the same time, the peasants began to circulate the slogans of "Landlords

are entitled to no rent! The rent is ours! If they dare make any trouble, we will destroy the dykes (border dykes of fields)!" This frightened the "Land Tax Maintenance Association" still more.

About this time, a very funny incident occurred. The President of the "Land Tax Maintenance Association," Chan Yut-po, and a lot of superstitious gentry had appealed to the gods for instructions in order to oppose the Peasant Union. They applied to for divine advice at the Temple of the City Guardian. The "heavenly" king came to the divine table and wrote on the sand (which was smoothly spread on the table) the following words: "Peasant Union must succeed." Upon seeing this, the superstitious landlords and gentry were plunged into despair. On the following day, Chan Yut-po called a general meeting of the "Land Tax Maintenance Association," which was attended by more than one hundred persons. At the outset, he tendered his resignation on the grounds that, as he said, "yesterday, the 'heavenly king' revealed to me that the peasant union must succeed. He also showed me a poem of four lines (I have forgotten the first three lines), but the last line reads "Let Hon Yuk go down to posterity." I have since found out that "Hon Yuk" is Peng Pai's old name. Since this is ordained by the 'heavenly king,' we must not try to oppose him. I applied to the 'heavenly king' for further instruction and was told to go to Hongkong. As I am going to Hongkong in 2 or 3 days, I must tender my resignation." A deep silence followed his speech. After a while, a hunting-dog of the landlords, named Chan Siu-lun, proposed to send some delegates to the Peasant Union to enquire whether the union was purposely against the landlords. His proposal was unanimously approved and he was elected as delegate for the purpose. The meeting was then dismissed. Two days later, Chan Yut-po left for Hongkong. This shows that he was afraid of the Peasant Union's influence and wanted to extricate himself by taking advantage of the divine advice of the so-called "heavenly king". Thenceforth the "Land Tax Maintenance Association" was no longer heard of.

(From a report by Peng Pai, former-Chairman

of the Hai Feng District Peasant Union.)

May 1926.

4. PEASANTS AND LANDLORDS IN CHIU KIANG.

Due to drought, crops in Chiu Kiang District were very poor this year, and so the tenants proposed that they pay only 70% of their usual rent. This aroused the opposition of the landlords, and a class-war was brought about. The case has, however, now been satisfactorily settled through the mediation of the Drought Relief Committee.

Hereunder is a telegram issued by the Committee reporting in detail the events of the case:—

"Owing to bad harvests this year, the tenants in the various sections and villages of the Chiu Kiang District, demanded a reduction of rent. The District Peasant Union of Chiu Kiang then held a meeting of the peasants of the whole district, at which proposals for paying 70% of the usual rent were passed and a telegram asking for assistance issued.

The landlords absolutely refused to accept the proposal and so a dispute arose between the two parties. In order to relieve the distress of the peasants and consolidate the rear of the Northern Expedition, the District Kuomintang Branch, various military, political, peasant, worker, merchant and student organizations, and also the landlords and tenant farmers organized the Drought Relief Committee of Chiu Kiang on the 5th of August. At the same time, the Chiu Kiang Magistrate was asked to appropriate \$110 from the District Treasury for relief funds.

Officers were despatched to the various sections and villages to propagate the significance of drought relief and the Northern Expedition, and also to investigate the conditions of the various places affected by the drought as an initial step to settling the dispute, relieving the sufferers and maintaining the peace and order of the locality.

The investigations showed that in a majority of cases, the harvest this year was only sixty to seventy per cent that of last year, while in a few cases it was even as low as twenty to thirty per cent.

On August 27th, at the plenary meeting of the committee, these results were reported. After discussion, it was decided that the rent paid by the tenants to the landlords for the first crop this year should be 61.3% of the amount paid previously.

This was opposed by the representatives of the landlords who declared that they would rather accept the demands of their tenants and get 70% of their rent than follow the decision of the Drought Relief Committee because it would save them a further deduction of ten per cent. They then suggested that the Relief Committee should fix the rent at 70% of its normal value, and that that this amount should apply only to the first crop of the year.

This suggestion was then carefully discussed and as the representatives of the peasants made no objections, the Committee passed the following rules regarding rent payment.

(1) According to the report of the Investigation Department and the decision of the Committee, tenants shall pay seventy per cent of their rent to their landlords.

(2) Landlords who have already received the full amount of rent shall return thirty per cent of the rent to the tenants.

(3) Tenants who have not yet paid their rent at 70% or who have given insufficient amounts shall make up the deficiency.

(4) Landlords who have already received the full amount of rent on the first crop shall deduct thirty per cent from the rent on the second crop of this year, or if the full amount of rent has been paid for both crops, the equivalent amount shall be deducted from the rent for the next year.

(5) The above rules shall apply only for the first crop of this year.

(6) The Drought Relief Committee shall submit the above rules to the Chiu Kiang District Magistrate, the Garrison Commander of Nanshiung, Shaokwan and Lienchow, the Kwangtung Provincial Government, and the Peasant Department of the Central Kuomintang for record. If any one of the two parties violates the above rules, the Drought Relief Committee shall, according to Article VIII of its constitution, request the garrison troops and the local authorities to have them put into execution. These were passed by all the members of the Relief Committee and approved of by the representative of the landlords and the tenants. The dispute has thus been settled and the mission of the Relief Committee has been fulfilled.

(sd) *Drought Relief Committee of Chiu Kiang District.*

(From *Kuo Min Hsin Wen*, 8-28-26.)

5. SHUN TEH PEASANTS PROTEST AGAINST DEPRAVED GENTRY.

The Peasant Unions of the seventh division of Shun Teh District have issued a declaration protesting against the monopoly of village affairs by the depraved gentries. The chief points in this declaration are :-

(1) The peasants must unite against the depraved gentries of the district.

(2) The directors of the District Assembly should be elected by universal suffrage.

(3) At present, the schools established by the district are monopolized by the wealthy classes. Peasant schools should also be established so that education may become universal.

(4) The public funds of the district should not be controlled forever by only one depraved gentry, but they should be controlled by a number of gentries alternately.

(5) The annual budget for the public funds should be made public on January.

(6) All disbursements of the public funds should be made according to the budget.

(7) The rent on the public lands of the district should be fixed.

(8) The present Directors of the District Assembly are not officially elected. We therefore do not recognize them and request their dismissal.

April 1926.

6. ROWDIES AND PEASANTS IN SHUN TEH.

Mr. Fung Ming, a member of the Peasant Union of the Sook Poong Village in Shun Teh district, was shot yesterday by Poon Ming-chok. The magistrate summoned Poon Ming-chok to court, and upon his failure to appear three times in succession, the magistrate ordered his arrest.

On the 13th a detachment of militia and Peasant Corps was sent to arrest him, but having been informed beforehand, he managed to escape. His followers, upon hearing of the approach of the militia and the Peasant Corps, at once fortified the place and shut the iron gate.

The militia and the Peasant Corps advanced, but to their great surprise they were checked by the Lee family who fired at them from an old rice shop, wounding one of them on the shoulder.

Then the battle began. The militia and the Peasant Corps broke through the iron gate and advanced to the compound of the Lee family. After a short battle, they captured three rowdies, namely, Lee Kok Tin, Leung Mow Chof, and Lee Chek and then returned to Tai Loong.

The Lee family feared that a further attack would be made, and so removed all their valuables to the neighbouring villages of Tong Ching and Ching Guan. The bandits took this opportunity to carry away all that they brought.

Resenting this treatment the Lee family appealed to three villages—Foons Kun, Nam Sah, and Nem Loong—and asked them to employ another gang of robbery to help them to carry out their revenge. They decided first to attack the Song Mah Village Peasant Union and then the Fung To Chai Peasant Union.

This news was brought to the Peasant Unions concerned, and they at once informed the Police Department of Shun Teh and appealed to the Provincial Peasant Association and the District Kuomintang for protection.

(From Min Kuo Jih Pao, 12-17-25.)

7. SHUN TEH PEASANTS ARREST DEPRAVED GENTRIES.

Some time ago, four members of the Shih Pun Village Peasant Union in Shun Teh proposed to use the public funds of the village to establish peasant schools. But this proposal was strongly opposed by Ho Wai-chao, the chief of the militia, and

some other gentries. They therefore plotted to murder these peasants on March 28. Fortunately the peasants were forewarned and so escaped. At 5 p.m. on the 29th a peasant reported as follows:—"While we were going to Shih Pun Village from Shak Chao Chung, we saw two boats anchored at Shi Ho Kow. Ho Wai-chao and his men were inside those boats. So as soon as they saw us, they fired and killed Ho Shun-ko, Wong Churk-yin and Ho Hang, the men who had made the proposal on the spot. We immediately jumped ashore and shouted for help. Members of the Defense Corps came up and drove the bandits' boats away. The two corpses were transported back to Shak Hu Chung by the Defense Corps."

Upon receiving the above report, we at once proceeded to the Magistracy, intending to report to the Magistrate. Unexpectedly there was no one there except a porter. We therefore returned to the District Peasant Association and decided to despatch our men to pursue the murderers. More than two hundred members of the Peasant Corps were led by pickets to Shih Pun Village. When they arrived the sun had set, so that they could not enter the village but passed the night in the outskirts. The following morning they entered the village, and led by the local Peasant Corps, they were able to arrest four depraved gentries who were said to be the murderers. A general meeting of the peasants was then held to discuss ways and means of dealing with the case. It was decided to request the Government to punish the murderers and compensate the families of the deceased. The four suspected murderers were then handed over to the magistrate for trial. It is said that when our Peasant Corps were preparing to enter the village, they were attacked by the militia who afterwards retreated when they found that they were unable to resist us. Fortunately our men suffered no loss at all. On the 30th, officials were despatched by the magistrate to hold a post-mortem examination of the dead bodies. On April 1st, more than one thousand members of the Peasant Corps gathered together to participate in the funeral procession of the peasant martyrs. Their coffins were temporarily placed on Si Shan Hill in Tai Leung.

(From a report by the Shun Teh District Peasant Union, April 1926.)

8. PAO AN PEASANTS OPPOSE DEPRAVED GENTRIES.

In Tai Ping village of the 6th division of Pao An District, there were two depraved gentries, Ip Hing-fan and his son, Kip Ka-sin, both of whom were Christians. Depending upon the force of their church, they have always acted violently and illegally, and have long been very much hated by the peasants. In the village there was a piece of public land from which more than 50 piculs of rice was collected as rent every year. Hing Fan had also another son who was studying in the Kwangtung University. In order to pay his son's expenses at the university, he forcibly appropriated the rent of the public property for his son's school fees and expenses. After the Peasant Union of the division was organised, the peasants unanimously

resolved that the public funds be appropriated for the establishment and maintenance of a school for peasants. This action of the peasants greatly enraged the two depraved gentries, Ip Hing-fau and his son. They first requested the minister of their church to threaten the Peasant Union to return the funds to them, but in vain. Then they bribed Chang Ngo-tung, commander of the garrison troops in Pao An, to despatch some soldiers to the village to force the Peasant Union to return the funds to Hing Fan within a certain time. But the Peasant Union refused and paid no regard to their threats. Later on, Chang sent soldiers for a second time to the village to oppress the Peasant Union, but before their arrival, the Peasant Union had been informed of their coming, and at once gathered together all the Peasant Corps of the village and also those of the Lau Chuen Village of the 15th division. The combined force, comprising more than 100 members, immediately prepared to fight with the intruders. Upon learning of the preparedness of the peasants, Chang's soldiers dared not approach the village but returned to their base secretly. Some time after, some members of the Peasant Union happened to pass Tong Tau Ha on their way to a certain region. Chang sent soldiers to arrest one of them and demanded that the Peasant Union return the funds to Hing Fan in exchange for the release of the peasant, who was being imprisoned at Shum Chun. But the Peasant Union still refused to yield them, and threatened to arrest the depraved gentries if their comrade was not immediately released.

(From a Special Report)

April 1926.

9. BULLIES KILLED IN PAO AN DISTRICT.

In Koo Shu village there was a notorious bully surnamed Kang. He was a police officer but he always oppressed the merchants and peasants and outraged many woman villagers. He was very much hated by the peasants. When the Koo Shu Village Peasant Union was established, he, at the same time, organized a Youth's League to oppose the peasant's organisation. Every person who joined the League had to pay a fee of \$5.00 and the aim of the League was to frustrate the actions and movements of the peasant union. Before Chang Ngo-tung's soldiers slaughtered the peasants in the western section of the district, he and a certain other police officer extorted from a certain peasant an amount of more than 100 dollars. Upon learning this news, the peasants were greatly enraged and, seizing the police officer, forced him to give back the sum to the peasant, and then drove him away. Later on the native bully, Kong, was also apprehended by the peasants, and was shot at night. Being informed of this, his brother-in-law submitted a petition to the Magistrate, accusing the peasants of murdering his sister's husband. But the magistrate did not pay any attention to his accusation and his case was consequently not established.

In the 5th division, there was another notorious bully named Man Cheung-kwong. When Lin Shu-ngai's troops were stationed in Pao An, he was appointed

Co-Director of the Pao An District Funds Raising Bureau. He then cooperated with Man Kuan-sun, Chief Director of the Bureau, to oppress and "squeeze" money from the people. When the peasants commenced their work of organizing their peasant unions, their movements and actions were always frustrated by him. Afterwards when the peasants defeated and drove away Tam Kai-sai's troops, he and Man Kuen-sun fled and took refuge in Hongkong. Later on, when hostilities were started in the Eastern Regions, he and Man Kuen-sun made out a list of the names of the important members of the peasant unions and handed it to Ngai Pong-ping in the expectation that in case Ngai captured Pao An, he (Ngai) would kill all the persons whose names appeared on the list. He also bribed villains to go to Pao An secretly to assassinate the prominent members of the peasant unions. His plans were reported to the peasant union by some members who were at that time in Hongkong. A month ago, Man Cheung-kwong returned to Pao An from Hongkong for the purpose of spying on the movements of the peasants. He was accompanied by many persons who had fled to Hongkong with him previously. Upon his arrival, he was seized by the Peasant Corps, and shot on November 23rd. At this, all those who had accompanied him fled once more to Hongkong.

(From a report to the Provincial Peasant Association, January 1926.)

10. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPRESSION IN Hsin Hui.

In many villages in Hsin Hui, the so-called "rural slave system" still exists. The system dates from the Manchu dynasty, and is a very autocratic system. The rural slaves were enlisted from other places and given some endowment fields to cultivate. They had to serve the autocratic gentry and the retired officials of the old regime as slaves. They had no personal rights and sometimes were not even free to move.

On account of the numerous oppressions and the consequent hardship of earning a livelihood on agriculture, most peasants undertake looting as an avocation. Some brave peasants have risen to assemble their fellow comrades to form a Peasant Union to struggle for their existence. Unfortunately, there were no competent persons to direct their actions, and so some rascals stepped in and began to utilize them as tools. The organizations were then disbanded automatically. But the Provincial Peasant Association is paying special attention to such villages, and is trying to renew their organizations. Preparations are now under way and the future looks very bright for the emancipation movement of the peasants.

(From a report on Hsin Hui Peasant Movement, December 1925.)

The peasant movement ^{in 1927}
in Kwangtung
(materials on the agrarian
problem in China)
In two parts,
Part 2,

CHAPTER VIII.

PEASANT UNIONS AND
CLASS STRUGGLE IN
VILLAGES.

Canton, 1927.

A. THE ORGANISATION OF THE PEASANT UNION.

1—Regulations of the Peasant Union.

1. STATUS OF THE KWANGTUNG PEASANT UNION.

(Passed at the 2nd Conference of the Delegates of the entire Province.)

FOREWORD.

The Peasant Union, based upon the advocacy of the Three Principles of Sun Yat-sen for the emancipation of the labouring class, gathers all the oppressed, poor peasants of Kwangtung into an organisation, with the object of planning for the self-protection of the peasants, and practically improving the organisation of villages for the betterment of the peasants' means of livelihood. The regulations of the Peasant Union are as follows:-

CHAPTER I—GENERAL PRINCIPLE.

Art. 1—This Union is organised in accordance with the principles set down in the regulations of the All-China Peasant Union, decided upon by the Generalissimo and promulgated by the Peasant Department of the C.E.C. of Kuomintang in 1924.

CHAPTER II—MEMBERS.

Art. 2—All yeomen, semi-yeomen, tenant farmers, hired ploughmen, handicraft workers and unskilled labourers in the rural village, irrespective of sex who are 16 years of age or over, and who have carried out the procedure set forth in Art. III may become a member of this Union. But those who are either of the following classes will be rejected:-

- (a) Those who possess over 100 mow of land.
- (b) Those who exact high interests from the peasants.
- (c) Those who are in a position that conflicts with the best interests of the peasants.
- (d) Religious propagandists, such as Brothers (Catholic teachers), clergymen, monks, nuns, Taoists and witches.
- (e) Those who are amenable to the Alien Imperialists.
- (f) Opium-smokers and gamblers.

Art. 3—Procedure of Admission.

- (a) Filling in of application forms.

- (b) Agreeing to follow the regulations of this Union.
- (c) Agreeing to adhere to the discipline of this Union.
- (d) Payment of an admission fee and a monthly subscription.

- Art. 4—When a peasant wishes to enrol in this Union, he must have three members to recommend him and his admission must be passed by the Executive Committee of their village Peasant Union. In case a person who is not a peasant, but one who approves of the Peasant Union and requests to be allowed to enrol as a member, he must obtain the approval of three-fourths of the members in a general meeting before his membership is valid.
- Art. 5—All members should obtain membership credentials from the Peasant Union to which they belong. The membership credential shall be designed by the Provincial Peasant Association.

CHAPTER III—DUTIES AND PRIVILEGES OF MEMBERS.

- Art. 6—All members have the right to speak and vote on decisions and impeachments at all grades of general meetings. (But accusations made, orally or written, must be first examined by the meeting, before an appeal can be made to the higher organs. Bills of impeachment against the faculty of the Union; or Petitions requesting the investigation and dealing with a case of soldiers giving disturbance; or accusations against the irregularities and lawlessness of the officials or local rowdies; all of these should pass the examination of the meeting before an appeal can be made to the higher organs. If, however, owing to special circumstances, a convention of a general meeting is inconvenient, then the Executive Committee may decide whether or not an appeal may be made.)
- Art. 7—Members shall have the right to be elected, according to regulations, as faculty members or representatives of the Peasant Union. (If a member is elected concurrently as a faculty member in both a higher and a lower Peasant Association, he cannot be concurrently a member of the Routine Committee of another Peasant Association.)
- Art. 8—Members must abide by the regulations and discipline, and submit to the resolutions of this Union. Any member who violates this article shall be strictly dealt with in accordance with the proper discipline.

CHAPTER IV—ORGANISATION.

- Art. 9—A village Peasant Union may be organised upon the request of one-third of the adult farmers of the village, provided the request, after having been submitted to the Provincial Association through an upper organ, is approved by

the Provincial Executive Committee. The latter, having given its approval, shall despatch delegates to the village to convene a members' general meeting in which an Executive Committee shall be legally elected. (Upon the inauguration of any grade of Peasant Association, the Provincial Executive Committee, having examined and approved it, shall issue and confer upon it a flag and a seal.) In various villages of less than thirty members, sections shall be organised. Each section shall elect a section leader who shall be under the control of the nearest Village Peasant Union. If a village Peasant Union has over 1,000 members it shall be divided into Divisions, each division for the convenience of training is to have a Division-leader.

Art. 10—In an administrative section, when over one-third of the villages have each established a Peasant Association, if the Provincial Executive Committee considers it necessary to establish a Sectional Peasant Union the Provincial Executive Committee shall despatch delegates to the respective sections to convene a Delegates' Conference or a members' general meeting of the section, at which meeting an Executive Committee shall be elected to organise the Sectional Peasant Union. If the area of a section is very extensive, then branches may be established under the section.

Art. 11—In a district where over three of the administrative sections have each established a Sectional Peasant Union, if the Provincial Peasant Association considers it fit, it may despatch delegates to the respective districts to convene a Delegates Conference of the district, in which conference a District Executive Committee shall be elected to organise the District Peasant Union. The organisational procedure of various grades of the Peasant Associations shall be enacted separately.

Art. 12—The Peasant Association considers the village Peasant Union as its fundamental organisation, and these may range from the sectional organs upward. The order of organisation is as follows:—

- (1) Delegates Conference of the Provincial Executive Committee. The Provincial Executive Committee.
- (2) Delegates Conference of the District Peasant Union. The District Executive Committee.
- (3) Delegates Conference or members' general meeting of the Sectional Peasant Union. The Sectional Executive Committee.
- (4) Delegates Conference or members' general meeting of Branch Sectional Peasant Union. The Branch Sectional Executive Committee.

- (5) Members general meeting of the Village Peasant Union.. The Village Executive Committee.

Art. 13—All Executive Committee of the lower organs are subject to the control of the higher organs.

Art. 14—Various grades of organs should at each Delegates' Conference or members' general meeting elect members to form the Executive Committee, whose duty it is to look after the affairs of the association. Substitutes should also be elected for the Executive Committee. When the Executive Committee of any grade opens a meeting the respective substitutes may take seats but they only have the right to speak. When a member of any grade of the Executive Committee is absent or has resigned, his place may be taken by the alternate committee man in proper sequence.

CHAPTER V—PROVINCIAL PEASANT ASSOCIATION.

Art. 15—A Delegates' Conference of the entire province shall be held once a year, but a provisional conference of the delegates of the entire province may be held upon the request of one-third of the District Executive Committee.

Art. 16—The law of organisation, the law of election and the quorum of the Delegates' Conference of the entire Province shall be decided upon by the Provincial Executive Committee.

Art. 17—The Provincial Delegates Conference accepts and adopts for enforcement the reports of the Provincial Executive Committee as well as those of its departments. In the Conference, programme of the Union's affairs shall be decided, and the Executive Committee and Reserve Committee shall be elected.

Art. 18—The Provincial Executive Committee consists of thirteen members, and 4 reserves.

Art. 19—The authorities and duties of the Provincial Executive Committee are as follows:—

- (1) A Routine Committee of five shall be formed among themselves to take charge of the Union affairs.
- (2) It may establish peasant organisations at various districts, sections, branches and villages in the whole province as well as to direct their activities.
- (3) It may organise various departments of the Provincial Executive Committee.

- (4) It may allocate the union funds and finances.
- (5) It may institute offices in different regions for the convenience of directing the work of the District Peasant Unions. In each of these offices shall be placed the director, one secretary, and one delegate. The director must be a member of the Provincial Executive Committee or of the Reserve Committee.

Art. 20—The Provincial Routine Committee shall hold a meeting at least once a week. A general meeting of the entire body of the Executive Committee shall be held at least once every three months.

CHAPTER VI—DISTRICT PEASANT UNIONS.

Art. 21—A District Delegates' Conference shall be held once every half year. A provisional District Delegates' Conference may be held upon the instruction of the Provincial Executive Committee, or upon the request of one-third of the Sectional Executive Committee. If the District Executive Committee thinks it necessary, or if requested by over half of the members of the whole district, a provisional District Delegates' Conference may also be held.

Art. 22—The law of organisation, the law of election, and the quorum of a District Delegates' Conference shall be decided by the respective District Executive Committee and approved for enforcement by the Provincial Executive Committee.

Art. 23—A District Delegates' Conference receives and adopts for enforcement the reports from the respective District Executive Committee as well as those from its departments. At the Conference the programme of the respective association's affairs shall be decided; the District Executive Committee with its reserves shall be chosen and despatched to participate in the Provincial Delegates' Conference.

Art. 24—The District Executive Committee consists of nine members and four reserves. A Routine Committee of three shall be formed among themselves to take charge of the union affairs.

Art. 25—A District Executive Committee shall establish peasant organisations in the sections, branch sections, and villages of the respective districts. It shall direct their activities; organise its own various departments (provided that it has obtained the approval of the Provincial Executive Committee); and control the association's funds and finance.

Art. 26—A District Executive Committee should report once every two weeks on its activities of the past period to the Provincial Executive Committee.

Art. 27—A District Executive Committee shall hold a meeting once a week.

CHAPTER VII—SECTIONAL PEASANT UNION.

Art. 28—The highest organ in a section is the Members' General Meeting of the entire section. When it is impossible to hold a members' general meeting, owing to the great number of the members or on account of the distance, then a Delegates' Conference of the entire section may be convened. This meeting, shall be held once every three months. A Provisional meeting may be held when instructed by the higher organs to do so, or upon the request of one-third of the subsidiary executive committee within the region of the section.

Art. 29—The law of organisation, the law of election, and the quorum of a Sectional Delegates Conference shall be decided upon by the Sectional Delegates and approved for enforcement by the District Executive Committee.

Art. 30—The scope of discussions on union affairs of a sectional members' general meeting, or of a Sectional Delegates' Conference is as follows:—

- (1) Acceptation and adoption for enforcement of the reports of Sectional Executive Committee.
- (2) Election of Executive Committee and Reserve Committee of the section. Despatch of delegates to participate in a District Delegates' Conference.
- (3) Auditing and rectifying of the statement of accounts of the Village Executive Committee.
- (4) The training of members in their respective work and aiding the village peasant unions in establishing various kinds of schools and other cultural organs.
- (5) Discussion and rectification of the programme of work during the village peasant unions' term.

Art. 31—The duties and authorities of a Sectional District Executive Committee are as follows:—

- (1) To direct the activities of the various organisations within its own section.
- (2) To convene members' general meetings or Delegates' Conference of the entire section.
- (3) To organise branch sectional or village peasant organisations or other organs in the section upon the request of the peasants or as commissioned by the Provincial Peasant Association, and report to the Provincial Executive Committee for approval.

- (4) To safeguard the registrations and antecedents of the member.
- (5) To distribute to members membership credentials.
- (6) To control the union funds and finance.

Art. 32—A Sectional Executive Committee shall comprise of seven members and three reserves. A Routine Committee of three is to be elected among the members of this Executive Committee to carry out the routine work of the union. It shall hold meetings twice a week and report once a week to the District Executive Committee on its movements during the week.

Art. 33—A branch section Peasant Union is under the control of the respective Sectional Peasant Union. It cannot be established unless a report has been made by the Sectional Peasant Union to the higher organs, and approved by the Provincial Peasant Association. A Branch Sectional Executive Committee shall consist of five members and three reserves. A Routine Committee of three is to be formed from the members of the said Executive Committee to take charge of the association's routine work. It shall hold meetings twice a week.

CHAPTER VIII—VILLAGE PEASANT UNIONS.

Art. 34—A village peasant union is the lowest but most important basic organisation of the Peasant Union. The number of members of a village peasant union should not exceed one-third of the number of adult farmers in the village. The village peasant union shall be organised by representative organs such as the various district offices, commissioned by the Provincial Peasant Association or the Provincial Executive Committee. If the peasants of a village organise a village peasant union, a report must be submitted to the higher organs to be approved by the Provincial Executive Committee.

Art. 35—The village peasant organisations are direct organs of the peasants and bear the following responsibilities to the people :—

- (1) To execute the resolutions and slogans of the union.
- (2) To propagate the Peasant Policy advocated by the Three Principles of Sun Yat-sen and engage in constructive work of the Three Principles of Sun Yat-sen.
- (3) To illustrate the economic relation of agriculture and industry to commerce; and the mutual concurrence and interest between them in the Chinese Emancipation Movement.
- (4) To promote various kinds of constructive enterpriss, such as the establishment of peasant schools, co-operative societies; and the improvement of agriculture, irrigation and communications.

- Art. 36—The Executive Committee of a Village Union shall convoko a general meeting of its members once every month to decide upon the programme of the union affairs, elect the Executive Committee and select members to be despatched as delegates to the Sectional Conference of Delegates.
- Art. 37—The Executive Committee of a village union shall consist of three members and two reserves.
- Art. 38—The duties and authority of a Village Executive Committee are as follows:—
- (1) To comprise of a secretary, a propagandist and an organiser among its members.
 - (2) To direct the activities of the Village Peasant Union.
 - (3) To execute the orders of the higher organs.
 - (4) To make enquiry upon and prepare statistics on the peasant's livelihood and the progress of education in the village.
 - (5) To recruit new members.
- Art. 39—The Executive Committee of a Village Peasant Union shall hold meetings twice a week and report once a fortnight to the Central Executive Committee upon the events in its movement.
- Art. 40—In the event of special matters, a village Peasant Union may establish various departments to manage them. The chief departments are as follows:—
- (1) Military Affairs Department.
 - (2) Department for the improvement of agriculture.
 - (3) Hired Ploughmen Department.
 - (4) Tenant Farmers' Department.
 - (5) Handicraft Department.
 - (6) Women's Department.
 - (7) Young Peasant's Department.
 - (8) Educational Department.
 - (9) Co-operative Department.

CHAPTER IX—TERMS OF OFFICE.

- Art. 41—Upon the close of a conference, the office of a delegate terminates, but he should report to the association which he represents on the events and results of the conference.

Art. 42—The term of office of the Provincial Executive Committee is one year; that of a District, Sectional, or Branch Sectional Executive Committee is half year; and that of a village Executive Committee is three months.

CHAPTER X—DISCIPLINE.

Art. 43—All members should be under the submission of the resolutions passed by their respective Conference or Executive Committee.

Art. 44—The Executive Committee of lower organs should obey the superior Executive Committee, otherwise the superior Executive Committee may dissolve or reorganise them.

Art. 45—When members oppose a resolution passed by the Executive Committee of a lower organ, if the opposition is supported by one-fifth of the members, an appeal jointly signed by the opposing members may be submitted to the Executive Committee of the superior organ for decision. But pending a decision, all members should still abide the resolutions of the respective lower organ's Executive Committee.

Art. 46—Any member who violates the discipline of this union, shall be subject to the judgment of the disciplinarians. The organs that execute discipline are the general meeting of members and the Provincial Executive Committee. Violations of the union's discipline may be classified as follows:

- (1) Unability to fulfil the stipulations of these regulations.
- (2) Unability to execute the orders of the union.
- (3) Gambling or Opium-smoking.
- (4) Frustration of the fundamental principle of this union.
- (5) Participation in Counter-Revolutionary Movements.
- (6) Three successive absences without good excuse.

Art. 47—The methods of punishment are as follows:—

- (1) Publication of the verdict.
- (2) Warning.
- (3) Dismissal from membership.
 - (a) Temporary dismissal.
 - (b) Permanent dismissal.

CHAPTER XI—CONTRIBUTIONS.

Art. 48.—Contributions to the Peasant Union are numerated as follows:—

- (1) Admission fee, maximum not to exceed one dollar.
- (2) Members' monthly subscription, not to exceed ten cents.

(3) Members' income contribution.

(4) Special contributions.

Art. 49—The amount of the admission fee shall be decided by the Provincial Executive Committee. The exemption of a poor peasant from the admission fee or a reduction of the fee should be approved by the general meeting of the Village Peasant Union and ratified by the Sectional Executive Committee.

Art. 50—In regard to funds collected from members by a Village Peasant Union, 60% shall be retained for the expenses of the village union and 40% shall be handed over to the higher organs.

CHAPTER XII—RELATION OF THE PEASANT UNION TO THE VARIOUS OTHER ORGANS.

Art. 51—In regard to the administrative organs, legislative organs, educational organs, and co-operative societies, the Peasant Union shall have appropriate authority to look after the interests of the peasants.

Art. 52—In either of the organs mentioned in Art. 51, if there are three members or upward of the Peasant Union they should organise a members' corps for protecting the interests of the peasants.

Art. 53—The Peasant Union may despatch suitable members as delegates to the administrative organs and other organs for settling various peasant problems.

CHAPTER XIII—ENFORCEMENT OF THESE REGULATIONS.

Art. 54—These regulations shall be in force from the day of their publication.

Art. 55—Defects or inaccuracies of these regulations may be amended in a Conference of the Peasant Union delegates of the entire province.

(May, 1926.)

2. BRIEF REGULATIONS ENACTED BY THE KWANGTUNG PEASANT ASSOCIATION GOVERNING THE VARIOUS BRANCH OFFICES.

The sphere of the Kwangtung Peasant Movement has become greater and more extensive. Its territory is increasing every day. Accordingly, for the sake of convenience of direction, and for maintaining discipline and order in the procedure and organisation of the various peasant unions, this union temporarily divides the province into six sections, each section having a managing office. The Regulations are as follows :—

PART I—ORGANISATION.

Art. 1—The name of each office and its locality :

- (a) The Chao Mei and Hai Lu Feng Branch Office of the Kwangtung Peasant Union with its office at Swatow. It has under its jurisdiction, seventeen districts, namely: Chao An, Fung Shun, Chao Yang, Chieh Yang, Yao Ping, Wei Lai, Tai Po, Ching Hai, Pu Ning, Wu Hua, Nan Ao, Hsing Ning, Ping Yuan, Chiu Ling, Mei Hsien, Hai Feng and Lu Feng.
- (b) The Wei Chow Branch Office of the Kwangtung Peasant Union with its office at Wei Chow. It has under its jurisdiction eight districts, namely: Wei Yang, Po Lo, Tzu Chin, Hsin Feng, Lung Chuan, Ho Yuan, Ho Ping, and Lien Ping.
- (c) The West River District Branch Office of the Kwangtung Peasant Union with its office at Shao Ching. It has under its jurisdiction fourteen districts, namely: Kao Yao, Sze Hui, Hsin Hsing, Kao Ming, En Ping, Kwang Ning, Hai Ping, Ho Shau, Fung Chuan, Hai Chin, Teh Ching, Lo Ting, Yun Fou, and Yu Nan.
- (d) The Southern Districts Branch Office of the Kwangtung Peasant Union with its office at Mei Lu. It has under its jurisdiction fifteen districts, namely, Mou Ming, Tien Pai, Hsin Yi, Hua Hsien, Wu Chuan, Lien Kiang, Hai Kang, Sui Chi, Yue Ming, Yang Kiang, Yang Chun, Yin Hsien, Fung Cheng, Ho Pu, and Ling Shan.
- (e) The North River Districts Branch Office of the Kwangtung Peasant Union with its office at Shao Kwan. It has under its jurisdiction eleven districts, namely: Chiu Kiang, Lo Chang, Jen Hua, Ju Yuen, Wung Yuan, Ying Teh, Shi Hsing, Yang Shan, Nan Hsiung, Lien Hsien and Lien Shan.
- (f) The Chiung Ngai (Hainan) Branch Office of the Kwangtung Peasant Union. The site of the office has not yet been decided. It has under its jurisdiction thirteen districts, namely: Kiang Shan, Tsing My, Ting On, Man Cheong, Kiang Tung, Lok Wui, Lam Ko, Tam Yuen, Ngai Yuen, Man Ning, Ling Shu, Kum Yan and Cheong Fa.

The peasant unions of the following seventeen districts in the Central District are under the direct control of the Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Association and have no managing office, viz:

Canton city outskirts, Fan Yu, Nan Hai, Shun Teh, Chung Shan, Hsin Hui, Tai Shan, Tung Kuan, Pao An, Tseng Cheng, Lung Men, Hua Hsien, San Shui, Tsing Yuen, Chih Chi, and Fo Kang.

Art. 2—A Special Committee shall be organised in each Branch Office. It shall be comprised of three members who shall be appointed by the Kwangtung

Peasant Association. One of these three committee men shall be designated as chairman and one as secretary.

- Art. 3—Each Branch Office shall enact the bye-laws of management itself and submit them to this Union for approval.

PART II — DUTIES

- Art. 4—Every Branch Office is subject to the direction and supervision of the Kwangtung Peasant Association and should therefore report to the Association the affairs of Peasant Associations under its jurisdiction. It should also transmit the orders of the association to these Peasant Unions.
- Art. 5—Each Branch Office bears the commission of the Kwangtung Peasant Association to direct and supervise the various grades of Peasant Unions under its jurisdiction.
- Art. 6—Every week each Branch Office shall submit to the Association a systematic report of its weekly activities. In case special incidents have occurred, provisional reports should be made.
- Art. 7—When a special incident happens, the respective Branch Office should on the one hand investigate and report at once to the Kwangtung Peasant Association, and on the other, find a way to deal with the matter. The method of treatment should be provided in the report.
- Art. 8—Concerning the inauguration of various grades of Peasant Unions, each respective Branch Office should investigate the antecedence, and report to the Kwangtung Peasant Association. The inauguration is not allowed to take place without the approval of the association.
- Art. 9—Each month every Branch Office shall submit to the Kwangtung Peasant Association a systematic report on the proceeding condition of the various grades of peasant unions within its jurisdiction.
- Art. 10—Each Branch Office should at a fixed time, submit the plan of the peasant movement under its jurisdiction to the Provincial Peasant Association for investigation and treatment.

PART III—AUTHORITY.

- Art. 11.—Each Branch Office should at a fixed time convene a Peasant Delegates' Conference or a joint meeting of the C.E.C. of the Peasant Unions under its jurisdiction.
- Art. 12.—The Special Committee of every Branch Office may despatch delegates in case of need to convene or participate in any meeting of any grade of Peasant Union.

- Art. 13—The Special Committee of every Branch Office may participate in the ordinary meetings of the C.E.C. of the Peasant Unions under its jurisdiction.
- Art. 14—The Branch Offices being commissioned by the Provincial Peasant Association may issue banners, seals, and members' testimonials to various grades of Peasant Unions within its jurisdiction.
- Art. 15—The Special Committee of the various Branch Offices may punish or dismiss members of the staff, members, defence corps of various grades of Peasant Unions within its jurisdiction, if it finds that they have violated the regulations or do not abide by its discipline. But it should report in detail the management of the case to the Provincial Peasant Association for approval.
- Art. 16—In case the Special Committee of a Branch Office finds any of the Peasant Unions within its jurisdiction ill-managed, or have violated the discipline, it may report the condition in detail to the Provincial Peasant Association and reorganise them after having obtained the approval of the Association.
- Art. 17—Every Branch Office is under obligation to distribute the proclamations of the Provincial Peasant Association to various grades of Peasant Unions within its jurisdiction.
- Art. 18—The Special Committee of every Branch Office may despatch Delegates to participate in meetings of various public or administrative organs to solve the various problems relative to peasants and to proffer proposals for the interests of the peasants.
- Art. 19—The Special Committee of various Branch Offices may rely upon the General Regulations to despatch Delegates or issue Declarations to various general meetings of mass movements.
- Art. 20—The Peasant Unions within the jurisdiction of various Branch Offices should report the affairs concerning their organisation or management to the respective Branch Offices. Having ascertained the facts the respective Branch Offices should transmit the reports to the Provincial Peasant Association for approval and execution.
- Art. 21—In case there is abuse or negligence on the part of the Branch Office, than the Peasant Unions under it may gather evidence and report it to the Provincial Peasant Association.

Before a verdict is passed on such an accusation, the Peasant Unions should still obey the instructions of the Branch Office accused.

- Art. 22—Every Branch Office should prepare and submit a budget of its expenditures to the Provincial Peasant Association for approval and appropriation.

PART IV—BYE-LAWS.

Art. 23—If any defect is found in the Regulations, the Provincial Peasant Association may at any time make amendments.

Art. 24—The Regulations shall be in force from the day of their publication.

(February 1926.)

3. ORGANISATION PROCEDURE OF A PEASANT UNION.

Art. 1—In organising a Peasant Union efforts should be made to induce every peasant to understand the object and the interests of the Peasant Union. Hence propaganda work should be done before starting the organisation.

Art. 2—When propaganda has been spread and the peasants of the locality are willing to enrol in a Peasant Union, then those who have promised to enrol shall be brought together in a meeting for the purpose of receiving further propaganda. At this time an Arrangement Committee of the respective village Peasant Unions should be formed, or simultaneously elected.

Art. 3—The Arrangement Committee having been elected, then the report blank prepared by the Provincial Peasant Association should be read before the peasants in a gathering. Their attention should be directed towards every item and they should be instructed to fill in the blank minutely. After the blank form has been filled in, it shall be submitted in the name of the Arrangement Committee to the Provincial Peasant Association enclosing in it the membership list, the members' applications together with a petition. (If there is a District or Sectional Peasant Union in the district where the village is located, these statements should be transmitted through these organs.)

Art. 4—Upon receipt of the said petition and statements, the Provincial Peasant's Association will consider them, and if it sees any irregularities it shall point them out. The said village Peasant Union cannot then be formally established until all the irregularities are settled.

(February 1926.)

II—Decisions of the Conferences Regarding the General Affairs of the Peasant Union.

1. DECISIONS OF THE 1ST ALL-KWANGTUNG PEASANTS' CONFERENCE CONCERNING THE FUTURE ACTION AND OBJECT OF THE KWANGTUNG PEASANTS' ASSOCIATION.

During the past year we, farmers, under the rule of the Revolutionary Government of Kwangtung, have obtained the right to summon at will any meeting or to

establish any union. The farmers of all Kwangtung, after being for a long time under oppressions and harsh treatment of every kind, have seized this opportunity and have arisen to control their own movements. An Association for the peasants of twenty-two districts has been established with more than two hundred thousand members. All classes of peoples have been greatly surprised at the bravery of our endeavours and the rapidity of our movements. From this we can see the Kwangtung farmers are very eager to unite to oppose their oppressors. When inspecting the past events of the Peasant Union in various places, we discover that all have the same aim of opposing their enemies, notwithstanding the success or failure of their movements. At the same time, their enemies—the oppressing class—for the sake of maintaining their present position and privileges, have done their best to oppose us. For a whole year, this struggle between the oppressors and the oppressed has continued throughout all the districts where Peasant Unions have been established. In Kwang Ning, Hua Hsien, Tung Kuan, Pao An, Shun Teh and Fan Yu districts, the oppressors have tried to ruin the peasant organizations. The result of the struggle between the oppressors and the oppressed has been in favour of the oppressors; this is due to their strength and wealth, for they have bribed the local officials and soldiers, gathered up all the bandits and vagabonds and the ignorant villagers, and attacked young organisations of the peasants. These organisations were so young that their members had no clear understanding of them and their united force was consequently not strong enough to resist their opponents' attacks. The aim of their assailants is to crush the rising movements of the peasants and permanently to enslave them. Their opponents—the farmers have remained silent so long under the oppression of the autocrats and militarists that they do not want now to neglect their chance of rising up by means of organisation. Hence they fight bravely and enthusiastically for their own organisations which their oppressors unite together to attack. During the past year numerous farmers were murdered or imprisoned for some innocent cause by the landlords and badly-behaved gentry who are hostile to this rising movement. Lam Po-pun of Fan Yu, Wong Fook-sam of Hua Hsien, Li Hoi of Tung Kuan, and twelve members of the Kwang Ning Peasant Union were killed by the landlords, and more than twenty peasants of the Li Kou Village were massacred by Li Fu-lin's troops.

Those who were massacred and killed were leaders of the peasants and their untimely deaths hindered the progress of their organisations and caused the failure of their attempts. In order to make the members clearly understand the aim and meaning of their union, to give systematic management to their unions and to solidify their organisations with the purpose of strengthening their struggling force, the Association must correct and make manifest the mistakes and faults which the members have previously committed

(1) The success or failure of the emancipation of the peasants depends upon the possession or lack of their own strength. If they think they can rely upon political help and neglect their own force they are mistaken. What is their own strength? Their own strength lies in their solid unification, in their invincible organisation, and in their continuous training. If they can instill the same aim in all the members, work for the same end, concentrate their forces in a battle for the emancipation of the class, they may begin to talk with assurance about emancipation. Unfortunately many of them have not understood this and have relied merely upon the strength of the Kuomintang Government. When something unexpected has happened, they have reported the case to the government and asked the government to settle it for them. When nothing in particular happened, they paid no heed to their Unions and Associations; when they succeeded, they claimed the merit for themselves; when they failed, they put their blame upon the government. They thought that, since the government had declared their intention of protecting their organisation, their Unions and Associations belonged to the Government. They looked upon their Union as one of the bodies established by the Government. This attitude of mind should be altered. If it continues the Association and the branch unions of the peasants will be endangered. This attitude is unsound, because with it, there can be no progress of the Union and also it will probably be cancelled when there is some change within the political circle. Moreover, if the Union movements depend upon the assistance of the Government the peasants of the various regions suspect the Union of being one of the Government bodies and consequently dare not join it. Thus the force of the Union is lessened.

(2) Another danger to the Union is the reliance of the members upon its managers. Some members tend to neglect their own duties and put everything up to the managers of the Union. They do no work themselves but rely upon their leaders and the managers of their Associations. When their leaders and managers do something which is unsatisfactory to them, they blame them. This is wrong and we must realise it. Although we should be obedient to and respect our leaders we must also be ourselves responsible for the overseeing and inspection of the actions of our leaders. If the Union is not founded upon the co-operation of all the members, it will soon become a club of a few persons. Thus the Union not only loses its independent nature but also may be used by the wicked members as a means for the advancement of their own interests. The Union may also be utilized by outside people to serve their selfish ends.

(3) Without taking into account the relative strength of our comrades and our enemies, some of our members, over-estimating the strength of the Union and our organisation, may attempt to release us from our distresses before the proper time. They might make some demands which it would be impossible to grant. This

would be an incentive for our opponents to concentrate their forces, a very dangerous thing for us. They could easily organize and we, with our present strength, could scarcely oppose them with success. And so we must urge those who are just beginning their organization not to make too urgent demands at first for rent-reduction, for that may lead to the ruin of our Unions. Let us properly meditate the cost of every action we propose to make. Let us be certain of our strength and liabilities before we go ahead.

(4) At the present time when various groups of the people are uniting in movements for the achievement of National Emancipation, we must also enlarge and extend our forces. We should unite all the farmers, not only the hired farmers but also those farmers who both possess and lease land, the farmers who lease their fields from the landlords and the farmers who cultivate their own land. In this way our force is increased and at the same time the strength of our enemies decreased. At the present time many of our Unions neglect the farmers who cultivate their own lands and those who both possess and lease fields so that these two groups are enlisted on the side of the landlords to oppose us. We must class these groups with the small merchants and capitalists and consider them in a different category from that of our real enemies.

(5) During the past year, due to the continuous attacks of the treacherous gentry and local bandits, our propaganda work has been neglected. It is true some of our members have had the opportunity of training their comrades, but not knowing how to utilize this opportunity it has passed away from them. This has happened because they have not understood the function of the Union. It is their headquarters. By utilizing its resources other members are trained to take their places on respective councils.

In the past many of the meetings of the executive committees of the Union and those of the general members have not been conducted according to the regulations. Consequently many of the members of the Union although enthusiastic at first, have become indifferent members. As a result the Peasant Union has become an empty organisation. Hereafter we should endeavour regularly to hold various kinds of meetings and pay special attention to the work of spreading propaganda and training of new members.

(6) In order to bring about a close connection between the officers and members of the Union, monthly subscriptions for the support of the Union should be collected. If each member pays his subscription monthly a stable financial basis for the Union will be established. In the past many of our Branch Unions have had no subscription fee while others have collected their subscriptions yearly. If each member is made to pay a monthly fee, the importance of the council will be so

strongly brought to his mind that he will be unable to forget it as many members in the past have done. Because as monthly subscription from each member establishes a sound financial basis for the Union and because it reminds each member of his individual duty to the Union, we strongly hope that all our Branch Unions will adopt this method.

(7) A Peasant Union is a whole, unified organisation; therefore all its policies and objects must also be unified. But whether its policies may be actually practised or not depend upon the careful inspection of the position and condition of its various branches at different places. Hence, in order to establish a systematic, solidified organisation, care must be taken by the Branch Unions to receive the reports from the General Association and circulate them to the members by the branch councils. At present, the members of some District Unions do not know how many Village Unions are under the control of their own Union and also have not ascertained the exact number of members belonging to that council. If they are ignorant of such things, how can they control their movements in the Union? Therefore we, the members of the General Association, urge the Branch Unions to take notice of such things.

(8) The Peasant Union is the Headquarters of the peasants in their work of opposing their oppressors; and the members of the Union, although not all of them belong to the peasant class, are only those who are comparatively more advanced than those who have not joined this Association. The actions of the Union are at the same time advantageous to the Union and to the other farmers. What the Union seeks to do is to add to privileges and profits of the peasants. What the Union is hostile to is the enemies of the peasants. The Union is a representative body of the peasants; it is the leading army of the peasants, guiding them in the struggle for their own profits. No distinction is made among the Union members as to what village, what district, what province, or even what country any member belongs. All peasants regardless of race and sex have the same status under the Union. Therefore we must clearly realize that the Peasant Union is a representative body of the peasants, established for the purpose of increasing the profits of farmers regardless of family, village, division, district, province or country. Hence the members of the Union are not allowed to argue as to the differences of villages or districts etc., and councils are not allowed to be established for the purpose of enlarging one's force to oppose the peasants of other neighbouring villages.

(9) The ancient Farmers' Associations or Farming Affairs Unions are bodies organised and managed by the local gentry, and their nature and actions are therefore vastly different from those of our Peasant Union. But if any of those bodies has been founded by real farmers and asks to join our Unions, we may accept them and reorganise them according to our formulated regulations.

(May, 1925).

2. DECISIONS OF THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE E. C. OF THE PROVINCIAL
PEASANT ASSOCIATION REGARDING THE GENERAL AFFAIRS
OF THE ASSOCIATION.

(1) The affairs of this association have been enlarged after the expansion of the peasant movement in the various districts and the unification of Kwangtung. For the purpose of making this association the center of the peasant movement in the whole province and leading the peasants into the economic and political struggle with the best systematic organisation, a complete arrangement is considered absolutely necessary. Henceforth strenuous efforts must be exerted particularly after a careful study of the practical conditions because the past activities have revealed some defects in arrangement even though they are satisfactory.

(2) As a rule, preparations must first be made in order to deal with a certain matter. We know definitely who our enemies are, we must diligently observe their general condition so as to avoid any failure in the period of the struggle. This is a very important, practical work. Unfortunately in the past we have not paid any attention to it and as a result are not only ignorant of the tendency and condition of the enemies but also of ourselves. This is a mistake which we should strive strenuously to correct.

(3) Because we have neglected this work of observation, we lack a precise collection of statistics. Our measures should be practical rather than theoretical. In order to make them practical we must deduce some general principle of action and this is impossible without proper statistics. Because no measure can be devised without statistics, and because no sensible action can be put forth without such a measure, this general convention has realized that the matter of statistics should receive fundamental attention.

(4) Although the general principle of the organisation of a Peasant Union has been given under the Regulations of our organisation, the procedure of the organisation of a Peasant Union has not yet been announced. In consequence many misunderstandings prevail in the various districts. The following are the most common misunderstandings:

- (a) Regulation of the number of members.—As a rule, in the regulations it is stated that thirty members in a certain village may organise for themselves a village union, some one misunderstands that a village union may be organized with only thirty members who join the union even if there are thousands of residents in that village. Such a misunderstanding is, of course, absurd.
- (b) Regulation of the villages.—As a rule, in the regulations it is stated that a Division Peasant Union may be organised with three Village Peasant

Unions, the word, "Division," signifies simply the administrative division, i.e., one and only one Division Peasant Union is organised with at least three Village Peasant Unions within a certain administrative division under the sanction of the Provincial Peasant Association, regardless of how many Village Peasant Unions in that division.

- (c) The misunderstanding of the words "Special Division." Some think that the words "Special Division" signify that this kind of unions are only under the Provincial Peasant Association, but not the District Peasant Association. In order to eliminate such a misunderstanding, the procedure of the organisation of the Peasant Unions must be instantly regulated and announcement made of the change.

(5) For propaganda, this Association has issued "A Ten-day Plowshare," and printed four kinds of booklets and twelve kinds of pictures, and yet they are too difficult for the peasants to read. In order to make known to the peasants who are ignorant of reading the object and the principle of the Peasant Association, a certain kind of pictures, and some pamphlets containing songs must be issued in the shortest possible time.

(6) Our policy is to constantly concentrate on the work of revolution, that the reason why we are working in the peasant movement and organising Peasant Unions is just to lead the peasants to a participation in the revolution. Our policy is like a wheel with the revolution as the hub. The enemies of the peasants such as the gentry, bullies, corrupt officials etc., must be overthrown while the mental deficiencies of the peasants, such as their tendency to individualism, clanism, localism and various kinds of superstitious fears are also considered as an impediment in the way of the success of the revolution and so must likewise be wiped out.

(7) During the past year the Peasant Movement was in its infant stage. The disturbance prevalent in the various districts due to the serious suppression of the counter-revolutionary influence have thus been caused and so we have bent every effort in the establishment of strongholds. At present the tendency is different from that of last year, in that the influence of the enemies is not so violent as previously even though it has not completely disappeared. This may be our opportunity to establish ourselves. But as regards the matter of establishment, a clear understanding must first be made to most of the people, lest our purpose be thwarted. The reason is that the misunderstandings may lead to nonsensical arguments and unexpected impediments. Therefore, propaganda is considered absolutely necessary to the work of establishment. In the rural villages, the movements of cooperation and of proletarian education are the most important of all the works of establishment. The cooperative method of buying and selling, producing and consuming, as we know, is most beneficial to the

peasants, and yet its advantages and the methods of its organisation must first be understood by the peasants before organisation is able to proceed. The same situation holds true in regard to proletarian education. It is hoped that for the achievement of rural cooperation and rural education, and that within the shortest possible period, the work of propaganda will first be well done.

(8) In order to get in closer touch with the peasants, this association will open a "Peasant Reception Room" in the Provincial Peasant Association. This association will bear the responsibility of the reception, if the peasants of the various districts will come to report or take the seals, flags or the various other materials with a letter of recommendation from their local special delegates or their local Peasant Unions. The club, library and the various other requisite arrangements will also be arranged.

(9) In order to instill a corresponding knowledge of military tactics, agriculture, and politics in the peasants, the special training classes of the peasants will be opened if possible, i.e., the notification and calling together of the members of the Peasant Unions, especially the enthusiastic peasant youths, for special training which is to last for several terms. Such a matter is specially important during the period of the peasants' participation in the revolution. Although the special members have propagated our ideas to a certain extent, the peasants do not as yet clearly understand the particular principles of revolution and hope to obtain the object of the revolution within a very short time. This has led the bold, reliable members to be bolshevik, while the weak, unreliable members have been too negligent in the affairs of the association. It is therefore considered advisable to start these training classes as a means of removing these two defects. For the sake of achieving the revolution and fulfilling the purpose of this association, this idea must be carried out despite the cost.

(10) We have seen in the various districts how the gentry join the Kuomintang to boycott the slogans of the Peasant Unions and to cover up their movements under the protection which the Kuomintang affords them. We must not sit idly by and allow this condition to continue. We must organise the genuine Kuomintang in such a manner that these bogus members will be expelled, thus frustrating their attempt to use the Party merely for their own protection. We must realize more and more in the future that the organisation of Party organisations in the rural districts is one of the most important divisions of the association's work.

March 1926.

3. RESOLUTION OF THE 2ND ALL-KWANGTUNG PEASANTS' CONFERENCE REGARDING THE GENERAL REPORT ON THE AFFAIRS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

(1) Since its inauguration, the Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Association has, during the last year, extended its organisational works

from twenty-one to sixty-six districts with an increase in the number of its members from 200,000 to 620,000. The enlargement of its propaganda work and the unification of the internal affairs of the Association has been effected in the Western and Northern Provinces. The position of the Association has gradually been lifted higher and higher along with the revolutionary current. It has, on the whole, established a firm foundation amongst the immense masses of peasants. Towards these matters, this 2nd All-Kwangtung Delegates' Conference is glad to show its satisfaction. Furthermore, during the occurrence of various events, such as the Yang and Liu Rebellion, the assassination of Minister Liao Chung-kai, the suppression of the Counter-revolutionists, the "scraping" operation in Tungkiang, and the pacification of the Southern Districts, etc., the Association was able to direct the peasants in actual support of the Nationalist Government and participation in the National Revolution. Again, it has led the peasants strenuously to support the workers in their present anti-imperialistic Canton-Hongkong Strike, thereby bringing about the Union of Workers and Peasants. All the above-mentioned facts may afford proof of the Association's exertion in political work and its revolutionization. Moreover, they can also verify the fact that without the participation of the peasants, the Chinese National Revolution cannot be accomplished. As regards the past work of the Association, the conference recognizes them as successful. With regard to its future works, the conference advises it to act according to its original principle and to exert more effort so as to attain final success.

(2) Nevertheless, upon examination of its work carried out during the last year, the following defects regarding its organisation, policy, and other affairs were found:—

- (a) Incompetency of organisation.
- (b) Lack of training of the members.
- (c) Imperfectness of preparation for investigation and propaganda work.
- (d) Looseness of the connection between the branches of various grades.
- (e) Failure of the branches of various grades to convoke meetings and submit reports according to the formulated regulations.
- (f) The members' disregard of the situation from an objective point of view, and their faulty actions due to their political environment.
- (g) Too much reliance upon the Government and consequent loss of self-confidence.
- (h) Adherence of members to their clannish system, localism and individualism in their actions.
- (i) The members' cold attitude towards the Association.
- (j) The application of the power of the Association in such a way as to raise

misunderstandings on the part of the Government or stir up ill-feeling on the part of the common citizens, or even afford excuses to its enemies for attacking and fabricating rumours about the association.

- (k) Issuance by members without permission from their senior officers, of circulars or reports containing false information.

The above are defects of the association regarding its organisation, policy and other affairs. As these defects prevent the members of the association from being closely united with one another, cause the common people to be dissatisfied with the association and afford excuses to its enemies for attacking and doing harm to it, this conference considers it necessary not only to strenuously develop and enlarge the organisation of the association, but also to try earnestly to avoid the above-mentioned defects and faulty actions. Such must be enforced in order that the association may be made strong enough to contend with its enemies, and the emancipation of its members from the manifold oppressions of the native bullies, the depraved scholar-officials, the corrupt, avaricious officials, the landlords, the militarists and the imperialists be realized.

(3) Since the collection by the Association of fees from its members will have no effect upon the income of the Government, every member of the organisation must pay his monthly fee to the organisation according to the regulations of the organ. Furthermore, in order to cause the members to enter into closer connection with their association the collection of funds for the organisation is deemed especially necessary. For, if all members of the association pay their monthly fees regularly, not only will there be no more fear of the lack of association's funds but it will also enable the members to be closely affiliated with their organisation and always be interested in its affairs. For this reason, no matter how well the association may be supplied with funds, it is not justifiable for its officers to neglect the collection of fees from its members on the ground that the matter is simply a troublesome and trifling one. If the collection of fees from the members be actually neglected, then the members will gradually forget their Association which would then become an empty organ or would be made use of by some wicked persons for conducting their selfish and evil actions, thus exposing its future to great dangers.

(4) In their activities and movements conducted in the past year, the Peasant Corps have proved themselves to be organisations which not only were capable of maintaining peace and order in various regions and fulfilling their duty of protecting the peasants, but also has exerted strenuous efforts in upholding the Nationalist Government and assisting in the Strike. The most important regulations regarding the organisation of the Peasant Corps are :

(1) Except during the occurrence of hostilities, the members of the corps shall not be allowed to prepare themselves for fighting. (2) None other than the mem-

bers of the Peasant Associations shall be allowed to serve in the corps. (3) The Peasant Corps shall be under the direct control of the Peasant Associations. (4) In ordinary times they should be divided into two sections, the Precautionary and the Volunteer Corps, and special attention should be paid to the training of their members. Hereafter, in organising those corps, the above-mentioned rules should also be adhered to.

(5) The aim of the Kuomintang is to achieve the Chinese National Revolution, while that of the Peasant Association which is an organisation of the masses lies in its struggle for the emancipation of the peasant class. Now since the emancipation of the peasants can be realized only after the National Revolution has been accomplished, both the Kuomintang and the Peasant Association have similar and corresponding interests, although their organisations differ from each other in form and in nature. Ever since the completion of the Eastern and Southern Expeditions and the unification of Kwangtung Province, all the native bullies, depraved gentry and other reactionaries, bereft of the support which they formerly depended upon, have turned toward the Kuomintang and made use of its name to carry out their selfish and wicked ends. They have even tried to make the Kuomintang Branches which they have joined to oppose the Peasant Associations. This is not only unfavourable to the Party but is also very disadvantageous to the Peasant Association. In view of this, the Conference has resolved that in those regions where Peasant Associations have been established, work shall also be carried out for the development of the organisation of the Kuomintang Branches there, so as to increase the strength of the Party and to enable it to build a firm foundation amongst the masses.

(6) Because the procedure for the organisation of Peasant Associations has not been formally fixed, misunderstandings have arisen in the organisation of those bodies. Although regulations governing the organisation of branch associations are contained in the rules for the Kwangtung Peasant Association, the Conference recognizes the procedure for organisation, passed at the Extended Session held some time ago and later promulgated as right and suitable. Hence, in organising the peasant associations of various grades hereafter, the members must conduct their work according to this procedure. Furthermore, special attention should be drawn to the following points: (1) In speaking of "divisions," we are referring to the executive divisions of various districts. In case any division is found embracing a very big area, it may be sub-divided into several subdivisions. (2) The "Special Division" should be immediately abolished. (3) More officers should be instituted into peasant associations of various grades. (4) Every village association must have the majority of the peasants of its village enrol as its members. (5) Every division association must have the peasants of at least one-third of all the villages of the division under its control. In case of any particular circumstance, exception may be allowed by the Provincial Association. As regards the Affairs Transacting

Departments (or Branch Offices) of the Association in various places, they were originally established for the purpose of facilitating the directing work of the Association and enabling the various branches to be closely related to one another and to become more active in conducting their organisation and other work. Several months have passed since the establishment of that body and the results have been satisfactory. Therefore we should continue to support and maintain those offices.

(7) Discipline is very important in the Peasant Association, because any well-organized and revolutionary organ must needs have rigid discipline. The more rigid the discipline of a body is, the stronger its unity will be. Not only the Peasant Union must needs have discipline, but also its members must try to supervise and criticize each other's actions, so as to consolidate the organisation. Hereafter any member of the association who either infringes the rules of the organ, or disobeys the resolutions of the general conferences, or refuses to exercise the orders of the association of the highest grade, should be punished according to the formulated rules.

(8) As the affairs of this Association have been extended on account of the unification of the province and the development of the peasant movement in various places, its work will become heavier and more difficult to conduct. The aim of the association is primarily to achieve a complete emancipation of the peasants. But prior to the attainment of its aim, it must pass several different stages. For instance, the condition of the association this year is quite different from that at the time of its inauguration last year. At different stages, the association should adopt different methods for strengthening its influence, so as to meet the special demands at different periods. For this purpose, the conference makes the resolution that the following measures should be adopted by the association now:—

- (a) It must be clearly understood that the Peasant Association is an organisation of the peasants and that whether the peasant's emancipation can be achieved or not depends entirely upon whether the peasants themselves are capable of conducting their movements or not.
- (b) Again, it must be realized that the organisation of the Peasant Association is a systematic, continual movement of the whole country and even of the world.
- (c) The Peasant Association must struggle for a long time and meet with many failures before it can acquire its final success. It is quite incorrect to say that all the sufferings of the peasants can be removed as soon as their associations are established. Consequently the Peasant Associations must always be prepared for struggle and sacrifice.

- (d) Besides taking the poor peasants as the central force in its struggle, (for those who suffer the most are usually more revolutionary) the Peasant Association must also join with the independent farmers, the educational class and the petty merchants of the rural villages. Moreover, it may also cooperate with the petty landlords. For, we are still in the period of National Revolution, and all those who are opposing the imperialists and the militarists, may unite together and cooperate with each other. It is therefore very necessary for the Peasant Association to concentrate the forces of various classes on the anti-imperialistic front and to direct them to exert themselves in various struggles.
- (e) While the members of the whole province must be unanimous in establishing the fundamental policies and advocacies, methods, varying with time and place, must be adopted in dealing with matters in the various regions. As regards those slogans or claims which cannot be realized at present on account of the lack of available opportunities, the Peasant Association should try its best to avoid setting them forth. For to put forth such slogans or demands would, instead of contributing to our activity or movement, simply urge our enemies—the reactionary forces—to unite together and cooperate with each other in launching attacks upon the Peasant Association. Since all the reactionary forces are still closely joined in interest and capable of joining more closely and the organisation of the Peasant Association is still in an unsound condition, rash attempts will simply result in some disadvantages on the part of the association. Consequently, all slogans and demands set forth by the Peasant Association must correspond with the epochal and circumstantial requirements of the peasants and must be such as the peasants are able to realize. Furthermore, before putting forth the slogans and demands, the Peasant Association must carry out propaganda and make preparations for them.
- (f) Among the inhabitants of a rural village, about half are women and they suffer even more than the male peasants. But as yet only a few female villagers have joined the Peasant Associations. Consequently the woman members of the associations, being so small in number, cannot represent in the associations all the female peasants in the associations, all the female peasants in the rural villages. From the experiences during the last year it has been demonstrated that the women's attitude and actions has a great effect upon the Peasant Associations, for they render much assistance to the Peasant Organisations when they support them, but inflict great losses upon them when they oppose them. For these reasons, the Peasant Association should ask its members to recommend that their wives and daughters join the

association with the exemption of the entrance fees, and a reduction of their monthly fees to the smallest possible minimum.

- (g) The Peasant Association should exert strenuous efforts in carrying out mental propaganda and should establish Peasant Schools for the education of the children and relations of the members.
- (h) During the past year, the first for the Peasant Movement, the reactionary forces have violently oppressed our comrades. Troubles have arisen in various places, and consequently the Peasant Association has been unable and also has had no time to carry out constructive work. But now the condition is quite different. Although the enemies are still watching for opportunities to attack our comrades, and they are always making attempts to oppress the peasants, yet they are unable to act as violently as before. On account of this, the opportunities for conducting constructive work are much greater. Now the most important task to be carried out in the rural villages is the organisation of cooperative societies, such as the confidential, purchase, production and sales cooperative societies, which effect the livelihood of the peasants. The division or Village Peasant Union should therefore institute a Cooperative Organ Department to take charge of this work.
- (i) Since the commencement of the Canton-Hongkong Strike, the union of the workers and the peasants has not been a slogan only, but has become a fact. For, the peasants of various places have all risen up and assisted the Strike Pickets in blockading Hongkong and Macao. Nevertheless, the handicrafts and other workers in the rural villages and the small towns have still not united very closely with the strikers. Hence, hereafter they should be induced to enter into intimate connection with the strikers, and, furthermore, the allied workers and peasants should also cooperate with the Merchants and Students, so as to struggle for the interests common to the four classes, and to overthrow their common enemies.

(May 1926)

4. DECISIONS REGARDING THE GENERAL AFFAIRS OF THE SIX BRANCH OFFICES OF THE PROVINCIAL PEASANT ASSOCIATION.

(Decisions passed at the Enlarged Session of the Executive Committee of the Provincial Peasant Association. March 1926.)

A. Decisions on the Chao Chow, Mei Hsien, Hai Feng and Lu Feng B. O.s.

(1) The peasant movement in Chao Chow, Mei Hsien, Hai Feng and Lu Feng has been, comparatively speaking, more progressive in its expansion. In the various

stages of the Eastern Expedition, the peasants there have practically taken part in the National Revolution against Militarism and Imperialism. Moreover many of them were killed by the Militarists in the name of supporting the Nationalist Government and the Party Armies. Those martyrs in Wu Hua, Hai Feng, Lu Feng, etc. total over five hundred. Numerous rural houses were also fired or plundered. In view of this, it may easily be seen that the struggle of the peasants in the revolution has occupied a very important position. The offices at Chao Chow, Mei Hsien, Hai Feng must concentrate upon strict organisation and expansion with the aid of good discipline and training. With these they will lead the peasants to the front in the struggle against Imperialism, and simultaneously awaken the revolutionary masses of the various classes to cooperate with the peasants in overthrowing Imperialism and prevent the rise of Militarism.

(2) During this period of negative suppression, the Peasant Unions have been weakened because the landlords, gentry, bullies, disbanded military officers and officials have dishonestly joined the Peasant Unions. The offices of Chao Chow, Mei Hsien, Hai Feng and Lu Feng must clear away these internal reactionary factors by strictly enforcing the rules. Furthermore the various grades of the Peasant Unions must unite in a more intimate relationship with this office which will direct their activities.

(3) The office of Chao Chow, Mei Hsien, Hai Feng and Lu Feng must direct the peasants there to abolish the maltreatment of the landlords and the sundry inconvenient taxes and place the burden of taxation on the wealthy. In order to lessen the disasters of the peasants and elevate its position, the movement for proletarian education and that of the co-operative society in the rural districts must receive special attention.

(4) The peasant movement in the various districts of Chao Chow, Mei Hsien, Hai Feng and Lu Feng should note the following points:—

1. The various grades of the Peasant Unions must form an intimate relationship with the office of Chao Chow, Mei Hsien, Hai Feng and Lu Feng; and they must be also directed to present as many detailed reports in writing as possible.
2. The Office must concentrate the peasant movement of the various districts in a certain territory for a systematic, regulated, sound and general expansion.
3. Care must be taken to lead the peasants into the struggle. Political force should not be used to urge them to join the unions.
4. Attention must be paid to the organisation of the peasant youths, such as clubs and so forth, in order to revolutionize them and form the reserves for the rural organisation.

5. The women peasants who are found generally in Mei Hsien, Hsing Ning, Tai Po etc. should receive the attention of the movement of women peasants, i.e., they should be directed to join the peasant unions and enter the political and economic struggle.
6. The corrupt factors as the gentry and landlords, who dishonestly join the Peasant Unions to destroy them must be cleared away.
7. The peasants must be encouraged to join the Kuomintang after gaining the knowledge of the meaning of Nationalism and be urged to present a unified revolutionary front so as to lay the foundation of the Chinese National Revolution.
8. Since Chao Chow, Mei Hsien, Hai Feng and Lu Feng are so close to Hongkong, the people there must exert strenuous efforts in supporting the Canton-Hongkong General Strike so as to strictly blockade Hongkong. Attention must be paid to the general propaganda of anti-imperialism, especially a full understanding of the invasion of the British Hongkong imperialism by the masses.
9. During the counter-attack of Tungkiang by rebel Chen Chiung-ming last winter there were over five hundred peasants killed by the rebel troops because of their support of the Nationalist Government, the Kuomintang and the Peasant Association. It was a great loss to us. Tungkiang has been captured for a long time but the rebels, the illegal landlords, gentry and bullies, who were the motivators in the massacre of the peasants, escape punishment. Furthermore the rebels in Lu Feng have gone far in secretly forming armed societies for the purpose of destroying the Peasant Unions and besides have increased the rents and suspended the hiring of lands. In order to maintain peace in the rural districts at the base of National Revolution, we must ask the Government to strictly punish them, stop the development of their counter-revolutionary force, and help in the expansion of the mass force.
10. Henceforth attention must be paid to the organisations in Tai Po, Kao Ling and Ping Hsien in order to promote the eastward expansion of the Peasant Unions in China, as Chao Chow and Swatow are close to the boundaries of Fukien and Kiangsi.

B. Resolution Regarding Affairs of the Wei Chow Branch Office.

After reports on Weichow affairs were given at the Conference, the following resolutions were passed:—

1. Weichow has long been occupied as the base of the militarists. Although at the present time the militaristic occupants of the region have been overthrown,

there are still many depraved gentry, bullies, unoccupied politicians and disbanded soldiers in that region who plan to succeed the former tyrants. The possibility is great that the militarists may revive and occupy and harm the place. Hence it is necessary for us strictly and universally to organise the peasants of various villages of the region, and at the same time to unite the various oppressed classes and assist them in their organisations, so that the revolutionisation of all the people may quickly be realized and the militarists may in their entirety be cleared out.

2. Since the District Peasant Association of Wei Yang has been inaugurated, it is necessary to regulate its internal conditions so as to consolidate its organisation. Its force must also be extended toward the outside, so that it may be a leading organ of the various East River Districts.

3. At present the peasants of the districts of Ho Yuan, Po Lo, Tzu Chin and Lung Chuan have also risen up to organise themselves. We therefore should try our best to induce them to come under the direction of the Wei Chow Affairs Transacting Department of our Association, so that it may be directly controlled by the Provincial Peasant Association.

4. The Wei Chow Office should enter into close contact with the various District Peasant Associations to direct and supervise their work.

5. The Office should direct and order the various Division and Village Unions to submit reports, at least once a month, to the Office, on the conditions of various place—such as political, economic and educational work, affairs of their respective unions, etc.—so that the Office may transmit those reports to the Provincial Peasant Association which will then form schemes as to how to deal with various matters.

6. In those villages where Peasant Unions have been organised, those unions should immediately devise measures for the establishment of various schools and reading-rooms for the benefit of the peasants, and for the printing of placards encouraging the peasants to participate in the revolution. Attention should also be paid to the economic development of the peasants and the promotion of movements for cooperative business.

7. In order to strengthen the Self-Defence Force of various villages, it is necessary for the Branch Office to join the various villages so as to enforce the policy of associated defence.

8. The regions to the south of Wei Yang, being on the sea coast, are proximate to Hongkong. For this reason the Branch Office should pay more attention to the villages in that locality, such as Ping Hoi, Fan Wo Kong, Num San, Yim Cho Pui, Ha Chung, Yo Tau, Lung Kong, etc., and induce the peasants there to join the Peasant Associations immediately, and train them well so as to form a strong front against imperialism.

9. The Branch Office should establish various clubs for the youth with the intention of inducing the young peasants to join the National Revolutionary Movement. At the same time, the workers of various guilds should also be asked to join those clubs so that a close relation may be created between the Workers and Peasants.

10. Outside of a small number of wicked merchants, who are closely related to the imperialists, most of the merchants of Wei Chow have no ill-feeling towards the Peasant Associations. Hence the Wei Chow Office should direct the comrades of various districts who have undertaken to carry on the peasant movement, to pay attention to the work of causing the small merchants to show sympathy with the Peasant Associations.

11. Owing to the lack of talented members of the Peasant Unions of various grades, it is rather hard for the propaganda work to be carried out satisfactorily. Consequently attention must be drawn to the students by the Office which should devise measures of making the students of various places show their sympathy with the Peasant Movement. Moreover, the Office should also try its best to induce the students to establish their own organisations, to join the National Revolutionary Movement and to cooperate with the other comrades in struggling for the accomplishment of National Revolution.

C. Resolution Regarding Affairs of the North River Districts Branch Office.

After reports on the affairs of the North River Districts were given at the Conference, the following resolutions were passed:—

I—On Political Affairs.

(1) The magistrates of many districts do not sincerely protect the Peasant Unions. They also do not obey the resolutions of the 2nd Kuomintang Delegates' Conference of All-China, which provided that at all times the Party should struggle strenuously for the protection and interests of the peasants. For the peasants are striving for the consolidation and development of their own class, and they are struggling not only for their own welfare, but also for the development of the Chinese Revolution.

(2) Since the bullies, depraved gentry, and militiamen of various districts are even devising new measures to violate openly or secretly the organisation and movements of the Peasant Associations, therefore it is necessary to guard against their wicked plots on the one hand, and to request the Government to dissolve the militia and other armed bodies which are oppressing the peasants—such as the Corps for Protection of Merchants of Ying Teh District, etc.—on the other hand, to fulfil the resolutions concerning political affairs in connection with the peasants passed at the 2nd Kuomintang Delegates' Conference of All-China.

(3) In the towns and villages of the North River Districts, Christianity—another tool of the imperialists—is diffused. Hence that Branch Office should propagate strenuously among the peasants the information of the past events in which the imperialists have made use of Christianity to launch their aggression upon us. They should also lead the peasants to carry out anti-Christian work first and then to participate in other anti-Imperialistic movements.

II—On Economic Affairs.

(1) The Government should be requested strictly to prohibit the adoption of that bad custom in Jen Hua District, by which the peasants, when repaying their debts, must give their creditors certain quantities of grain instead of money, for the grain is worth much more than the original amount of money borrowed.

(2) Measures should be devised for the complete abolition of the harsh regulations governing the peasants' renting fields from the landlords, according to which a tenant peasant, before commencing to cultivate the land rented from the landlord, should give a certain sum of money to his landlord as deposit, and he, when paying his rent to his landlord annually, should offer some extra presents to the field owner, such as hens, ducks, etc.

(3) The Government should be requested to fix a maximum rate of interest for loans.

(4) The Office should make investigations of the untilled lands and request the Government to distribute them to the poor peasants for cultivation.

(5) The Government should be requested immediately to issue a writ prohibiting all sorts of gambling now prevalent in various regions of the North River Districts.

(6) In Lo Chang District it was found that some wealthy men refused to lend money or grain to the peasants when they were asked to do so. Hence it is necessary to devise measures for the establishment, in various districts, of banks for the peasants.

III—On Educational Affairs.

(1) In every district a certain amount should be appropriated from the public funds for the establishment of free schools in various villages.

(2) Public libraries and reading rooms should be established in the important towns and villages of various districts.

IV—On Affairs Regarding Organisation.

(1) The bad characters in the Peasant Unions should be cleared out. The conditions of the Peasant Unions of various grades should be set in order, so that

they may become well disciplined, fully developed organs. At the same time efforts should be exerted to make the various District Peasant Unions come under the direction of the Branch Office and consequently to be directly controlled by the Provincial Association.

(2) The organisation of the Chiu Kiang District Peasant Union is too loose and should be changed immediately. Again, the executive committee of that association are divided in their opinions, and consequently it is necessary that a reelection of the committee be held in the near future.

(3) The district of Liu Yuen is an important region among the various North River Districts. Therefore it is necessary hereafter to despatch delegates to that place to work for the development of the Peasant Association of that district.

(4) The regions along the North River are important highways for communication between Kwangtung and Hunan, and the Yueh-Han Railway (Canton-Hankow) has been constructed to go through the region from Canton to Shao Kuan. On account of this, the Branch Office should pay special attention to the organisations of the peasants of the Nan Hsiung and Lo Chang Districts and of those villages along the Yueh-han Railway so that the peasant movement may be extended from there up to, and into Hunan Province. In this way the National Revolutionary Force may be stretched northward.

(5) Special attention should be paid to the propaganda for the lower class people, so that our teachings may be thoroughly understood by the masses of various grades.

(6) The peasants should be directed strenuously to participate in the various movements for National Emancipation, and to carry out various economic struggles.

(7) The Branch Office should direct and urge the various District Peasant Unions to exert strenuous efforts in propagating to the masses the importance of the convocation of the National Conference. The Branch Office should also unite the various classes and organize in the shortest time possible an "Association for the Hastening of the National Conference."

(8) The Branch Office should order the various District Peasant Unions to convoke general representatives' meetings or officers' meetings at all times, so as to train talented members for the unions on the one hand, and to examine the actual force of the unions on the other.

VI.—Regarding Young Peasants

(1) The various District Peasant Unions should make an investigation of the actual number of young peasants in each district and their living conditions.

(2) The Peasant Unions of various grades of different places should establish clubs for young peasants, and educational organs for the youth in their respective regions.

VII.—Regarding Woman Peasants.

(1) Measures should be devised to induce the woman peasants to join the Peasant Unions and to cooperate with the male peasants in various struggles.

(2) The organisation of the Women Emancipation League should be extended to various districts and villages.

VIII.—Regarding External Movements.

With regard to the workers, merchants, students and various other classes besides the peasants, the Branch Office should assist them to unite and organise themselves, and also should make them cooperate with the peasants. Measures should be devised by the Branch Office to enter into close contact with those bodies such as the Seamen's Union of Lo Chang District and the Student Unions and Labour Unions of Chiu Kiang District, etc. The Department should also carry on propaganda among the members of those bodies and train and direct them so that they will join the revolutionary front.

D. Resolutions Regarding Affairs of the West River Districts Branch Office.

After reports on affairs of the West River Districts were given to the conference, the following resolutions were passed:—

(1) 'It is pleasant to hear that peasants in West River Districts strenuously support the Peasant Unions. In every trouble they boldly marched forward to fight against landlords, and protected and developed the Peasant Unions in as many ways as possible. At present with a view of forming a main force for the revolutionary masses they pay much attention to the movements of Students, Workers, Merchants, Women, etc. But it is a pity to learn that although the Peasant Unions in Kwang Ning District is constantly improving, the interior organisations of Peasant Unions in the West River Districts is still not very strong. The peasants have not availed themselves of the opportunity of the unification of Kwangtung to expand the organisation of peasants in various districts. On the other hand the landlords took this chance and succeeded in unifying themselves, thus strengthening the fighting line of counter-revolutionists. This may in the near future lead to a crisis in the peasant movement in the West River Districts.

(2) Unfortunately the following mistakes have been made in the peasant movement in West River Districts during the last two years:—

- (a.) Because the slogans set forth in the beginning of the peasant movement have been so far in advance of the actual deeds accomplished, the reactionaries have been led to unify themselves in opposition. Furthermore in regard to the uncompromising propaganda, the organisation of Peasant Unions has lessened the significance of the class spirit.
- (b.) The peasants only pay attention to the development of Peasant Unions. They have neglected internal improvements and the ways for training, so their foundation is not very strong because of the lack of a fine organisation.
- (c.) In their struggles against the landlords, the peasants have often found it hard to withstand hardships because they were not sufficiently prepared beforehand and because they had not used propaganda to convert other peasants to their side.
- (d.) The so-called "Supernatural Fighters" in West River Districts are peasants. Because they have not received sufficient propaganda they have not realized that they belong to the suppressed class and so the landlords have taken advantage of them. They have even turned to the landlords and militia for protection. In every case they have stood on the side of landlords against the peasants. What a pity this is!

(3) In order to convert the "Fighters" and enlist them on the side of the Peasant Union, propaganda should be spread amongst them so that they will be able to understand the significance of the class struggle. This will externally expand the organization of the peasants and internally strengthen it. A unification among the Peasant Unions in the West River Districts should be immediately started with the object of fighting against landlords, depraved gentry and bullies. At the same time before the election of the Peasant Union takes place, all matters concerning propaganda should be carefully planned in order to prevent the depraved gentry, bullies, etc, from participating in the election to frustrate the organisation of the Peasant Union. In the districts along the shore of the West River the slogan of the Peasant Association for propaganda is "to recover the right of controlling all the dykes." With a view to unifying the peasants, the slogan of the opposition, viz: the commandeering of coolies, will be set up. In order to support the peasant movement in the West River Districts it is necessary to unify the navigation workers who are unemployed either as peasants or semi-peasant workers. With regard to the important affairs in various districts, it will be worth our while to carefully consider the following schemes:

In Kwang Ning district: The interior of the Peasant Union should be improved and better training should be adopted. The organisation for young peasants should be expanded. The movements for women and for education should be encouraged.

In Kao Yao District: It is necessary to convert the "Supernatural Fighters" to the side of the peasants and it is also important to attend to the women movement.

In Lo Ting District: Attention should be paid to the elevation of the significance of the organisation of the peasant class, so that the peasants may themselves be revolutionized and their idea of compromise be gradually changed.

In Teh Ching District: The peasants' livelihood is very hard. Attention should be paid to improve their economical conditions. Propaganda against miscellaneous taxes and propaganda for a cooperative association should be begun. It is also worth while to pay attention to the improvement of civilization.

In Yu Nan District: It is necessary to unify with students for the sake of supporting the development of the peasant movement.

Besides the above districts, delegates should also be despatched to other districts for purpose of organisation. In this way the peasant movement in the West River District will expand to Kwangsi, and then the National Revolutionary Force may stretch over the western part of China.

E. Measures Regarding the Procedures set forth by the Branch

Office of the Southern Districts.

(1) To propagate and explain the idea of the establishment of this Branch Office to various divisions of different armies in the locality, the Political Department, the Court of the Southern Suppressing Committee, the Pacification and Bandits' Suppressing Committee, Magistrates' Courts in various districts, various Kuomintang and Peasant Associations in different districts and sections.

(2) To hold a meeting by assembling special delegates in various districts and those who participate in the peasant movement. To report and discuss ways and means for the organisation of Peasant Unions in various places.

(3) To investigate the lines of communication in the Southern Districts and to draw up a full comprehensive map.

(4) To investigate the number of administrative divisions in various districts and the number of villages in an administrative division.

(5) To investigate the conditions of the militia and bandits in the Southern Districts. The bandits in the Southern Districts are closely connected with Imperialists and are under the command of the reactionist, Ngai Pong-ping.

(6) To investigate the special conditions in various districts.

(7) To investigate the conditions of civilization, politics and economy of peasants in various districts.

(8) To investigate the various dialects in different districts.

(9) To investigate the attitude of the students, educational class, merchants and workers toward the Peasant Unions.

(10) To investigate the conditions of Peasant Unions in various districts, divisions and villages.

(11) To despatch some special delegates to work in various districts. Those who are fit for a certain work in a certain district will be despatched to that district.

(12) Those districts, viz: Hai Kang, Shui Kai, Hua Hsien, Yang Kiang and Lien Chow, which have already organised Peasant Associations should endeavour to improve themselves in organisation and training.

(13) There is an "Occupation Association" organised by the peasants themselves in opposition to the landlords at Mou Nam (in the vicinity of Kung Kuan) in the district of Mou Ming. Its organisation should be altered into that of a Peasant Union and Mou Mam should be the starting place for the peasant movement in Mou Ming District. Yang Ok and Min Ok villages, in the 5th division of Wu Chuan district, should be the starting point for the peasant movement of Wu Chuan District because the peasants living there feel kindly toward the forming of a Peasant Union.

(14) Besides these concrete schemes, measures for transacting affairs in various districts will be set forth according to the conditions of different districts.

F. Temporary Measures Set for the Branch Office of

Chiung Ngai, Hai Nan Districts.

(1) It has been decided that the Branch Office of Chiung Ngai of the Kwangtung Peasant Association shall be established at Chiung Chow City, the centre of the administration in the various districts of Chiung Chow. Since the communication facilities there are so excellent, the control and supervision of Peasant Unions in various districts will be easily carried out with Kiung Chow as a centre.

(2) A day will be fixed for the inauguration of the Branch Office of Chiung Ngai of the Kwangtung Peasant Association. The past events in the inauguration will be submitted to the Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Association and they will notify all civil and military organs in the locality, Kuomintang divisions in various districts, different associations and Peasant Unions in various districts and divisions.

(3) Among the thirteen districts in Chiung Ngai, eight districts—Ning Shiu, Wan Ming, Ngan Yuan, Lok Wui, Kiung Tung, Ting On, Kiung Shan and Min Cheng—should now be inoculated with the work of propaganda and organisation. In the remaining five districts—Kam Yen, Cheong Hua, Lin Ko and Ching Mai, etc., the self-will of the inhabitants who are combining with Chinese and the natives of "Lai" make the work of carrying out propaganda very hard. Special delegates will be despatched there to propagate when an opportunity comes and when the Peasant Unions in the above eight districts have expanded and developed.

(4) A District Peasant Union has been organised in Wan Nin District and a division and a Village Peasant Union have been organised in Ngai Yuan, Lok Wui and Ning Shui districts. They should expand their organisations and different ways of training should also be chosen for them. In Chiung Tung, Ting An, Chiung Shan and Min Chang districts, which have not yet organised their own Peasant Unions' propaganda work, should immediately be started in order to extend the power of the peasants.

(5) A main conference of the peasant movement will be held by assembling special delegates in various districts and those who give much help to the organisation of Peasant Unions. Reports on conditions of peasants in various districts and reports on the past events of the meeting will be made. Ways and means for the procedure of the peasant movement will be discussed and special delegates who are fit for a certain work in a certain district will be despatched to that district and will work there.

Our further aims are :

(6) To investigate the attitude of the educational class, merchants, workers, students and bandits towards the Peasant Union.

(7) To investigate the conditions and number of members of the Peasant Unions in various districts, divisions and villages.

(8) To investigate the conditions of the militia in various districts and their attitude towards the Peasant Unions.

(9) To investigate the conditions of politics, economy and civilization, in villages of various districts.

(10) To investigate the number of Christians and their churches and schools in various districts.

(11) To investigate the attitude of peasants towards Christianity and to investigate the policy of Christian propaganda in various villages.

(12) To investigate the inclination of the teachers of villages in various districts and the number of schools.

(13) To investigate the number of administrative divisions in various districts and the number of villages in one administrative division.

(14) To investigate the houses and the number of peasants in proportion to the inhabitants in various districts.

(15) To investigate the lines of communication in Chiung Ngai. To draw a complete map of these lines of communication and to draw detailed maps of various districts.

(16) To investigate the public funds in various districts.

(17) To investigate the dialects in various districts.

(18) To investigate the special conditions in various districts.

(19) Besides the concrete schemes set forth above, measures of procedures will be set forth according to the conditions in various districts.

B. THE PEASANT MOVEMENT IN VARIOUS PLACES AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE EXISTENCE OF THE PEASANT UNIONS.

1. THE PEASANT MOVEMENT OF HAI FENG.

Since the Autumn of the 11th year of the Republic, a Peasant Union has been organised by Comrade Peng Pai, and the peasants of the 1st Division of Chek Shan Yen. Thereafter, peasants from every division of the district joined in the union in increasing numbers until the Spring of the 12th year of the Republic, the District Union of Peasants was finally established. Soon after some enthusiastic peasants and the intelligent element of Lu Feng, Tzu Chin, Wu Hua, Wei Yang, Pu Ning and the neighbouring districts also joined the union, and at the same time, these members endeavoured to organise the same kind of union in their respective districts. The work of the union was progressing by leaps and bounds.

During May of this year, a general meeting of representatives of the members of every district was called, and it was resolved that a Provincial Peasant Union should be established and temporarily set up its office in the Peasant Union of Hai Feng, so as to direct the work of different District Unions and to facilitate the extension of the union.

Because of the insufficiency of enthusiastic supporters and the complexity of its members, the organisation of the union was not carried out to perfection. Moreover, the union was under the influence of the rebel Chen Chiung-ming and suffered constant oppression from the municipal and judicial officers, the unscrupulous gentry and the local villains.

During the 6th moon of this year of the old calendar, a great calamity in the form of gales and floods occurred which resulted in a total loss of the crops and a multitude of refugees. At the request of the peasants of Hai Feng and Lu Feng, who suffered the heaviest damages, a meeting was held in which a resolution was

arrived at and a reduction of rent was declared. But this roused the enmity of the rebel party, and on the 5th day of the 7th moon of the old calendar the sham division-
 leader (Chung King-tong), the sham magistrate of Hai Feng (Wong Chok-sun),
 and their party, effected the dissolution of the Peasant Union, and besides destroyed
 it, looted the Union's quarters and arrested about twenty odd persons. Since the
 dissolution of the Peasant Union, their members in every district have suffered
 numerous persecutions, but their secret activity did not slacken a bit.

Until the 13th year Comrades Peng Pai, Lam Sung and others, having been
 commissioned by the Service Department of the Central Kuomintang, have repeatedly
 despatched workers to the different districts to fraternize with the members and to give
 publicity to the Revolutionary Government's constitutional policy of supporting the
 Peasants and Labourers. Meanwhile, the peasants were in such a devastated condi-
 tion that their anxiety for the coming of the Revolutionary Government was at its
 height, and their attitude towards the government of the rebel Chen Chiung-ming
 was decidedly hostile. Among the members the most secretly active were the mem-
 bers of Kun Ping, Mui Lung, Sun Tin and Ho Tin (the former two places are close
 to Lu Feng and Kun Ping). To all outward appearances the union has not
 been reestablished but the result of their active co-operation is indeed great.

During March of this year when the Kuomintang Army despatched an expedi-
 tion into these districts the peasants arose in response and attacked the rearguard of
 the rebel troops, which effected their hurried retreat and resulted in a disastrous
 defeat. These peasants have also assisted the Kuomintang Army in the work of
 transportation and have also acted as their guides, so that great assistance was rendered
 to the army. Had there been no organisation on the part of the peasants, assuredly
 no such results would have been effected.

The District Peasant Union has now been reestablished and it has again
 resolved to appoint Comrades Peng Pai and others as members of the Executive
 Committee, and also to appoint Messrs. Lee Lo-kun and Ng Chan-man of the Whampoa
 Cadet School to organise a Standing Peasants' Corps and at the same time to appoint
 and organise a body of Publicity Members to organise Divisional Peasant Unions in
 every division.

In view of the fact that Hai Feng was the former lair of the rebel Chen Chiung-
 ming the influence of the anti-revolutionary parties was deep-rooted. Hence it was
 necessary to enlarge the Standing Peasant Corps in order to provide a safeguard.
 The greater part of the arms of the Peasants Corps were obtained from the rebels.
 Hence, within the short period of two months an addition of over two hundred
 recruits was achieved.

However, in view of the lack of adequate trainers for the Peasant Corps and
 the insufficiency of organisers, of publicity members, a Peasant Corps Cadet Schools,
 with a class of eighty cadets graduating after a three-months' course, and a Peasant

Movement Training School with a class of fifty students graduating after a two-months' course, were established. Besides the foregoing, a Young Peasant Association was also established with a view of educating and encouraging the young peasants.

As the organisation was considerably extended the expenditure increased proportionately. Besides considerable sums were expended in the organisation of the Peasant Corps and the repairing and building of different union structures. Hence the finances of the Union were placed in a rather difficult position.

Before the establishment of the Provincial Peasant Association, the enthusiastic members of Tzu Chin, Wu Hua, Wei Yang, Pu Ning, and Wei Lai Districts, etc., frequently came to the Union to obtain publicity literature; to ask for instructions; and to request the sending of officers to assist them. During this period the greater part of the attention of the Union was drawn to the different districts. Besides, the new and old disputes between the members and non-members followed one after another in close succession, and were very difficult to settle. However, after this difficulty was explained to the peasants of every district they began to understand. The disputes between members consequently has been decreasing while all the ill-feeling among them, arising from various causes, has almost completely disappeared.

During the months of May and June of this year, ever since the occurrences (vide Chapter II of this Report) of the assassination of Comrade Wong Hen-yeun, the publicity member of the 2nd Division, who met his death through a misunderstanding, at the hands of some soldiers of the 27th regiment garrisoned there, and the disbandment of Chan Po-kwan's regiment by the Peasant Corps on a charge of conspiring with the rebel party to oppress the peasants, the peasants have more thoroughly understood that the Anti-Revolutionary Party was conspiring under cover, and that the garrison troops would not be to their advantage. They, therefore, lost no time in the preparation of arming themselves and in applying to the District Unions for arms.

On July 5th of this year a general meeting of all the representatives of the members of every district was called. The meeting continued for seven days. The reports of the various affairs of the unions and the discussions on the different proposals by the representatives of every section were fairly satisfactory. The most important resolutions were the 40 per cent reduction of rent; the abolition of the Hog and Cattle Tax; the suppression of opium-smoking and gambling on the part of members; and the conscription of members between the age of 18 to 45 for the Peasant Self-Defence Corps.

After the reorganisation greater attention was drawn towards the publicity work and the organisation of the Peasant Corps. It was scheduled that a monthly meeting of the publicity members of every division to discuss the conditions of the peasants of every division so as to decide on the publicity schemes was to be called.

With regard to the organisation of the Peasant Corps, Military Departments were formed in various divisions to carry on the work on a practical basis so as to expedite a systematic organisation within the shortest possible time. Cadets of the Peasant Corps Cadet School, were sent to every division in the district, such as Lu Feng, Pu Ning, and Wu Hua, etc., to organise the Peasant Corps. However, in view of the shortage of funds a detachment of the Standing Peasant Corps of the District Union was retrenched.

The peasants' enthusiasm towards the Union was evidenced by their ready response to the meetings of the Union. It was especially noted in the great meeting celebrating the 2nd year of the Union's establishment on the 5th day of the 7th moon of the old calendar, when over 60,000 peasants participated with full military equipment, native brass bands, lion and unicorn dances, etc. This was really an unprecedented affair in the history of the peoples' movements.

Occasionally, some cases of arresting, detaining or fining landlords or non-members occurred in different divisions. Notwithstanding the severe prohibition proclaimed by the Union these illegal actions could not be checked totally, but the occurrence of such cases has decreased to a certain extent. This corruption was due to the fact that the Union had a great influence in the political field and its attention was drawn to the management of the various divisions so that the training of the members was slackened. While the Union was devising measures for the suppressions of such corruption, the battle of the East River began. The rebel troops were pressing the Union on every side and its attention was then turned wholly to the organisation of the Peasant Corps in order to prepare for co-operation with the garrison troops so as to safeguard Hai Feng and Lu Feng. Unexpectedly the garrison troops retreated out of the district on September 23rd and as the officers of the District Union were unable to resist the attack of the enemies because of the weak force of the Peasant Corps, they decided not take chances and retreated to Canton with the Standing Peasant Corps.

The above is the general outline of the past events and tendencies of the Peasant Movement.

(From a Special Report, October 1925.)

2. FARMERS' MOVEMENT IN HUA HSIEN.

Hua Hsien is wide cultivable plain and on the North River, populated mostly by farmers. It is one of the districts in which the farmers live a very hard life. Of the total peasant population, about sixty per cent are tenants, twenty per cent part-landowners and part-tenants (half-landowners), and twenty per cent landowners—this latter class cultivates the land which belongs to them. The big landowners that live on the rent from their property are in the minority.

The political power of Hua Hsien is completely in the hands of the gentry, the merchants, and outlaws. The gentry has the Country Corps; the merchants have the Merchant Volunteer Corps, and the outlaws their gang of robbers. Each of these groups collect private taxes from the farmers at various rates to maintain their armed forces and to fill their own pockets. The bandits have been greatly eliminated since the power of the gentry and merchants have increased, but they do maintain a semi-open existence, especially when some powerless gentry utilize them to back himself up.

The farmers on the other hand are now conscious of their position and have already armed themselves by contributing a certain percentage of their annual crops toward a fund for the purchase of rifles. In a report received in October, we learned that in the whole 'Hsien' there were about twenty thousand rifles and about eighty percent of these rifles are owned by the farmers, especially the tenants.

The farmers' movement in this district began in February of this year when the Farmers' Board of the Kuomintang had not yet been organised. At the time when the Farmers' Board Executive Committee was established, there existed already three unions in Hua Hsien. At the very beginning of the organisation of the union, the gentry were not very oppressive as there were no standing soldiers in the Country Corps and the meaning of the union was not clearly understood.

In May a leading gentry with the surname of Kiang, tried to threaten the farmers by sending a letter to the union saying that the union was organised by the hired men of the Government who intended to investigate the conditions of the country and collect taxes. Accordingly, a meeting was called of the farmers and union members and leaders in the presence of the gentry. Our comrades went on the platform and explained the advantages of the union and its close relation to the poor farmers and tenants, pointing out that these men were merely spreading falsehoods when they said that the union would collect taxes from the people. These men were trying to destroy the union and, therefore, the farmers should not believe them but should further consolidate their own organisation. The masses were very enthusiastic over the idea and the union was preserved.

In July and August the gentry who commands the Militia Corps sent his mean followers to join the union and assisted him to occupy a part of the field which belonged to a fellow member. The latter appealed to the union and the offender was punished by being fined fifteen dollars and the return of the field to its proper owner. The leading scholar-official then took the opportunity of arresting a member of the union who was serving as an officer. It happened on the day when the Union held a mass meeting at which our comrade Yuan Hsiu-hian was present. This comrade led the mass and the officer of the union to the Headquarters of the Militia to investigate the case. The gentry insisted that the case should be decided by the Inter-village Self Protection

Society (organised by the gentry), while the union members insisted that it should be decided by the Union as both of these men concerned are members of the union. A quarrel took place with strong words on both sides, followed by a hand-to-hand fight. With this event the gentry came to understand the strength of the Union and refrained from further interference. But rumours were scattered by the gentry that the life of the Union officers would be taken by underhand means.

The oppression of the gentry in August was merely a reaction of the "rent reduction movement" of June. For two years there had been a "Farmers' Self-Government Society" which was originated by a worthless gentry and which never did anything of importance. This year a poor farmer who had been working in a small shop and who later rented a farm at Chu Hu Tzen, feeling that the extortions of the landlords were unbearable, revived this society with the object of reducing the farmers' rent. But on account of the lack of proper methods and the power of mass movement, he worked for many months without any result. When our comrades began to work in this village he cooperated with them and joined the farmers' union. In the month of June the farmers under the leadership of the Peasant Union declared that the rent should be reduced by 20 per cent. Since the landlords feared that the Governmental influence was at work beneath the surface of the movement and since the organisation of the farmers was so strong in membership, they passively and unconditionally consented. Since this reduction, one 'Mao' field which needed the payment of two 'Tans' of grain, is now paid only with 1.60 'Tans.' This reduction of rent at Chu Hu Tzen made the Union more trustworthy. An increase of membership soon followed.

Thus many farmers in Hua Hsien who had been skeptical as to the use of the union began to trust and join it. The latest report states that unions have been formed in more than eleven new villages and the total number of members in the Peasant Unions have increased to more than 3,000. The Peasant Corps has secured more than one hundred rifles. A gang of one hundred sword-fighters has now been organized. The future of the Peasant Defence Corps is also very bright; for in Hua Hsien, as already mentioned, there are more than twenty thousand rifles in the possession of the people. The peasants are ready to fight against their oppressors, the wicked landlords and depraved gentries.

(October 1925)

3. DECLARATION OF THE HUA HSIEN PEASANT UNION RE THE DEVASTATION OF THE PEASANT ORGANISATIONS.

To the Workers, Farmers, Soldiers, Students, and all Brothers of Kwangtung Province:

The organisation of farmers' unions was not only initiated by the Kuomintang but also sanctioned by the Government in a special decree, by which the Govern-

ment gave them legal protection. We, the farming class, having been under the exploitation of the landowners for thousands of years, have now begun for the first time to try to raise our heads. Within the last few months we have organised ourselves into more than a hundred unions participated by millions of members. To our surprise and indignation we have learned that the landowners are prepared to destroy the beginning of our self-protection movement.

Reports from the Hua Hsien Farmers' Union say that the local gentry under the leadership of Kiang Yao-chun and others, who consider the organisation of the farmers as an obstacle to their exploitation, and the newly appointed Magistrate Tang, who intends to utilize the influence of the local gentry to secure his own position, are now jointly making preparations in a conspiracy to crush our union, at the beginning of its organisation, by their organised forces under the control of the "Land Owners Maintenance Association." They first tried to make our members distrust the union by scattering false reports to the effect that the Farmers' Union would collect taxes by armed force from the people. Then they endangered the lives of our leading members by hiring the murderer, Liu Chu, Kiang San, and others to murder the union officers, Huo Fung-chi, Wong Fu-san and Chen Tao-chu. They also promised a reward of \$700 for each head. As their plans did not succeed on account of the strong organisation and careful self-protection of the farmers, they began to resort to armed forces. Ever since October 24th., Kiang Yao-chun with the gentry and the leaders of the Merchant Volunteer Corps held meetings every day and on 28th inst., they sent an ultimatum to the Peasant Union of Chu Hun Tzen, ordering the latter to dissolve within five days. If it did not comply it would be suppressed by an armed force of the Militia and Merchant Corps which would at the same time attack the city of Hua Hsien. The gentry had already gathered their forces of the Country Corps and Merchant Volunteer Corps at Ping Shan, Shi Lung and Hsin Hui, and in addition they hired 600 robbers, making a total force of 3,000. Magistrate Tang was their commander-in-chief and had his headquarters at Ping Shan. They planned to cut the communication between Shao Kuan and Hua Hsien by hiring the robbers of Chung Sze-yin to destroy the railway at Yin Can Yao Station and to cut off the communications between Canton and Hua Hsien by hiring the robbers of Shao Fung to destroy the railway at Kuo Tao Chio in order to prevent the Government forces from coming from either side. Reliable reports say that when these preparations are ready, they will attack Hua Hsien City, dissolve the Peasant Union, murder its members, and then turn to march on Canton for a great massacre and revolt. At the present moment, the city is preparing for its defence. The Farmers' Union is taking great precautions, and the farmers are becoming extremely indignant. War is impending!

About a serious situation like this, the Government must already have received detailed reports. For such a condition is not merely the oppression of a few

landowners by the self-protecting farmers but really it was an actual conspiracy on their part to overthrow the Government by first destroying its loyal revolutionary masses! How will the Government protect the legal organisations of the farmers on the basis of the Governmental decree? How will the Government suppress the second revolt of Chen Lien-pai? We consider the situation a very critical one for the Government, and therefore all are of the opinion that the least the Government can do is as follows:—

- (1) Armed forces should be sent immediately to Hua Hsien to suppress the revolt of the Merchant Volunteer Corps, the Militia Corps, and the bandits.
- (2) The "Land Owners Maintenance Association" should be dissolved.
- (3) The leader of bandits, Kiung Yao-chun, Kiang Chian and others should be arrested and their property confiscated.
- (4) The appointment of the Magistrate Tang should be cancelled and he be sent to court for examination.

Workers, Peasants, Soldiers, Students, and all fellow sympathizers:

The danger of a revolt of the landowners of Hua Hsien is impending! We should not consider this as a matter which concerns merely Hua Hsien, nor should we underrate the importance of this act before its execution. We must remember that after the revolt of the Merchant Volunteer Corps there followed a revolt of the landowners. The influence of Chen Chiung-ming, and Chen Lien-pai still exists; therefore, this condition should not be considered as the mere oppression of the farmers at Hua Hsien, as it is really an oppression on all the farmers and trades people and workers in the province! We, the oppressed people of the whole province, should rise up at once to meet the situation. On the one hand we should demand the Government to take immediate and necessary measures as proposed above, and on the other hand we should give direct assistance to the farmers at Hua Hsien in order to circumvent the revolt of the landowners!

4. THE PEASANT MOVEMENT IN KWANG NING.

The peasant movement in Kwang Ning was begun on April 8th, 1924, when some comrades were sent to Kong Tuen to establish a temporary office for the Peasant Union and comrade Lo Kwok-kit, who had returned to the village before, was instructed to assume charge at Kong Tuen. Comrade Lo Kwok-kit arrived at Kong Tuen on the 10th and Wu Chiu arrived the same day. We are informed that the police captain, Wong Ngok-tong, of the 6th Police Station and commander Wong Fuk of the Militia, were very much frightened at our movements and had posted a few soldiers to keep a sharp watch in the vicinity of Kong Tuen the past two

nights." Thereupon, comrades Lo Kwok-kit and Wu Chiu accompanied Wong Ngok-tong's nephew to call at the headquarters of the militia and explained to Wong Ngok-tong the relation between the Peasant Union and the Militia. They also showed him the C.E.C.'s letter introducing them to the magistrate and told him about the peasant policy and the formation theory and the necessity of Peasant Unions. He then came to a better understanding and confessed his previous misconception. The same night, he withdrew all his guards from the outposts. The next day we held a preliminary meeting of the staff to decide upon the following questions:—

(A) Propaganda:—

Slogans:—(1) to oppose foreigners, (2) to oppose corrupt soldiers, (3) to oppose lawless landlords, (4) to oppose wicked gentry, (5) to guard against native bandits and (6) to urge all peasants to unite.

Program:—(1) Lecture on market days, (2) Preach in each village (3) Interview each house.

Activity:—(1) Lectures on market days to be delivered by Chow Ki-kam, Lo Kwok-kit and Wu Chiu at Kong Tuen, Tam Po, Shek Chui, Shek Kong, Ku Lau Ying, Cheng Kwat, Muk Wo, Muk Chui and Lo Kong. (2) At the same time propaganda work is to be carried out by the promoters when they return to their own villages by interviewing each house, beginning with their relatives and friends and extending to fellow-villagers.

(B) Organisation:—

(1) The staff of the promoting body, as provided in Canton, to consist of Chow Ki-kam and Wu Chiu as directors, Lo Kwok-kit as secretary and Wu Yat-sun as writer, with about thirty others as promoters. (2) When the membership of a Peasant Union at a certain place exceeds 400 families, the promoters on the spot may be appointed as the staff of the Peasant Union of that place. (3) At any place a village delegate may be elected by upwards of ten families who are members. (4) After a lecture, inquiry is to be made at each house whether its occupants agree to sign up for membership.

(C) Economic Condition:—

(1) Payment of entrance fees to be urged from those families who have their members working in Canton and who are associated with labour unions (at 50 cents per family). Contributions to be also urged from the staff of the Oil Trade Union and Kwang Ning students studying in Canton. (2) Peasants to be urged to become members so as to increase the foundation fund.

(D) Official Registration :—

(1) The C.E.C.'s letter to be first sent to Li Chai-yuen, the magistrate of Kwang Ning. (2) Comrades Chow Ki-kam and Wu Chiu to call at the magistracy asking for official registration as requested in the official letter.

After the resolutions had been made at the meeting, the comrades went on to carry out their respective work separately. After speaking in Kong Tuan village, Comrades Wu Chiu and Chow Ki-kam went to the city to interview Li Chai-yuen on the 12th. They requested Li to enter their Peasant Unions in the register, as mentioned in the official letter addressed to magistrate Li by the Central Kuomintang. At first, Li did not answer them properly, but only asked the gentry of the Sun Wo Village Council, who happened to be visiting him at that time, and other officers to play Mah Jongg with him. When Chow Ki-kam asked him about the matter again, he had spoken only a few words when supper was ready and he asked Wu Chiu and Chow Ki-kam to eat with him. At the dinner, he said to Chow "You have just graduated from the Industrial School. You should enter upon a higher course of study. Why do you engage yourself in such work? You are indeed officious." Since Chow knew that magistrate Li was a conservative old fellow, he did not think it unusual that he did not understand the importance of the newly promoted peasant movement. Chow then told him the same thing he had said to Wong Ngok-tong at the Kong Tuan Militia Office. Unexpectedly the magistrate, being slightly drunk angrily said to him, "I don't understand what you say." After the meal, magistrate Li and the gentry again started to play Mah Jongg. Then Chow thought that perhaps the magistrate had not yet received the official letter of Central Kuomintang and so asked him, "Have you received the letter from the Central Kuomintang?" He replied "No." The officer in charge of sending and receiving letters happened to be there and said "I gave you that letter last night." Li Chai-yuen then said "I only accept the orders of the Civil Governor, and not the orders of the Central Kuomintang." While saying this, he looked rather angry, striking the ground with his long tobacco pipe. The corrupt gentry and officers who were playing Mah Jongg with him, all smiled at his actions. Then Chow, being unable to tolerate him any more, became angry and said to him, "Mr. Li, you are not holding your office in Kwangsi province. Neither are you a counter-revolutionary. You are now under the control of the Party Government. Moreover, you are one of the members of the Party. Why do you not obey the letters of the Central Kuomintang? Not only the Central Kuomintang has the right to address letters to you, but I myself also have the right to submit letters of the Central Kuomintang to you." Li said, "Do you want to control me by means of the Central Kuomintang?" About that time, the corrupt gentry and officers there, perceiving that the condition was becoming quite unpleasant, came forth as mediators and advised Li and

Chow to speak gently and not to be angry. Then Li said "I do not want to disallow the registration of the Peasant Unions, but I want you to get formal orders from the Civil Governor before I do it." Hearing this, Chow said to him, "Why did you not tell me this earlier, so as not to disrupt our harmonious relations." Woo Chin and Chow Ki-kam then left the magistrate's office, and, on the following day despatched a telegram to the Central Kuomintang, reporting the past events regarding our negotiation with the magistrate, and requesting the Central Kuomintang to inform the Civil Governor, Yeung Shi-hom, to order the magistrate of Kwang Ning to sanction the registration of the Peasant Unions.

At that time the Peasant Department of the Central Kuomintang was inaugurated with comrade Peng Pai as secretary of the Department. Comrade Peng then addressed a letter to Chow, asking him to first submit a petition to the magistrate according to the usual procedure, and stating that if the magistrate still did not sanction our request, measures would be devised by that Department for the settlement of the problem. The letter came to our hands, when we were continuing our work of lecturing in the villages in Kong Tuan. Upon receipt of the letter, we knew that we should be obliged to leave Kong Tuan again, for we had to go to the city to carry out our work of petitioning for registration. But then, the peasants, hearing that our request for registration was refused began to suspect the integrity of our Peasant Unions. Not only those common peasants who do not enthusiastically join our unions, but also those who had been moved by our unions, refused to pay the fees required, thus preventing our work from the very beginning owing to the lack of money. Hence, we convoked all the officers in various regions to come to Kong Tuan to hold a meeting to discuss and draw up the reports from the various regions of the district. As a result of our propaganda, three thousand peasant families enthusiastically signed their names to join our Peasant Unions. But unexpectedly they began to suspect our actions afterwards, on account of the fact that the magistrate did not issue any notification protecting our Peasant Unions, and the landlords and corrupt gentry fabricated continuously various sort of rumours about the peasants. Instances of their rumours were:—

(a) The Peasant Union is not a formal organisation but only an illegal organ similar to the former Three Union. (b) The Government intends to levy a poll tax. (c) The Government will force the peasants to serve in the armies and to join the Eastern and Northern Expeditions. There are, moreover, some old ideas in the brains of the conservative peasants, which are:—(a) An inclination to adhere to former habits and systems. (b) The fear of the accumulated tyrannical influence of the gentry. (c) The fear of interference by the local authorities. (d) The expectation of the birth of a powerful autocrat to relieve the country and to restore peace to the people. (e) The fear that their lands might be taken back by the landlords after they joined the Peasant Unions.

There are still some more points in connection with the history of that district during the last twenty years, which also hinder the progress of our Peasant Unions, viz: (a) In the 24th to 26th to years of Kwang Hsu of the Ching Dynasty, the peasants of Kong Tuan suffered much through the failure of their demand for reduction of rents on their fields. Their sufferings and the tyrannical actions of the landlords of that day are still remembered by the peasants even at the present time. (b) In the 31st year of Kwang Hsu of the Ching Dynasty, after the city was attacked by the "Three Union," the peasants of that region had undergone considerable sufferings through the bandit suppression by the officials. The above two events had given such great shocks to the peasants, that they thereafter dared not participate in any new movements. In addition, the landlords fabricated many more groundless rumours to arouse the suspicions of the peasants as to our actions. They said (a) that the organisers of Peasant Unions were oil workers; they were illiterate people and only wanted to squeeze money from the peasants, and therefore could not be trusted, (b) that Ki Kam and Kwok Kit wanted to please the Government and to enrich themselves by assisting the Government in levying a poll tax and various other impositions, (c) that Ki Kam and Kwok Kit, after acquiring their rank and wealth, would pay no more attention to the peasants, leaving the latter to undergo the sufferings derived from their actions, (d) that since there were no Peasant Unions in other districts, they (the peasants) should not make their district an exception. The fabrications of the landlords had a great effect upon the peasants, and our work of organising the peasants would have been fruitless but for the propaganda of the workers who, when returning to their native villages from Canton during the Tomb Festival, explained to the peasants the benefits which the peasants could acquire from their Peasant Unions. The peasants were greatly moved by their words, and a good result for our movement (when 3,000 peasants enthusiastically promised to join our organisations) was thus obtained. Then the most important problem at that time was the registration of our unions.

Therefore, we submitted a petition for registration to the magistrate and left the District for Canton. When we arrived in Canton we submitted our petitions to the Central Kuomintang and the Civil Governor. Civil Governor Yeung, despatched two telegrams on the 4th of the month to urge magistrate Li to sanction the registration of our Peasant Union, but the latter still paid no attention to them. Then, we had to request the Peasant Department to send Comrades Peng Pai and Wu Chiu to go to Kwang Ning to settle the case. Several days afterwards these comrades went to Kwang Ning. As a result of the propaganda work of Comrade Peng Pai, in a fortnight the members of various Peasant Unions were increased in number from 4,000 to 7,000 families. It was thought that the arrival of Peng Pai had given the staff of the Peasant Unions much assistance in propaganda.

The increase of the members of the Peasant Unions in Kwang Ning was absolutely unexpected by the landlords and corrupt gentry, who at first paid no attention to us except to fabricate rumours, because they did not expect any increase of our members. After a while they were very much frightened and angered by the fact that some of our members were in their very villages, criticizing them before the public. They therefore wanted to begin to destroy us, but stopped upon seeing the arrival of Peng Pai, the secretary of the Peasant Department of the Central Kuomintang. After two months, seeing the number of our members gradually increasing and knowing that Peng Pai had left, they decided that to directly destroy us would be better than to stop us from registering the Peasant Unions, and therefore decided upon a massacre. For that purpose, Wong Ngok-ip, by the order of Kong Yiu-nam and Fung Yit-tung, the landlords of Fu Kai and Kong Tun, were invited to meet together with the gentry and wealthy men of three divisions of the district. Fu Kai, Kong Tun and Tam Po and Lui Tsi-wai were simultaneously at the head of the District Militia and of the militia of the five divisions in the North-eastern part of Kwang Ning, were also invited to Kong Tung for this meeting. All the gentry and richmen decided that they would recognize the Peasant Unions as the organs of bandits. Next day, another meeting was held and the decisions were that each of the landlords Kong Yiu-nam and Fung Yit-tung should pay \$300 to Wong Ngok-ip and Wong Fook, and thirty militiamen from Fu Kai and twenty from Kong Tun should be selected and led by Wong Fook. They also decided to charge the Peasant Unions as being organs for the gathering of the artful villains to injure the public welfare of the magistracy. They would first besiege the Peasant Union in Kong Tung and then in Tam Po. Hence a great disturbance between the Peasant Unions and the landlords and corrupt gentry in Kwang Ning took place on June 10th.

Before this disturbance all the staff were warned about the above news, but they did not believe that the landlords or gentry would dare do such barbarous acts. They therefore made no preparation at all. On the 10th of June, they were surprised and the result was frightful. At 9 a.m. Wong Fook led fifty militiamen to attack a Peasant Union in Kong Tun. More than a hundred shots were fired. Yang Ng, Cheung Chow, Wu Yat-sun and Wu Hop, who were the members of the staff living in the Peasant Union, escaped by the back exit of the house. Yeng Shi was badly beaten. Kong Wing was detained at the Militia Bureau after a bad beating, but set free on the next day because they knew that this would lead them into danger when they heard that Lee Chai-yuen had been deprived of his title by the Civil Governor on 4th of June. But Wong Fook was cruel enough to arrest Wu Cho, the younger brother of Wu Chiu, and forcibly fed him with manure which he was carrying home from the Peasant Union. The militiamen stole many things including money, coverlets, stationery, handbills, presses, office books, etc; and stopped only to threaten both Yeng Shi and Wu Cho in their search of Wu Chiu and Yau Lun.

When they left, they broke all the furnitures and even the roof and the back wall of the Peasant Union. The Party flag as well as the Union flag placed at the door were also torn to pieces. In the meantime they went to gather the other militiamen in Tam Po, who were under the leadership of Kong Hon-ying, making a total of seventy. Then they laid siege to the Peasant Union in Tam Po and fired more than a hundred shots. The property of this union was treated in the same way as mentioned above. Wong Yu and Cheung Shi were arrested and beaten until they suffered very much. Furthermore they put the office of the union on fire in order to burn all the files and official documents. Fortunately the neighbours put out the fire. But the materials near the door were entirely lost. They distributed among themselves all the reserve funds of membership and also the cost of the ruined articles which were sold at auction. In the evening the gentry in the Federated Militia Bureau received a letter from the district town entreating them to abstain from oppressing the Peasant Unions. They stated that Lee Chai-yuen had been deprived of his position on the 4th of June and another magistrate Ng Chun, formerly an officer in the 3rd Division of the Army, had been appointed in his place. This resulted in a change of policy. They no longer asked the chief officers of both the 2nd and 5th divisions to destroy the other three Peasant Unions in Pak Shek, Loo Kong and Oh Mook Chui. The gentry were so timid that they appeared sorry for their mistake. One exception were Fung Yun Chung and Wong Pook, the bullies in Kong Tun, who led the militiamen to compel each member of the union to pay \$5 as ex-membership fee, basing their demand upon the enrollment in the two unions in Kong Tun and Tam Po. They said they would arrest those who refused to pay. As soon as this news was spread the members of the staff of the Peasant Unions in Lu Kong were unable to stay any longer. At the end of this disturbance, Wu Chiu and Chan Chun-pui, who were just returning to Kong Tun after their propaganda in Lu Kong, were informed about the destruction of Peasant Unions in Kong Tun, and were advised to go to Canton. They therefore went first to Oh Mook Chui and then handed a bill of indictment against the action of the landlords and gentry to the magistracy. After that, they left Kwang Ning for Canton. There they obtained from the Civil Governor an order for the protection of the Peasant Union. This order has been transferred to the new appointed magistrate of Kwang Ning. After that the organisation work became easier.

All the comrades energetically exerted their most strenuous efforts and carefully discussed their particular plans for this movement. They believed that there was a great opportunity for activity even though Li Chai-yuen's remnants still are in power over the various divisions. Hereby two general principles and three particular details were formulated.

(1) General Principles:—

- a. To resume and reorganize the unions in those divisions where they were acting formerly, and to raise up necessary slogans for the reduction of rents if possible.

- b. To expand our activities to those divisions near the lower valley of Shui Kong in order to control our activities there after the second failure; and to raise up those slogans in connection with the defence against the ravages of robbers and soldiers.

(2) Particulars:—

- a. To ask the government to despatch soldiers to Kong Tun, Tam Po, Lu Kong, etc. where we acted formerly; but cannot now deal directly with the movement because of the disturbance of Li Chai-yuen, if no soldiers are despatched to deal with the movement secretly.
- b. To form organisations according to the newly issued regulations of the Kuomintang regarding the Peasant Unions. These to be in Mook Oh Mook Chui, Chak Shek, Shek Kong, etc. regions not yet penetrated by our movement.
- c. To commence our movement in Shek Kan, Shek Tai Tung, Kong Tau, Shek Kau, and those important places near the lower valley of Shui Kong where we did not formerly deal with our movement, according to the regulations.

On the 16th of August, Chow Ki-kam called in Mook Oh Mook Chui for a meeting of the comrades who worked in the Peasant Unions in Ku Lau Ying, Cheung Fai, etc. At this meeting the conditions of the various places were observed in detail and the schemes of organisation were also declared. But the staff from the various places insisted very much on the assistance of Government soldiers, the supply of firearms or the reduction of rents. We also insisted upon organisations established according to the regulations were essential means of consolidation. This general idea was taken as the slogan for propaganda and the organisation was brought about. The peasants joined eagerly with great hopes for their organisations. By October, we had established organisations in Mook Oh Mook Chui, Chak Shek and Shek Kong; but in Kong Tuen and Tam Po, we could not work even secretly.

Conditions were so favorable that many enthusiastic members proceeded secretly to Lu Kong, a territory under the defense of the "North East Militia" and still occupied by Li Chai-yuen's remnants. The organisations in these newly developed places, such as Shek Kan, Shek Tai Tung, and Kong Tau, were also established in compliance with our estimated projects after the strenuous efforts of Comrades Pak Chung, Kwok Kit, Sai Look, and Hung Kee. We felt assured of the good prospects of the Peasant Unions.

It was resolved then to hold a demonstration parade on the date of the inauguration. It was decided to ask the Peasant Department of the Central Kuomintang to subsidize us and to appoint representatives to attend. Altogether there were nineteen Divisional Peasant Unions consisting of seven Village Peasant Unions with more than 10,000 families.

On the 5th of October, a General Convention of the whole District Delegates was convened at Ming Lun Hall, the ancestral temple of the town. Because so many delegates were absent due to the false rumour that Li Chai-yuen would attack the place (in fact some dismissed soldiers disturbed villages in the vicinity), it was considered beneficial to convert this into a preliminary meeting, the final meeting to be postponed until the 6th. The formal meeting was successfully held on the 6th and 7th and consisted of thirty-two delegates. Chow Ki-kam was elected chairman and Lo Kwok-kit recorder, while Chan Pak-chung attended the meeting as a delegate from the Peasant Department of the Central Kuomintang. The resolutions were:—

- a. The measures for the movement in the various divisions.
- b. The organisation of the Peasant Self-Defence Corps.
- c. The movement for the reduction of rents.
- d. The educational training of the peasant youths.
- e. The establishment of the District Peasant Association fixed for October 10th.

The inauguration held on the 10th of October was quite a large affair. Over 300 delegates attended together with the executive staff of the various Village and Division Peasant Unions, and over 1,000 members. Comrades Yeung Yin, and Wu Chiu, with their circles, were also present. This meeting was considered so important that Yin Shiu-sin, the delegate of the Peasant Department of the Central Kuomintang, came with the members including both students for the peasant movement and the Peasant Self-Defence Corps. The arrangements were as follows: the portrait of our late leader Sun Yat-sen was hung in the middle of the hall; the decorations presented from the various organisations in Canton were suspended on both sides; and all the declarations concerning the peasant movement, the regulations of the Peasant Unions, and the slogans were stuck on the wall and poles. Chow Ki-kam was elected chairman and Wong Sai-look and Lu Kwok-kit the recording secretaries. Delegate Yin took charge of the ceremony of bestowing the flag and seal and then speeches were made. After the dismissal, a demonstration parade was held followed by lusty acclamation of slogans, firing of firecrackers and the Chinese lion-dance. This inauguration enthused the peasants so very much that they asked us for the regulations, circulars and the appointed representatives to propagate and organise them.

Now the Peasant Movement in Kwang Ning which has met, as we have seen, the stubborn resistance of their enemies and the newly organised Peasant Union are leading the Kwang Ning peasants further towards the struggle for the reduction of rent, which ought to relieve the sufferings of the peasants from the economic oppression of the landlords.

(From a report to the Provincial Peasant Association, November 1924.)

5. THE PEASANT MOVEMENT IN SIKIANG DISTRICT.

Before the reorganisation of the Kuomintang, the Peasant Movement in Sikiang Districts was backward in comparison with the movement of rent reduction which took place in Kong Tuen of Kwang Ning District because of the poor crop about fifteen years before the Republic. In that movement, the peasants were foolish enough to set fire to all the property of the suppressing landlords and their hunting-dogs. During the winter of the 11th year of the Republic, the landlords in Kao Yao District attempted to increase the rents from the peasants by using a bigger measure for the peck. They also organised a "Rent Ownership Association." They even went so far as to work collusively with the local authorities, to despatch policemen to help them to collect their rents. On the other hand the peasants of the ten villages of Tuen Yuen (Kao Yao) established a Cooperative Association of Peasants and Labourers so that the landlords were kept in check.

After the reorganisation of the Kuomintang, the peasants of all the districts of Sikiang, took this opportunity to start their organisations. The first of all was Kwang Ning, and next were Kao Yao, Teh Ching, Lo Ting, Yu Nan, etc. In Kwang Ning, the peasants of Kong Tuen carried out a movement of rent reduction which was seriously suppressed by the landlords with the militia. While they were so desperately beseeching the landlords to reduce their rents, the latter in collusion with the gentry, bullies, and magistrate, were planning to destroy the Kong Tuen Labour Union. The peasants struggled for three months before they were finally victorious. In the end, it was found that more than twenty martyrs of the peasants had died for the sake of this movement. During the Yang and Liu Rebellion, the peasants were reminded of the political aspect of their struggle when they were asked to support the Revolutionary Government. It has been reported that the expansion of the Peasant Unions has reached every corner of the district of Kwang Ning and the members have been increased to 150,000.

In Kao Yao District, a Cooperative Association of the Peasants and Labourers of ten villages was first established. This was reorganised into a Peasant Union of the 1st Division according to the regulations after the close of the first convention of the Delegates of the Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Unions. Furthermore the peasants of the various places were also consolidated with the best possible organisation. Consequently a sharp line between the peasants and the landlords was so clearly drawn that the landlords, gentry and bullies were exceedingly anxious to devise measures for eradicating the Peasant Unions. Hence a so-called "Organisation of Cooperative Militia of Kwang Ning, Kao Yao and Teh Ching" was founded after the establishment of the Peasant Unions. In the meantime, they even called all the landlords of Sikiang District to cooperate with them, and so the inhuman massacre of the peasants by the militia as on January 1st was unavoidable. But the

peasants there were still more firmly consolidated and realized more clearly the distinction of the classes.

In Teh Ching District, although the history of the peasant movement is very short, there are about 1,000 members. They are very much in need of revolution because most of them are in a very poor condition living near the mountains, and eating taro, yams, etc.

In Lo Ting the history of the peasant movement is also very short. At present the members number more than 4,000. As the influence of the gentry is so strong there, the peasants must find ways of dealing with them.

In Yu Nan the peasant movement is five months old. The gentry tampered with the authority of the Peasant Unions. The students have been sympathetic towards the peasants because of their realisation of the suppression rendered by their teachers. There are about 2,500 members in this district.

In Szu Hui District the peasant movement is four months old. As the gentry are still in power the peasants are often deceived by them about the work of organisation. In the meantime they are very superstitious and deficient in class consciousness. There are about 600 members.

With regard to the peasant movement in the various Sikiang districts, Peasant Unions have been successfully established. Furthermore the "Peasant Massacre" in Kao Yao has excited their consciousness very much and has given them the impression that they should be consolidated into a great force in order not to lose all their protection.

*(From the Report of a Special Delegate of the Provincial Peasant Association)
February 1926.*

6. THE PEASANTS OF PAO AN ORGANISING PEASANT UNIONS.

When Chen Chiung-ming's troops occupied Pao An, the peasants were suffering from their oppression. But they were impressed with the capability of those peasants at Siu Pin etc., of Tung Kuan District, which succeeded in resisting Chen's oppression with the consolidated strength of their Peasant Union. Siu Pin is only one li from Pao An, where Chen's men had a stronghold. Several times Chen's troops attempted to dash through Siu Pin but every time they met with failure. Thus the peasants of Siu Pin and its vicinity were free from Chen's oppression. Moreover, afterwards when the Kwangsi soldiers entered Pao An, the wicked gentry and native bullies of that village were in league with Chen's men. But those peasants, who were members of the Peasant Union and had a membership card could present themselves at his house and escape such disturbance. Subsequently the peasant

members, seeing that the long occupation of soldiers in the villages caused much inconvenience, asked the Peasant Union of Siu Pin to consult with Commander Lin Shu-wei in regard to the withdrawal of his troops. In view of this, the peasants of various villages were of the opinion that the Peasant Union could actually look after their own interests and that it was necessary to organise them at Siu Pin and its neighbourhood. So after the defeat of Chen's army, many of these peasants approached the Peasant Section of the Central Kuomintang, applying for deputies, especially Comrade Hok Tsang, to return with them and help in the organisation of unions. Comrade Hok Tsang was nominated by the Peasantry Committee to go to Pao An for this express purpose. He first held services of revival of the Peasant Unions at Lo Tin, Yin Chuen, Li Chung-chit and Shu Tin-po and held formal revival ceremonies. New unions were established at such places as Tong Ha Chung, Sha Po, Kai Tow, etc. A Peasants' Defence Corps was also provided (in reality, it was not organized). At least one new union was organised every day. As there was no time to prepare a sufficient number of flags for these unions, the flag of a village was often borrowed by more than ten villages for use in the inaugural ceremonies. The peasants of various villages were very enthusiastic in attending these inaugural ceremonies. They considered the Peasant Union as a father, and, to use their own words, "those who do not join these unions are fatherless persons." So, whenever a union was inaugurated, the peasants rejoiced highly and feasted jollily. Even the obstinate farm women also joined the unions, celebrated their inauguration and made known their benefits.

THE ORGANISATION OF PEASANT UNIONS IN PAO AN MEET WITH THE OPPOSITION OF THE GENTRY.

Owing to a protest against the suppressions of the depraved landlords and notorious rowdies, the peasants of various villages have been incompletely organized up to the beginning of the peasant movement. For instance, Lo Ting village had an organisation called the Agriculture Promotion Society; Chuen village has had a "Brothers' Association" which was afterwards changed into a Cooperative Society; Chow Ka village also has had a Brothers' Society; Tsun Tak village has had an organisation called the Poon Yat Lok Society. All these organisations were for the purpose of protesting against the depraved gentry, notorious rowdies, and great landlords.

The villages near Siu Pin, Tung Kuan, started the Peasant Movement. A group of awakened peasants went to certain villages such as Pao An, Loh Tin, In Chuen, etc. to do propaganda work. At that time, the peasants there felt the necessity of completing the organisation of their class. So, they rose immediately to organise Peasant Unions. At first the Lo Ting Agriculture

Promotion Society and the Yin Chuan Cooperative Society were reorganised into Peasant Unions. Then they enlarged the organisation which had temporarily controlled the Peasant Unions in Siu Pin and Tung Kuan.

The privileges and benefits of the depraved gentry and notorious rowdies are absolutely in conflict with those of the peasants. When Lo Ting village began to organise a Peasant Union, the depraved gentry of that village promptly rose to circumvent their action. On the one hand the depraved gentry threatened the peasants with rebellion and on the other hand conspired with the corrupt officials to suppress the peasants. During that time, there was a powerful, depraved scholar official called Lai To-san who always acted against the Kuomintang and oppressed the peasants. When he saw that the peasants were uniting and organising themselves, he knew that would be fatal for him and so he falsely accused one of the peasant union's members of owing him money from the time of Kwang Hsu of the Ching Dynasty. The member of the peasant union was then arrested and imprisoned in the first police station in Wan Lam. The captain of this station is the uncle of Lai Ting-kam, who is a division leader of Liu Chen-huan's army. Usually, he uses his force for evil purposes and unlawfully to suppress the peasants. His actions are similar to those of the depraved gentry. Certainly, he would not like the peasants to have organisations to hinder him in his acts of extortion. Therefore he conspired with the depraved gentry and sent police to arrest Lai Ting-san, a leader of a peasant union, and four members of the union, forcing them to draw a draft for \$360 to be paid to the depraved gentry and to establish a militia instead of a Peasant Union; the captain of the station got 60% of the amount and the depraved gentry got 40%. At that time, peasants of various villages still did not understand the meaning of classes. Seeing that Lo Ting village had just begun to organise a Peasant Union and had been forced to pay a vast sum of money, they were frightened. But the peasants of the said village were, comparatively speaking, awakened. Under the oppressions of Chen's army they dared to protest against the extortions and impositions. So, when they met this obstacle, they were not at all discouraged but related this event to the Peasant Union in Siu Pin. At that time, the Siu Pin Peasant Union, under the charge of our comrades Tsoi Yeh-san, Tsoi Yu-ping, etc., tried to devise means of helping us. On the one hand they peacefully negotiated with the police captains, corrupt officials, and depraved gentry, but no result was achieved and on other hand they reported to the Peasant Department of the Central Kuomintang. During this period the first graduation of the students of the Peasant Movement Training Institute and the issuing of the first declaration in regard to peasant movements by the Nationalist Government occurred and so the Executive Committee of the Provincial Peasant Union appointed Comrade Hok Tsang in the name of the Peasant Department of the Central Kuomintang to go to Pao An for negotiations. He went to Siu Pin Peasant Union in Tung Kuan first and then went to the Wan Lam First Police Station in Pao

An to strongly negotiate with the police captain. The police captain was frightened by the name of the Peasant Department of the Central Kuomintang and was willing to cancel the case of extortion. Hok Tsang, Yu Ping, Yeh San, etc. went to Lo Ting to urge the peasants there to hold a Mass Conference, and spoke to them about obtaining a victory and utilizing the above event as material for propaganda. More than a thousand men and women were present at this Conference. Peasants of various villages understood that the Central Kuomintang advocated and promoted the peasants' privileges and had also realized that the peasant organisation was able to protest against the corrupt officials and depraved gentry. Various villages sent delegates to request Hok Tsang, etc. to go to their villages to speak and to direct them to organize Peasant Unions. Within two or three days the following villages, namely, Lo Ting, Yin Chuen, Lau Chuen, Sui Pui, Shu Tin Po, Hop Sui Han, Lee Chung Tsit and Tong Ha Chung successively organised Peasant Unions. They also held a banquet for comrades Hok Tsang, etc. The peasants of various villages expressed their enthusiasm, especially the peasant-brothers of Yin Chuen. Another thing worth recording here is that all peasants of Tong Ha Chung village were clansmen of Wong's family and at first did not believe in the Peasant Unions and would not allow our comrades to come to their village to do propaganda work. Then as Comrade Hok Tsang is also a clansman of Wong's family, he was allowed to enter the village and the peasants of the village were faithful to him. Later, they accepted the organisation of a Peasant Union. From this point of view, we must know how important the village men look upon the idea of the family. This method may be utilized in furthering peasant movements.

PERIOD OF SUSPENSION OF THE PEASANT MOVEMENT.

The time when the peasants of Lo Ting, Yin Chuen, etc. rose to organise Peasant Unions was the time that Chen's armies occupied Shun Chun and places near the Pao An District (less than 60 li apart). All the depraved gentry, notorious rowdies, and great landlords, seeing the enlargement of the organisations of peasants, were very angry and attempted various measures for destroying the peasants, organisations. On account of this, Chan Yiu-hing, scholar-official of Yin Chuen, and Chan Liu-choh, a notorious character, assembled the bandits and conspired with Chen's armies to attack Lo Ting, Yin Chuen, and places near by, especially places having Peasant Unions. Their only aim was to destroy the Peasant Unions. Since the peasants of the various villages received such opposition they were somewhat discouraged and dared not organise peasant unions openly. But, about a hundred persons of Lo Ting village, eighty persons of Yin Chuen Village, forty persons of Lee Chung-tsit Village, a hundred persons of Shu Tin Po, about twenty persons of Ma Tan San and Hop Shui Han and the Sin Pin Peasant Union in Tung Kuan were awakened. These did not fear the suppressions of Chen's

armies. Formerly, various villages hung up the photos of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. During the attack by Chen's army these were taken down and none dared to talk about Dr. Sun. But in the temple (office of the peasant union) of Lo Ting Village the photo of Dr. Sun Yat-sen was still left hanging, and Chen's armies could not do anything about it.

(From a report on the Peasant Movement in Pao An, December 1925)

7. PAST EVENTS IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEASANT

UNIONS AT WEI YANG DISTRICT.

1. *The Commencement of the Peasant Movement.*

The peasant movement in Wei Yang District was begun in February 1925, when Chen Chiung-ming's army was for the first time driven out of Kwangtung by the Kuomintang troops. Chen Chiung-ming, supported by the help and money of the Hongkong Imperialists, was advancing towards Canton but our forces repulsed him. Meanwhile Dr. Sun was laying on his death-bed in Peking. Then we made up our mind to unify the peasants in Wei Yang District with a view of extending the foundation of our masses' force and of preventing the militarists from rising up again. We consequently sent our comrades of the Peasant Department secretly to Ping Shan and Tan Shui of Wei Yang for the purpose of inaugurating Peasant Unions there. We also despatched several comrades accompanied by ten graduates of the Peasant Movement School to join the Eastern Expeditionary Army by the organisation of a propaganda corps when the Kuomintang forces were despatched to Tung Kiang to attack Hai Feng by way of Tan Shui. The Peasant Associations in Wu Hua, Tsu Chin, and Lung Chuan Districts have been gradually organised by them. Two of our comrades and two or three students of the Peasant Movement School took the opportunity of the victory won by our forces to organise a peasant association in Wei Yang District. One of our comrades went to Ping Shan for organisation work while another went to Tan Shui to undertake the same work. At that time the peasants of Ko Tan, being influenced by the Hai Feng District, voluntarily organised a Peasant Association for themselves. As they received support from the peasants sent by Ping Shan they achieved very much. Up to May 1, 1925, when the Kwangtung Peasant Association was inaugurated, delegates had also come from Ping Shan and Tan Shui. In Ping Shan there is a Peasant Union and more than ten Village Peasant Unions with several thousand members. In Tan Shui there is also a Peasant Union and eight or nine Village Peasant Associations with more than four hundred members. Though Ko Tan lacks good

organisation, yet there are more than five hundred members in the Peasant Union. Judging from the above we may expect that the peasant movement in Wei Yang is now just beginning and will show good development in the near future.

2. The Defensive Period of the Peasant Movement.

Generally speaking, the peasant movement in Wei Yang District should develop better after the inauguration of the Provincial Peasant General Association in Canton. But it is a pity to find that on account of military and political troubles no improvement was to be seen in the peasant movement. It is because the revolutionary force, sent out from there to attack Chao Chow and Swatow met with many unruly volunteers, bandits, landlords, depraved gentry, and bullies who unified themselves together with a view to frustrate the Peasant Association. Among them, Lam Hai-shan, the constabulary commander, was the worst and one who under the mask of being a revolutionist allowed his men to trouble the Peasant Association and suppressed peasants in as many ways as possible. During March he and his men intended to disarm the peasants' force, but fortunately by that time the peasants had become unified and instead of being disarmed they were able to disarm Lam Hai-shan and his force. The latter seeing that failure was impending dared not do anything for some time, but afterwards openly or secretly frustrated the Peasant Unions so that everything concerning the transaction affairs of the peasants was consequently interrupted. In order to strengthen their force the members of the Peasant Unions did not intend to develop further but kept up a defensive attitude. When Liu Chen-huan and Yang Hsi-min stirred up trouble in Canton and when the Kuomintang troops returned from Swatow to drive them out, the peasants of Wei Yang rose up to unite with the Kuomintang troops and participated in the battle, finally eradicating Liu and Yang. Thus our troops were enabled to pass through Ping Shan and Shek Lung without interruption. After the downfall of Liu and Yang, General Hsu Tsung-chi returned to Canton. He gave up Tung Kiang and yielded to Chen Chiung-ming, thus giving that rebel another chance for devastations. Therefore the followers of Chen Chiung-ming more than once made trouble and spread rumours to destroy the peasants. Moreover, Commander-in-Chief Hsu with a view of recovering the land of Wei Chow recommended Yang Kun-yu, the desperado follower of Chen Chiung-ming, as the highest official in Weichow District. The Peasant Association once again was under the suppression of the iron heel of the militarists and the peasants were in a state of despair. They could do nothing but unify themselves as strongly as possible. After Yang Kun-yu restored his original power he openly transported contraband goods, such as food-stuffs, etc. to Hongkong from Swatow and secretly brought back from there many undesirable goods*). At the same time he worked in collusion with the Hongkong Imperialists with the intention of at any time making a counter-attack. As soon as the peasants learned the above news they were very indignant. Three or four times they secretly despatched

delegates to Canton to make a report. Upon the arrival of the delegates the Provincial Peasant Association consoled them with kind words and gave them political reports, and explanations of the meaning of true revolutionist and counter-revolutionist. The Provincial Peasant Association also encouraged the peasants to strengthen their defensive forces and prepare ways and means for development and at the same time submitted plans to the Central Kuomintang and the Nationalist Government for the overthrow of Yang Kun-yu, the counter-revolutionist. When the assassination of Comrade Liao Chung-kai happened, the peasant movement in Wei Yang was oppressed more than ever by Yang Kun-yu. We therefore despatched some comrades to manage the situation but they could not reach their destination on account of an attack by bandits. After many difficulties our comrades reached Wei Yang in safety but they could not conduct any movement freely. They only consulted with peasants as to ways and means for further development and consoled them into being patient.

(From the report of a Special Delegate, February 1926.)

8. THE LANDLORDS BOYCOTT PEASANTS WHO JOIN PEASANT UNIONS.

The peasant movement in the various districts of Nan Lu (Southern Regions) has expanded very rapidly since the special delegates were appointed by the Provincial Peasant Association of Kwangtung to organise the Peasant Unions there. The following is the report about the peasant movement in Yeung Kong:—

(1) The establishment of the 1st. Division Peasant Association:—On March 9, 1926, the preparatory members invited all the delegates of the Village Peasant Unions to a meeting in the Li Ancestral Temple, Tong Mei Village. There were eighteen delegates present from Tong Mei, Pak Sha, Kong Pui, Mook Lei, Nah Lok, Seung Lung etc. The Division Peasant Association was simultaneously inaugurated and six members were elected as members of the Executive Committee.

The decisions were:—

- a. To establish a Peasants' Training School for the training of the peasants and the instillation of the idea of National Revolution.
- b. To organise the Peasant Self-Defence Corps in those villages where the Peasant Unions have been established.
- c. To devise measures for preventing the landlords from transferring their farms, and various decisions to prevent the landlords, bullies and gentry destroying the peasant organisations.

(2) The disturbance of transferring farms by the landlords:—Since the 1st. Division Peasant Association was established, the landlords and bullies there have

become very indignant and jealous. There has been a disturbance in several villages in which the landlords have transferred the lease of their farms in order to boycott the peasants.

(3) The reorganisation of the militia into the Peasant Self-Defence Corps:— Since the Village Peasant Union was established in Yook Sha village of the 1st. Division, the peasants there have been awakened to the harms of the militia and have refused to be tempted by the bribes which the bullies and the militia captain offered. The militiamen have further asked the Peasant Association to reorganize as a Peasant Self-Defence Corps, of which the captain would become a staff member in the Peasant Association after receiving the sanction of the Peace Committee. It is said that the militia, in most of the villages where the Peasant Unions were established, have been doing the same.

(March 1926.)

9. RECENT MOVEMENTS OF THE PEASANT UNION IN SHUN TEH.

The Peasant Union in Shun Teh has been established since the 17th of April, 1925. At that time there were only three District Associations and eighteen Peasant Unions with only four thousand members. Upon the formation of the Provincial Peasant Association, the Peasant Association in Shun Teh was instructed to conform with the organisation plan of the Provincial Association. Instructors were sent to Shun Teh to guide the peasants there. The massacre by the Imperialists at Shakes has awakened our people and has set them at work to promote nationalism. The peasants are following the patriotic movements of the people. In order to guard their own interests, they are concentrating their scattered forces. The peasants in Shun Teh are taking the same action. Towards the end of May, at a meeting held by the committee of the Peasant Association of Shun Teh, the chairman, Mr. Kwok Tsook-pang, who proposed the opposition of the cocoon tax levied by the people's volunteer, was arrested and detained at the Magistracy. The Peasant Department of the Kuomintang telegraphed for his release, but the magistrate did not comply with the request.

Thus the indignation of the peasants was aroused. Consequently the peasants of the whole district were called together in a general meeting to settle this matter. The magistrate, seeing that the unified peasants were a force too strong for him to oppose, at once released Mr. Kwok.

After this incident, the peasants have realized the necessity of uniting their force, so that peasants from every place came to join the District Peasant Union and requested the Union to organise branch unions with the result that twenty Village Unions have been established with more than ten thousand members. Besides this many Peasant Defence Corps have been established.

(From a Report, October 1925.)

10. PEASANT UNIONS AND THE DEPRAVED GENTRY IN JEN HUA.

Jen Hua District inaugurated their Peasant Union last year with a fairly good result. As a result the following villages inaugurated Village Peasant Unions: Loh Ma, Shi Ngou, Lo Tung Tong, Poh Tau, etc. And now there are still other villages organising Peasant Unions. Lately the first division inaugurated a preparatory committee for organising Peasant Unions. The notorious rowdies and depraved gentry, upon seeing the great expansion of the force of peasants, fabricated various rumours saying that Peasant Unions are "Tri-stroke Union" so as to threaten the peasants and prevent them from inaugurating unions. Fortunately, the peasants not only were not fooled by them but understood more about the significance of the class struggle and so became more strongly united than ever. Therefore, this resulted in the inauguration of the First Division Peasant Union and a great expansion of the peasant movement in this place.

The man who harmed the Peasant Union the most in the place was the chief of the Militia Corps, Wong Chi-wan. Wong has done also much damage in this region and all the peasants there hate him. Once he falsely accused one of the staff, Liu Hon-cheng, of the Lo Tung Tong Village Peasant Union saying that Liu had killed the horse of Sun Yu-wan and so imprisoned him for two days and extorted from him over fifty dollars. Under the direction of Wong Chi-wan and Ngan Shih-wang, the chief of the 5th Police Station, arrested and imprisoned the Special Deputy of the peasants, Wong Haak.

Lately, the depraved gentry, of Jen Hua District called and assembled a Joint Conference of the Gentry, Merchants, Students, Politicians, and various circles of the whole district. In this conference, schemes for violating the Peasant Unions were resolved. However, the peasants are not frightened by them and are going to try to frustrate their intrigues.

(From The Plough, April 1926)

11. NATIVE BULLIES OF TZU CHIN DISTRICT OPPOSE THE REORGANISATION
OF THE PEASANT UNION.

Hung Yin-heung, the leader of the native bullies of Tzu Chin District, directed more than 300 bandits on the 12th instant to besiege and attack the District City during the time when all the delegates of the peasants of the district were attending the Delegates' Conference of the District Peasant Union. The official soldiers fought with the bandits for about half a day and afterwards when the Peasant Corps of the neighbouring regions were informed of the trouble and came to the aid of the official soldiers, the siege was raised.

At present the District Peasant Union of Tzu Chin, seeing that the rebel and evil actions of Hung Yiu-heung have become intolerable, has petitioned the Provincial Government to arrest Hung and other bullies and has submitted reports to the Provincial Peasant Association, the Peasant Unions of various districts, the Kuomintang Branches of various grades and the Peasant Department, asking them for assistance.

The following is a copy of the report submitted by the Tzu Chin District Peasant Union to the Provincial Peasant Association:—

"The Peasant Unions of Tzu Chin District were formerly under the management of the native bullies and corrupt gentry of the district who made use of the name of the unions to deceive the peasants and to threaten the authorities so as to carry out their usual tricks of doing harm to the region and oppressing the peasants. Their actions have for a long time hindered our peasant movement in that district.

"But while the native bullies and depraved gentry were carrying on their actions more violently and evilly than before the peasants became more and more awakened. Recently the peasant members of various divisions and villages of the district, unable to suffer further encroachments of the bullies and gentry, rose up to oppose them, and consulted Mr. Chung Yat-keung in a preparatory committee of the district unions in regard to measures for the reorganisation of those unions under the absolute management of the bullies and gentry.

They then resolved to convoke a general delegates' conference of the peasants of the whole district for the solution of various problems regarding the Peasant Unions. On the 12th instant, when the conference was opened, the delegates of various divisions and villages enthusiastically came to attend the gathering despite the long distance from the villages to the District City and the heavy rain which fell that day.

Unexpectedly those native bullies and depraved gentry who formerly usurped the management of the Peasant Unions, knowing that the reorganisation of the Peasant Unions would be unfavourable to their own privileges, fabricated various rumours and unreasonably calumniated our comrades, in the hope of hindering the convocation of our Delegates' Conference and thereby perpetuating their usurped control of the Peasant Unions. Fortunately the delegates of the various divisions and villages were not deceived by their fabrications and calumniations and consequently they failed in their attempt of obstructing our movements.

Nevertheless, they still refuse to stop their actions and have launched even more violent and ferocious attacks upon our comrades and organisations. Those native bullies and depraved gentry of Shu Tin village of the region of Wu Shek Yurk, viz., Hung Yiu-heung Hung Sau-heung, Kong Wui-tung and others, suddenly led more than ten armed villains on the 13th to surround on all sides the building

in which our conference was being held. They did so in order to frighten the delegates so that they would not dare attend our meeting. Consequently we would be unable to discuss any measure for reorganisation of their Peasant Unions. But contrary to their expectation the delegates were not in the least frightened by their actions; and we continued our meeting and sent members to interview the magistrate and to ask for help. Magistrate Tse then personally led the Patrolling Corps to our place to suppress the riot.

It was then resolved by all our members to request the magistrate to disarm Hung Yiu-heung's villains and to punish them according to the law. Our request was favourably accepted by magistrate Tse who immediately ordered the Patrolling Corps to join with the Peasant Corps and the Precautionary Troops for disarming and arresting the rioters. But Hung and other villains, being wicked fellows, pretended to submit to the official soldiers, but secretly gathered together their colleagues in order to launch surprise attacks upon our comrades.

A great noise suddenly arose from the hills in the south-eastern suburbs of the city. Guns were fired from various directions at our building and other trouble was started by the wicked villains. Seeing this unexpected disturbance, magistrate Tse at once led his soldiers to retreat into the city and immediately ordered all the gates closed. We were compelled to suspend our conference for a while until the trouble was over.

The rebel leader, Hung Yin-heung, then directed over three hundred bandits to attack our city. Fighting started between them and the official soldiers which continued for several hours. Then the Peasant Corps of various villages, being informed of the matter, hurried to the rescue of the besieged and the siege was then raised. In this conflict, three of the bandits were killed by our soldiers, two of them being shot dead on the spot and one died from serious wounds, while one of the members of the Precautionary Troops, viz., Sun Lam, was kidnapped. The above are real facts regarding Hung Yin-heung's directing armed villains to surround the meeting place of our delegates and to besiege the district city.

It was found upon investigation that Hung Yin-heung, Hung Sau-heung and Kong Wui-tung are notorious bullies of this district. During the time when the rebel Hung Shiu-lin held power in these regions, Hung Yin-heung was appointed magistrate of Yim Cheung District, Lim Chow. He has also been serving as a detective in Hung Shiu-lin's army. He has, too, been a councilor under Yang Kun-yu, and adjutant officer under Chung Yueh-cho and the chief of staff under Kam Chuk-ming. Since he has such close relations with the rebels, and since he has acted so illegally in the recent trouble and has done so much harm to our Peasant Union, if he is not arrested and strictly dealt with, we fear that he will not only openly attack our peasants but will also secretly join the bandits and unruly soldiers in disturbing

the peace of the various regions under the flag of our Revolutionary Government and hindering the work and progress of our Party. For this reason we hereby request you to ask the Provincial Government to give an order for the arrest of these villains, so as to establish the authority of the laws of the state and to restore order in this region. This is our earnest request.

(From a report of the Tzu Chin District Peasant Union).

April, 1926.

12. DEMONSTRATION MEETING OF THE FOURTH DIVISION

PEASANT UNION IN TZU CHIN DISTRICT.

After the recovery of Tung Kiang, peasants of various places have felt that their unification is of intrinsic importance and that they should unite without any delay. Therefore, peasants of various villages, divisions, and districts have arisen to organise Peasant Unions, especially the peasants of Tzu Chin District. After the inauguration of the fourth division Peasant Union of this district, the depraved gentry and notorious rowdies, upon seeing the unification of peasants, knew that it would be disadvantageous to them and so tried in every possible way to suppress the members of Peasant Union in order to overthrow the Peasant Union. Lately, they have conspired with the famous bandit-chief, Tsang Kwok-wah, who formerly was a follower of rebel Chen and his bandits, numbering about two hundred. Often they have robbed the villages in which Peasant Unions have been located and announced they want to overthrow all the Peasant Unions. However, the peasants here have not been frightened by them and have assembled the peasants of various villages to hold a demonstration meeting and parade in Koo Chuk on the January 22nd. On that day, about three thousand peasants and about four hundred armed peasants of the Self-Defense Corps were present. A demonstration parade was held. While they were marching, they loudly acclaimed the following slogans:

"Overthrow imperialism."

"Overthrow the militarists."

"Support the Nationalist Government."

"Support the policy of the Hongkong Strike."

"Prohibit opium-smoking and gambling."

"Long live the Peasant Union."

(From The Plough, April 1926.)

13. LO TING DISTRICT DEPRAVED GENTRY CONSPIRE WITH BANDITS
TO DESTROY PEASANT UNIONS.

The Provincial Peasant Union received a report from the Fourth Division Peasant Union of Lo Ting District. It reads as follows:

Deputies for the organisation of the Kuomintang, Chan Paak-shuen, Chan Yuk-wei, and members of the depraved gentry, ~~as~~ Chan Shui-paak etc., attempted to frustrate the Peasant Union of Lo Ting by disguising themselves as leaders of the latter. Afterwards this event was reported to the Provincial Peasant Association by the Special Deputy of the said union and their plan failed. But they have never desisted and have repeatedly been obstacles to the progress of the Peasant Union, preventing the further development of peasant movements. Lately they have become ever conspiring with the bandits in Loh Ping to frustrate the Peasant Unions. Peasants, upon hearing such bad news, became greatly frightened. And so we specially request the Provincial Peasant Association to devise means to dispose of this matter and turn over those unlawful Party members who have broken the discipline of the Party to the Kwangtung Provincial Kuomintang so as to enforce the Party's discipline and to support the development of the Peasant Union.

(From *Kuo Min Hsin Wen*, April 1926.)

C. PEASANT SELF DEFENCE CORPS.

I. REGULATIONS OF THE PEASANT SELF DEFENCE CORPS.

1. OUTLINE OF ORGANISATION OF THE PEASANT SELF DEFENCE CORPS.

(Adopted by the 2nd All-Kwangtung Peasant Delegates' Conference.)

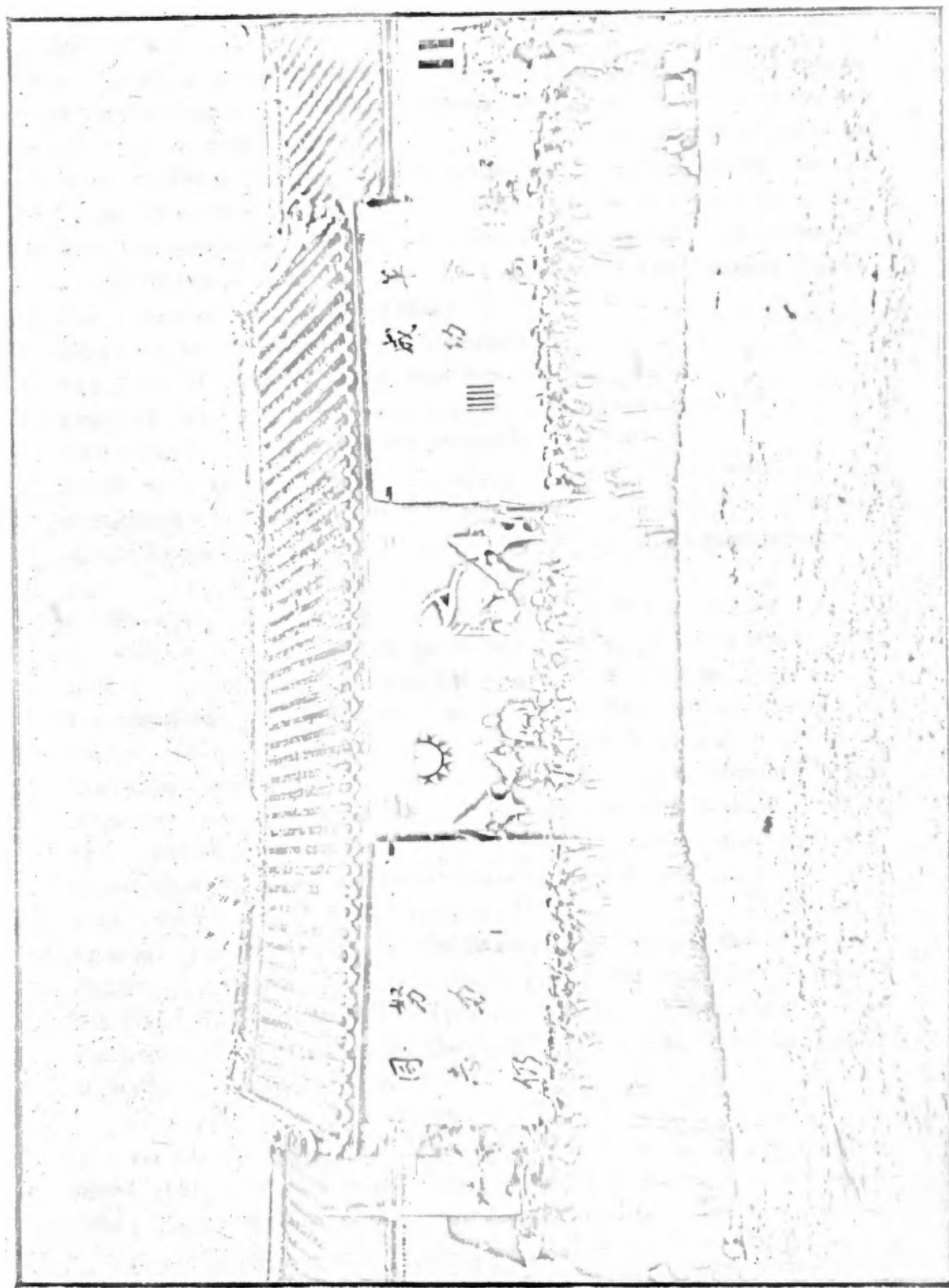
OBJECT.

Art. 1.—For the sake of solidifying the Peasant's Union, preserving the interests of peasants, and preventing alien aggressions, the Kwangtung Peasant Union specially organises with a definite plan a Peasant Self-Defence Corps in accordance with the 1st. Declaration of the Government.

ORGANISATION.

Art. 2.—As regards organisation, the Peasant Self-Defence Corps shall organise various grades of Peasant Corps in accordance with the grades of the Peasant Associations.

Art. 3.—A Village Peasant Self-Defence Corps is the unit of the Peasant Self Defence Corps.



THE TRAINING INSTITUTE OF THE PEASANT SELF-DEFENCE CORPS IN HAI FENG DISTRICT.

Art. 4.—The combination of the various Village Self-Defence Corps of a section forms a Sectional Peasant Self-Defence Corps which is to be named after the section. (Explanation) For the convenience of review, a Sectional Peasant Self-Defence Corps which consists of six or more Village Peasant Self-Defence Corps shall be divided into two or more Branch Sectional Corps.

Art. 5.—A District Peasant Self-Defence Corps is formed by a combination of the Sectional Corps. (Explanation) For the convenience of review or direction, a District Peasant Association which consists of eight or more Sectional Unions may organise two or more Branch District Peasant Self-Defence Corps in accordance with the local conditions.

Art. 6.—Basic organisations of the Peasant Self-Defence Corps shall be formed in accordance with the number of members of the Peasant Union. The system of organisation is this:

- (a) Every ten to fifteen men form a detached group.
- (b) Every two to four detached groups form a small group.
- (c) Every two to four small groups form an intermediate group.
- (d) Every two to four intermediate groups form a big group.
- (e) Every two to four big groups form a corps. (Explanation) In connection with the above-mentioned system of organisation, attention should be paid to the present condition of the Peasant Union before the organisation becomes fixed.

Art. 7.—For the convenience of the Peasant Association in despatching Peasant Self-Defence Corps to give aid to the neighbouring districts or sections, each basic organisation of a Peasant Self-Defence Corps is divided into two divisions: the first for garrison work, called Garrison Division of the Peasant Defence Corps; the second, called the Volunteer Division of the Peasant Defence Corps. The second division may be detached by the respective Peasant Associations to other sections of the same district, or in case of need, the Provincial Peasant Association may despatch it to other districts. If the 1st Division should be engaged in war, it cannot be despatched to other places.

In order to unify the work of the Peasant Self-Defence, the Provincial Peasant Association shall establish a Military Department to which command the Peasant Self-Defence Corps of various districts should be amenable. The expenses for the upkeep of the 2nd. Division shall be borne by the Peasant Union.

TRAINING.

Art. 8.—The second Division of the Peasant Self-Defence Corps, in ordinary times, shall undergo a review once a week for a period of two hours. The programme of the review should be decided beforehand. Twice a

month a grand review of the entire body of the Peasant Self-Defence Corps of a section shall be held. In time of war the Village Peasant Self-Defence Corps should hold reviews once every week for a period of three hours, and a Sectional grand review once a month. A grand review of the 2nd. Division, that is, the Volunteers of the Peasant Self-Defence Corps of a district shall be held once every four months—the duration of each to be four days.

Art. 9.—The various grades of commanders of the Peasant Self-Defence Corps shall be appointed by the Executive Committee of the respective Peasant Union.

Art. 10.—If the majority of a group of Peasant Self-Defence Corps are not satisfied with the respective group-commander, they may appeal to the Executive Committee of a higher organ to request his removal.

Art. 11.—Commanders of the various grades of the Peasant Self-Defence Corps must be members of the various grades of Executive Committees.

Art. 12.—The personnel of the lower executive departments of the various grades of Peasant Self-Defence Corps shall be appointed directly by the various grades of Peasant Self-Defence Corps.

Constituents of the Peasant Self-Defence Corps.

Art. 13.—Constituents of all grades of the Peasant Self-Defence Corps must be members of the Peasant Unions.

Art. 14.—Every Village Peasant Union should have at least 15% of its members, who are fit, enlisted in the Volunteer Division of the Peasant Self-Defence Corps.

(May 1926)

2. RESOLUTION OF THE ENLARGED SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE PROVINCIAL PEASANT ASSOCIATION.

Regarding the Peasant Self-Defence Corps.

The Peasant Self-Defence Corps is a necessary organisation and so it is imperative to enlarge and develop same. We must always bear in mind the following points:

(1) That it must not go beyond Self-Defence. At present, it is a defensive and not an offensive weapon.

(2) Except for emergency, there should be no permanent militia because with a permanent organisation the Peasant Union would have to shoulder the expenses.

(3) There are no exact statistics of the Peasant Self-Defence Corps and therefore its number and strength is not accurately known. Responsible militants of the various Peasant Unions should encourage the members to fill the investigation forms fully.

(4) More political and military training for the Peasant Self-Defence Corps is required.

(5) Methods of enrollment, flags, uniform, etc. shall be fixed by the Provincial Peasant Association and they will be the pattern for the whole province.

(Canton Gazette, September 1926)

II. HOW THE PEASANTS ARM THEMSELVES.

1. THE ORIGIN OF THE PEASANT SELF-DEFENCE CORPS.

The Peasant Self-Defence Corps originated in the Farmers' Movement School, which was established by the Kuomintang in 1924. The first session of this school had thirty-six students and the period of study was prolonged to two and half months. The students of the second class were enrolled from the country and consisted mostly of Workers and Farmers including thirteen women. A strict oral examination was given to the students so that only the capable ones were admitted. From the first class twenty-five students after graduation were sent to the country for actual work. The second class began their training on the 21st of September. The predetermined program was that they should have two months of class instruction and half a month of military drill. But on account of the lack of teachers and proper class rooms only the military drill was given. The merchant strike occurred at the time and the intention of the government was to disarm the merchants and get control of the public rice. Two hundred students, excluding the females, were sent on duty to take control of sixteen rice shops. The students were thus introduced into the Labour Volunteer Corps. The Central Committee of the Kuomintang originally gave its warmest support to this corps for their good work. When the policy of controlling the rice was dropped³), the Volunteers only remained in the Civil Governor's office for training. Then ten officers were invited to conduct the military drill and a good number of the students deserted the corps because they were unable to endure the hardships. Only 163 soldiers are now left. After half month of military training class work began.

On the 21st of September, 1924, on receiving the command from Sun Yat-sen the whole corps marched to Shao Kuan. That afternoon Dr. Sun spoke to them saying that propaganda is far more important than military action. Upon this hint we gave up our intention of securing arms from Shao Kuan and bent our efforts to the spreading of propaganda at Shao Kuan before returning home. The night before the corps marched into Shao Kuan eight other soldiers fled for fear. But twenty new men from Nanpu took their places.

At Shao Kuan the soldiers were divided into ten groups and sent to the country to undertake the organisation of farmers' unions. As they were welcomed by the populace they were sub-divided into thirty-six groups in order to visit more places. The method of propaganda was first to make an investigation of the conditions of the place and then to tell the farmers the importance of the Union. On account of the harsh oppression of the landlords, the people of the North River Regions all welcomed our propaganda. The organisation work was not completed as the corps hastened to return Canton on the 30th of September. During the eleven days at Shao Kuan there were three days of scientific lectures, two days of mass meeting for supporting the expedition, one day of parade and the remaining five days of spreading propaganda in the villages.

In organisation the corps is divided into three companies, each sub-divided into three patrols, each patrol composed of nine groups of nine soldiers. In every group there is group leader, and every three groups form a sub-branch of the patrol. The total number of the corps is 162 soldiers.

The soldiers classified according to their native places are as follows: six from Nan Hai, nineteen from Chung Shan, eighteen from Shun Teh, three from Tung Kuan, eight from Wei Chow and Hai Feng, nine from Mei Hsien, twenty-three from Kwang Ning, three from Kow Min, eighteen from Si Kiang, twenty-seven from Lian Ya, seven from Hua Hsien, one hundred and one from Canton and Ching Yuan, five from Pei Kiang, twenty-one from Nan Lu. The above numbers refer to students of the Farmers' Movement School including thirteen women.

Their classification according to party membership are: all the students are members of the Kuomintang.

The subject-matter of the courses are as follows: The ABC of National Revolution, The History of Imperialist Aggression, The Principles of the Kuomintang and its Declaration, the History of the Chinese National Revolution, The method of the Farmers' Movement, The Kuomintang and the Farmers, The Principles of Sociology, The Recent Chinese Political Conditions, Sun Yat-senism, Method of Speech Making, etc.

During the merchant massacre not many of these corps members were wounded as they marched in the centre of the parade. The one man severely wounded was picked up from the street by Mr. Joy and sent to the hospital. On October 12 they were transferred to Tai Sha Tu and started for Whampoa where they were given rifles and instructions and practised drills in shooting and rudimentary war tactics and methods. As they had already knowledge of military training, on the 27 they returned to Canton and after two days of special lectures they graduated and the corps was disbanded.

(Information Bureau)

October 1924.

2. PEASANTS OF TUNG KUAN ORGANISE DEFENCE CORPS.

Owing to the oppressions of the landlords and bandits, the peasants, realizing that they are in a dangerous situation, began to organise defence corps for self-protection. Already a defence corps of able-bodied peasants have been organised by the Third Peasant District Union in Tung Kuan. The Second District Peasant Union there has also followed the example. The organisation of the defence corps has been recorded and approved of by the Provincial Peasant Association.

(From Min Kuo Jih Pao, August 29.)

3. THE INAUGURATION OF THE PEASANT CORPS OF THE 3RD DISTRICT PEASANT ORGANISATION OF TUNG KUAN.

The 3rd District Peasant Organisation of Tung Kuan which was founded last autumn is located at Ta Hung Tak. It controls the district connecting Boeca Tigris and Pao An and is considered an important military position. When the Kuomintang soldiers attacked Chen Chiung-ming's troops at Tungkiang, members of the 3rd District Peasant Union helped our soldiers a great deal in transportation. Members of their Peasant Union for the purpose of self-defence and for the sake of supporting the Nationalist Government in time of need founded a Peasant Corps on September 4th.

A grand ceremony was held in honour of the occasion. There were present all members of the 3rd District Peasant Union and their Defence Corps, Peasant Corps of the 4th, 7th and 9th District Peasant Unions, altogether more than 1,000 peasants fully armed.

On the following day, the Peasant Union gathered more than 3,000 peasants for a lecture. When they heard of the assassination of Minister Liao Chung-kai all the peasants were greatly moved. They were so enraged that they immediately held a parade after the lecture. All along the way they acclaimed loudly:—

Down with Militarism and Imperialism.

Down with the landlords and the gentry.

Down with the corrupt officials.

Down with the counter-revolutionary forces.

Avenge the death of Minister Liao Chung-kai.

Peasant Corps! support the Nationalist Government!

Fight for the interests of the Peasants.

The demonstration was full of enthusiasm and patriotism. It showed that the peasants of China are gradually awakening.

(From the Information Bureau)

September 1925.

4. PEASANT SELF-DEFENCE CORPS ESTABLISHED IN CHIU KIANG.

In view of the fact that the members of the Peasant Organisations have increased to over 10,000 and that the bandits are becoming more audacious, the members decided to establish a Self-Defence Corps. Each section is required to send one armed peasant to join the corps, and the peasant organisation of each section has to pay all expenses temporarily, but wages will be paid by the magistrate. At present the number of members in the corps is sixty. They are stationed at Ma Pa and Wu Sek. In the future they will number more than a thousand.

(From a Special Report, October 1925.)

5. GENERAL MEETING OF THE DISTRESSED PEASANTS OF CHANG CHUNG VILLAGE (SHUN TEH DISTRICT) IN WHICH THEY DECIDE TO ORGANISE PEOPLE SELF-DEFENCE CORPS.

The farmers of Chang Chung Village of Shun Teh District, have suffered much after being robbed and ruined by the rebel soldiers who also burned many of their cottages and houses. Moreover, since winter is drawing near, the peasants will suffer more during the cold season. Though the Government has done much to relieve them, the relief has been so meagre that it has benefited the peasants but little. At present the distressed farmers of that village in order to maintain their own living, summoned a general meeting on the 19th instant. At this meeting it was decided to subscribe money and clothing from the neighbouring villages and at the same time to establish their Peasant Unions and Farmers' Self-Protecting Corps as soon as possible.

(From a report to the Provincial Peasant Association.)
October 1925.

III. PEASANT SELF-DEFENCE CORPS' ACTIVITIES.

1. THE PEASANT CORPS IN HAI FENG MAINTAIN ORDER.

The peasant movement in Hai Feng has been the chief one in comparison with those in the various districts of Kwangtung. There are more than 200,000 members various Peasant Unions in this district and a strong force of the Peasant Corps has been organised. In the various political movements they have strenuously participated. Recently the District Peasant Union there received a report from its members that the rebel soldiers of Yung Fai-hang came and extorted money from the people in Yim Chow, Kat Lung, etc., and declared their intention of remaining for good at Hai Feng. In the meantime news came that the magistrate and all the personnel fled to hide themselves in Swabee. The whole city was consequently in a panic,

Making use of such an opportunity, the bullies went plundering, the reactionary members spreading rumours, the prisoners stirring up a violent disturbance, and even hundreds of rowdies instigated by the bullies living near the suburb capturing the property of the Women's Association. Hence the District Peasant Union there immediately notified the Peasant Corps to maintain order. They on the one hand, despatched their members to watch the prisoners in the jail, and on the other hand prohibited the removal of the citizens for the maintenance of order. Upon seeing this, all the rowdies and bullies instantly dispersed leaving the citizens less frightened. Thus order was restored in the city. Furthermore they despatched their members to guard the various important entrances. In order to ask for reinforcements a telegram was immediately sent to the 1st. Army in Swatow and delegates to the Peasant Corps in Lu Feng and Swabce. As soon as the rebel soldiers heard of this they retreated to the mountains, and were afraid to march upon Haifeng.

(From a report of the Hai Feng Peasant Union, February 1926.

2. PEASANT CORPS IN SHUN TEH DISTRICT PROMOTE ORDER

The following report given by the Shun Teh District Peasant Union, reads as follows:

Leung Fu-sun, a corrupt gentry in Ko Chau village, had suppressed the peasants so much that the nickname of "Tiger Gentry" was conferred upon him. Last year when the Peasant Union in Yue Chung village had just been inaugurated he suddenly appeared among the peasants and destroyed their organisation. At the beginning of this year (1926) as the chief of the Committee of the Chun Chuk (village) Peasant Union was passing through Shun Teh he was imprisoned by Leung who had just arrived at his village. This illustrates how cruel he was in dealing with the peasants. Though the division Peasant Union in the 8th Division had appealed to the Provincial Peasant Association requesting them to submit to the Nationalist Government for despatching troops to cooperate with the peasant corps in dealing with the above-mentioned gentry, nothing was done about it. As time passed the bitter hatred of the peasants in the 8th division toward the "Tiger Gentry" increased. Many a time they requested us to devise measures of overthrowing him, but we refused because the time was not yet ripe. On the 31st instant at 10 a.m. we received a report from the peasants of Ma Kong stating that the militia of Ko Chau village had attacked the Peasant Corps who happened to appear before them when running after some bandits from other villages. As soon as we learned about this we immediately led more than one thousand of our Peasant Corps to Ko Chau village in order to rescue our comrades and maintain order. When we arrived at that village we were surprised to learn that the gates were shut and the bridges destroyed. We then

found a way of entering that village by dividing our men into two parts. At the same time we despatched our men to keep a close watch and ordered the villagers to open the gates by declaring that the object of our arrival was to protect the peasants. After waiting for a while, we saw three or four persons with rifles running to and fro. We at once ordered them to halt, but instead of obeying they fired at us. We then chased them. While running along the road we saw a tall corpse lying on the ground. After a careful inspection the peasants assured us that he was Leung Fu-sun, the "Tiger Gentry" and the notorious oppressor of the peasants. At the same time we received a report from our Peasant Corps that there was another corpse inside the village. We heard the villagers say that in the morning there suddenly came a band of disguised soldiers who robbed and plundered, causing them to become panic-stricken. They believed that the man whose corpse lay in the village had been shot by the bandits. The villagers also told us that when the bandits were gone the troops under Li Fu-lin came to them and when Li's troops withdrew we appeared in their village. They welcomed us very gladly and allowed us to maintain peace and order in their village. Taking this opportunity we then told the villagers that the reason why we came to them was that we had heard that morning that their village was being disturbed by bandits disguised as soldiers. Our object was to deliver them and support them in their fight against the bandits. Therefore they should not be afraid of us but should call back the peasants who had fled. We would return to our own district after all bandits were driven out.

On April 1st. the peasants of Ko Chan village came again to us and requested us to despatch our men to protect them. We at once sent our Peasant Corps of Ma Kong village to help them and at the same time issued notifications in the name of the Pu Ning District Peasant Union stating that at the request of Ko Chan villagers our men were sent there to protect them; therefore none of the villagers need be afraid of us. At this all the Ko Chan villagers warmly welcomed us. A general meeting was held by them with three hundred persons in attendance. During the meeting proposals concerning the compensation of the dead and wounded peasants and the organisation of peasant unions were discussed. A peasant union was consequently organised and after Comrade Sum Pong had expounded the principles of organisation to the peasants, more than four hundred peasants with various surnames joined the peasant union. On the second day the Peasant Corps of Ma Kong while walking along the shore saw some merchants being robbed by bandits of a Kwangtung clique and so fired at the bandits. A hard fight began and lasted for about two hours. At last the bandits were defeated. Seven pigs and more than ten packages of bran were recovered by our Peasant Corps from the bandits. These were handed over to the District Peasant Union who ordered the above-mentioned goods to be returned to the owners.

(From a Special Report, April 1926.)

3. PEASANT SELF-DEFENCE CORPS REQUESTED TO PROTECT CANTON-SANSHUI RAILWAY.

Recently the Canton-Sanshui Railway Authorities received reports stating that robbers were infesting the vicinity along the line and were very active. In order to prevent any unexpected dangers and in order to make it safe for traffic the authorities wrote to the Village Peasant Corps of the various villages through which the line passes requesting them to render help in the extermination of the robbers. It is reported that the Peasant Corps have formerly been very helpful to the Railway and undoubtedly they will soon put an end to the disturbances.

(From *Min Kuo Jih Pao*, 6-1-26.)

4. NAN HAI PEASANT CORPS DEFEAT ROBBERS.

On the night of May 25th, the Li Chung Village of the 1st Division was suddenly attacked by some robbers, who, after entering the village, plundered all the villagers and set fire to the house of a peasant named Chan Tong. Upon learning this the Peasant Corps of the region immediately went to the village to help the villagers. They fought with the robbers for more than an hour and defeated them. They arrested one of the bandits and recovered more than ten bales of booty. The arrested bandit was handed over to the magistrate of Nan Hai by the Peasant Corps on the 27th for punishment.

(From *Kuo Min Hsin Wen*, May 1926.)

5. PEASANT CORPS AT TUNG PO DISARM REBEL TROOPS

After the Anti-Revolutionary movements of Ngai Pong Ping and Lam Shun-gai were revealed, the Peasant Corps at Tung Po gathered together on the 29th ultimo and swore their intention of clearing out all anti-revolutionary forces in order to put the Nationalist Government on a firmer basis. An attack was made upon the anti-revolutionary forces under Taam Kai-sau on the 30th. The peasants had already defeated them but a member of the gentry, Man Koon-sun, came to their rescue with the people's militia and had the Peasant Corps surrounded. One peasant was wounded. The Peasant Corps fought bravely and at last broke the siege capturing many of their enemies. A captain, Tam Kum, and a secretary, Taam Si-mon, were among the captives. Twenty rifles were seized. The captives and seized arms were handed over by the peasants to the Headquarters of the Commander of the Garrison.

(From *Min Kuo Jih Pao*, 9-9-25.)

6. PEASANT CORPS DEFEAT THE REBELL TSE MIN-PING.

To

The C.E.C. of the Kuomintang:

On November 1st our troops fought desperately with the rebellious troops under Tse Min-Ping in Kwan Fau, Chiu Yang. The fight continued for a day and a night. Our troops launched a severe attack on them, and killed over one hundred of the enemy forces. They could not resist and retreated to Swatow and Chao An.

On November 2nd in the afternoon we captured Chao Yang, Kwan Fau Si and Song Tin. The remaining rebellious soldiers were also defeated. At 2 p.m. on November 4th we captured Chao An City.

(*sd.*) Fong Ki-yuet.

Chief leader of the Chao Chow Peasant Corps.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen, November 1925.)

7. THE ARREST OF THE MURDERER SHU KWAN-SUEN BY THE
PEASANT SELF-DEFENCE CORPS.

On the 14th instant at 4 p.m. Shu Kwan-suen, the ex-Director of the Department of Public Utility and former Regiment Leader of the Precautionary Troops was arrested in Shekki by the Peasant Self-Defence Corps for the reason that he had once shot peasants when he was the regiment leader of the district corps.

(From Min Kuo Jih Pao, 9-18-25.)

8. PEASANT CORPS OF CHUNG SHAN DISTRICT FOUGHT WITH BANDITS.

On the 22nd of November, 1925, the peasant corps at a certain village in Chung Shan District, while protecting the peasants with their harvest at the sandfields, were suddenly besieged and shot at by over two hundred bandits headed by Kwok Sang and Liang Tung. The peasant corps who had only thirty men immediately returned fire. Being outnumbered, four men and many rifles of the Peasant Corps were seized by the bandits who, while leaving, ransacked the house of the chairman of the Peasant Union of that village.

Peasant Corps at Yin Chow Village frequently attacked by bandits.

On the 20th of November the Yin Chow Village of Chung Shan District was besieged and attacked by over one hundred bandits. The Peasant Corps there defended the place and held out for several hours. On account of the effective weapons of the bandits the Peasant Corps were defeated. Several peasant houses were burned.

Unexpectedly, the bandits came again the next day to besiege the village. But luckily the Peasant Corps had already mobilized their forces. The bandits retreated after several hours of heavy battle. The peasant corps there are now maintaining a vigilant watch.

Another case.

Since the Peasant Corps of Chung Shan District despatched some members to protect the peasants in reaping their harvest, they have been repeatedly attacked by the bandits. On November 2nd the bandits again surrounded and attacked the Peasant Corps of Fung Kai Village. The latter were defeated and their blockhouse was captured. On the following day the bandits unexpectedly came again and assailed the defeated Peasant Corps. This time the Peasant Corps tried their best to resist their assailants, and after several hours' fighting, the bandits were defeated and driven away. In this battle, one of the members of the Peasant Corps was wounded and three rifles were lost. It was indeed strange that when the Peasant Corps fought with the bandits, the garrison troops of that region which were under the control of commander Li Fu-lin did not send any soldiers to help the Peasant Corps.

(From a Special Report, December 1925).

9. NOTORIOUS BANDITS KILLED BY PEASANT CORPS AT NAN POU VILLAGE IN NAN HAI DISTRICT.

Chang Hung, Chang Lun, Wong Hung are notorious bandits in the Nan Hai District. They have frequently plundered and terrorised the Nam Pou Village. On September 6th they attempted to plunder the same village again but met a serious attack of the Peasant Corps with the result that the notorious Chang Lun and his comrades were captured. The rest escaped.

The following night the bandits gathered together and attacked the village from a steamer with the purpose of recovering the captured bandits. They were again defeated by the peasant corps. At the same time, Chang Hung, the captive, tried to escape from prison. He was seized by the peasant corps and instantaneously shot. Henceforth the Nam Pou Village will be free from these bad characters.

(Information Bureau, September 1925)

CHAPTER IX.

THE MILITIA AND

THE

PEASANTRY.

A. THE ORGANISATION OF THE MILITIA.

1. THE REVISED MILITIA REGULATIONS OF KWANGTUNG PROVINCE.

I.

1. The people of Kwangtung Province, for the purpose of guarding against robbers, may provide for themselves, arms, ammunition and expenditure, to organize the militia in accordance with these regulations.

2. The militia is to be under the direct command of the Militia Controlling Bureau and at the same time under the supervision of its local officials.

3. The militia, having been organized and founded, should immediately report to the Militia Controlling Bureau.

4. In case it be necessary for a certain place to organize a militia, the Militia Controlling Bureau should order its officials to do so.

5. The militia is to be trained and inspected always by men sent by the Militia Controlling Bureau.

6. In case disputes occur between the Militia and the Corps, the former should, under any and all circumstances, report to its local officials and the Militia Controlling Bureau, and wait calmly for the disputes to be settled.

7. If disputes occur in the militia itself, or if disputes occur between two militias, the militia or militias, should report at once to the Militia Controlling Bureau and the local officials, and calmly wait for the disputes to be settled.

II.—Qualification.

8. Only genuine inhabitants are qualified to join the militia.

9. Anyone guilty of one or more of the following is not permitted to join:—

- (a) Committed a crime.
- (b) Insanity.
- (c) An opium-smoker or a gambler.
- (d) Without regular work.
- (e) A weak body.
- (f) Under twenty or over fifty years of age.

Besides the above conditions, those who are considered unqualified by their local officials are not permitted to join.

III.—Organisation

10. Each militia is to be divided into three branches, namely: Village Militia, Division Militia, and District Militia. The inhabitants of different divisions who intend to organize a militia should organize a Village Militia in the village, a Division Militia in the Chuen and a District Militia in the district. The Division Militia is organised by representatives of all Village Militias in that Chuen; the District Militia is organised by representatives of all Division Militia. The District Militia is under direct command of the Militia Controlling Bureau.

11. The militias of some special militia spheres which do not belong to any district, should have militia departments; and, if it be absolutely necessary for these militia departments to have a united organisation, they may appoint representatives to organise a United Militia Department or Organisation. All such departments are directly subject to the Militia Controlling Bureau. The special militia spheres are Canton and Fatshan. If there are other places which are qualified to be classified as special militia spheres, the Militia Controlling Bureau can classify them with the sanction of the Governor.

12. As to the organisation of Village Militia, Division Militia, District Militia, Special Militia or United Militia Department, and the power and obligation of each, the Militia Controlling Bureau would issue other regulations.

13. In each militia, one squad consists of ten privates and a corporal; one section consists of three squads and a sergeant; one platoon consists of three sections and a lieutenant; one company consists of three platoons and a captain; one battalion consists of three companies and a major; three battalions make one troop in which one man is elected Commander-in-chief by the different district militia departments. The sergeant, lieutenant, captain, major and the Commander-in-chief, having been elected, should report to the Militia Controlling Bureau through which the Governor should give them appointments.

14. Seals of the different militia departments just founded and registered are to be given by the Militia Controlling Bureau. Their badges and banners are to be made in accordance with the forms issued by the Militia Controlling Bureau.

IV.—Obligations and Duties.

15. The most important responsibility of the militia is to protect the people from robbery. The Government cannot make use of it for fighting purposes.

16. Any militia which chases robbers over another section of a district or despatches its members for guard duty should report to the Militia Controlling Bureau and the local officials beforehand unless time does not permit.

17. In case a militia chases robbers, it should, without delay, notify the local corps and the militia of another section of the district, and may ask the latter for aid; but should at the same time report to the Militia Controlling Bureau and the local officials.

18. The militia, having captured the robbers, should abide by the following regulations:—

- (a) It should send the robbers to the local officials with the stolen goods, if they are to be tried.
- (b) It should send the robbers and their plunder to the local officials not later than twelve hours after capture.
- (c) It is forbidden to make use of torture, to fine or release the robbers.

19. The militias should, in the first month of the year, hand in lists containing names of their members and detailed records regarding the situation of their departments.

20. As to organising United Militia Departments, the militias may issue regulations according to the circumstances of that section of the district and send them to the Militia Controlling Bureau to be sanctioned.

V.—Expenditure and Arms.

21. As to the number and kind of guns and bullets the militias have on hand, they should report to the Militia Controlling Bureau which will send men to inspect and number the guns and will give them certificates. In case they are in lack of arms, they may provide money and ask the Militia Controlling Bureau for them. If they have used up some bullets, they should report from time to time.

22. The militias may secure money for their expenditures from their villages or sections according to circumstances, but should get the sanction of the Militia Controlling Bureau first, and should hand in budgets and accounts once a year to be considered and approved.

VI.—Reward and Punishment.

23. The Militia Controlling Bureau should reward those militias which have done any one of the following:—

- (a) captured notorious robbers,
- (b) captured government's criminals,
- (c) helped the government or other militias to apprehend robbers,
- (d) apprehend robbers when they begin to rob or are in possession of plunder,
- (e) discovered robbers' retreats or headquarters,
- (f) caught men that secretly transport ammunition and guns,
- (g) reported no robbery in their own sections,
- (h) put a stop to fighting or given aid to stricken places.

24. The Militia Controlling Bureau should give a penalty, slight or heavy, according to the case or even abolish the militias which have committed any one of the following:—

- (a) opposed the government,
- (b) violated the regulations of the Militia Controlling Bureau,
- (c) furnished arms to robbers,
- (d) given robbers refuge or shared their plunder,
- (e) protected opium-smokers and gamblers,
- (f) obtained robbers' arms and plunders without making reports,
- (g) neglected their duties when robbery occurred,
- (h) given no aid to nearby sections when robbery occurred,
- (i) oppressed the villagers and purposely taken revenge on others,
- (j) used up public money for selfish ends,
- (k) disobeyed orders.

VII.—Bye-Laws.

25. If it be necessary for certain people's self-defence organisations to be subjected to supervision or command of the Militia Controlling Bureau it may order them to do so with the sanction of the Governor.

26. If these regulations are not complete the Militia Controlling Bureau may revise them with the sanction of the Governor.

27. These regulations shall be in force as soon as they are published.

(June 1925.)

2. PROVISIONAL REGULATIONS REGARDING THE ORGANIZATION OF
THE MILITIA CONTROLLING COMMITTEE.

- Art. 1.—The Militia Controlling Committee shall be organised by a certain number of delegates appointed by the Military Council of the Nationalist Government. Of those delegates one shall be appointed chairman and another vice-chairman of the committee.
- Art. 2.—The Militia Controlling Committee shall be under direct control of the Military Council and shall be empowered to direct and supervise all sorts of armed bodies organised by the people for self-defence purposes, such as the People's Corps, the Peasant Corps, the Village Volunteers and the Merchant Volunteers, etc.
- Art. 3.—In the province of Kwangtung, all leaders of various sorts of armed bodies organised by the people for self-defence purposes shall be appointed by the Militia Controlling Committee.
- Art. 4.—A Militia Controlling Council shall be established under the Militia Controlling Committee. Those persons who are skilled in managing

affairs in connection with the militia or are members of those bodies which have close relation with various militia corps, shall be engaged as councillors.

Art. 5.—In case of any conflict between various militia corps, or any disobedience of order by the corps, or any illegal actions done by them, if it be resolved at the meeting of the committee to apply military force for settlement of those troubles, the Militia Controlling Committee shall report their resolution to the Military Council and request the enforcement of the same.

Art. 6.—Any order or official correspondence of the Militia Controlling Committee shall be issued, after the despatch of the letter or the issue of the order has been passed at the meeting of the committee and after the Committee has signed it.

Art. 7.—The resolutions and appointments of the Militia Controlling Committee shall not produce any effect unless they have been passed by more than one half of the whole body of members of the committee. The ordinary affairs of the committee shall be transacted by the Chairman or the vice-chairman who shall afterwards submit reports to the committee on the management of those affairs.

Art. 8.—In the Militia Controlling Committee there shall be established one chief secretary and two assistant secretaries whose duty it shall be to exercise the resolutions passed at the meetings of the committee, to transact the important affairs of the committee, to perform the drafting work of various sorts of rules and regulations, and to take charge of other miscellaneous affairs which are not transacted by various other departments.

Art. 9.—In the Militia Controlling Committee, the following departments shall be established :—

- (1) General Affairs Department.
- (2) Militia Affairs Department.
- (3) Training Department.

Art. 10.—The General Affairs Department shall be headed by a Director and shall contain a certain number of members. It shall have charge of the following functions :

- (1) Recording the entrance and departure of the officers.
- (2) Taking care of the correspondence.
- (3) Keeping the seals.
- (4) Auditing the accounts.

- (5) Sending, receiving and filing the official documents.
- (6) Managing miscellaneous affairs.
- (7) Other work which is not handled by various other departments.

Art. 11.—The Militia Affairs Department shall be headed by a Director and shall contain a certain number of members. It shall have charge of the following functions:—

- (1) Inspection of the work and conditions of militia corps of various regions.
- (2) Investigation and recording of the number of members of various militia corps and the kind and number of guns which those corps possess.
- (3) Settling troubles started among the armed bodies organised by the people for self-defense purposes.
- (4) Examination of the work of the leaders of various bodies under the control of the committee.

Art. 12.—The Training Department shall be headed by a Director and shall contain a certain number of members. It shall have charge of the following functions:—

- (1) Propaganda work.
- (2) Training and directing the members of various militia corps.
- (3) Work regarding organisation and reformation of the militia corps.

Art. 13.—For the sake of facilitating their works, a certain number of sections shall be established under each department and each section shall be assigned a separate kind of work. The distribution of work shall be carried out by the chief secretary.

Art. 14.—The Militia Controlling Committee shall have the authority to institute a certain number of Inspecting Special Delegates for the examination of the work and conditions of the militia of various regions.

Art. 15.—The Militia Controlling Committee shall have the authority to appoint a certain number of clerks and writers to take charge of the accounts and registers and to write letters and documents.

Art. 16.—Rules regarding affairs in connection with the meetings of the committee shall be determined and drawn up separately.

Art. 17.—This set of regulations shall be in force from the day of its promulgation.

(April 1926)

3. NOTIFICATION OF THE MILITIA CONTROLLING COMMITTEE.

Recently the Militia Committee again issued a notification requiring those militia corps which have not yet been registered in the former Militia Controlling Bureau to organise according to the former regulations. The notification reads as follows:—

"Notice is hereby given that the militia corps of every district should temporarily follow the former militia regulations for the management of the affairs of the corps before the new regulations are announced. Notification to this effect has already been once announced. The former regulations were those which were sanctioned and registered by the former Militia Controlling Bureau. But after the new regulations are announced, these should be adopted.

"However it was recently found that many militia corps have not been registered in the former Militia Controlling Bureau or have not yet prepared charts and regulations to be sanctioned by the Militia Committee, but were only approved of by the magistrates. This hinders the unification of militia corps very greatly and should be strictly prohibited in order to make the administration uniform.

"The various district magistrates have been notified to the effect and it is hoped that every militia corps will follow the order. Both new and old militia corps who have yet been registered in the former Militia Controlling Bureau should follow the former militia regulations to prepare and submit the chart to the Militia Committee for approval.

If any infringement is detected, the corps will be dissolved and their arms confiscated. The various cooperative militia corps and cooperative defense bureau are illegal, and no matter by what organ they were registered they should be dissolved and a report made to the Militia Committee so as to adhere to the regulations."

(Published in Kuo Min Hsin Wen, 7-6-26.)

4. ILLEGAL MILITIA BUREAU NOT ALLOWED TO RECOVER.

The Militia Bureau in the 2nd section of Kao Yao used to devastate the Peasant Organisation and oppress the peasants. Their methods were, comparatively speaking, crueller than those adopted by other bureaus. For this reason this bureau has been abolished by the order of the Nationalist Government and at the same time the Militia Committee has strictly ordered that this bureau be prohibited to reorganise. But recently the officers of the bureau fabricated rumours instigating the peasants to unruly actions and defamed the Nationalist Government. For fear that the illiterate peasants would be deceived, the Militia Committee issued the following notification advising the peasants not to be deceived by the rumours and be perturbed. The notification reads as follows:—

"The purpose of the militia corps was to guard the locality against bandits and unruly acts, but it has been found that the various militia bureaus in the 2nd section of Kao Yao formerly conspired with bandits and set fire to villages. In the meanwhile the Nationalist Government sent men to organise a Pacification and Interception Committee which investigated the actual situation of the trouble and finally dissolved these bureaus. Because of their illegality it is absolutely impossible to allow them to recover, an action which will arouse disturbance. However as time has elapsed, and no special attention has been paid to them, the officers of these bureaus became active in spreading rumours that the Peasant Organisations and the Pacification and Interception Committees were disarmed and dissolved or using other titles in order to deceive the citizens and obtain permission to recover their organisations. The Militia Committee has pointed out their tricks and reprimanded them, but are still afraid that the peasants of the locality may still be perturbed, and hence notification is hereby issued advising all citizens not to believe the rumours. These illegal Militia Bureaus will never be permitted to reorganised."

(From *Min Kuo Jih Pao*, 8-7-26.)

5. REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE CARRYING OF FIRE-ARMS DURING THE NORTHERN EXPEDITION.

The Militia Committee deem it their duty to uphold the peace and eradicate the robbers. During the Northern Expedition, they must do their best to safeguard the rear, and in this connection regulations governing the possession of arms have been drafted. The regulations are as follows:—

(1) All people's armed organisations in the various districts, whether or not they have been registered in the official organs upon receipt of a notification, have to report within ten days the names of the persons, kinds and numbers of firearms. The Militia Committee will then send representatives to inspect and mark the rifles.

If there is any delay in doing so, those concerned will be charged with illegal possession of firearms.

(2) All people's armed organisations have to assist the soldiers in eradicating the robbers. If such organisations do not give help they will be heavily punished and dissolved.

(3) All people's self-defence armed bodies in the various districts will be held responsible for the eradication of robbers and maintenance of public peace. Recently such bodies have not given much assistance in the extirpation of bandits.

It is notified that hereafter, in the shortest time possible, such armed bodies should clear their respective districts of robbers, etc. If large scale robberies continue, such bodies will be heavily punished and dissolved.

(4) The people's armed organisations must within a limited time clear their region of robbers. If their strength is insufficient to deal with the robbers, they have to report in detail to the Militia Committee and district magistrate and the army the names of the robbers, their dens, number of hirelings, etc.

If no report is made and it is found out that there are robbers in the place, such organisation will be charged of unlawfully harbouring robbers.

(5) There are many drawbacks to the system of militia cooperation and in our Militia Regulations there are no such systems. Such cooperation has been cancelled by the Militia Committee. If in future there is any such cooperation organised without the consent of the Militia Committee, the militia will be disarmed and dissolved. The leader of the co-operation will be heavily punished.

(6) The people's armed organisation when intending to extirpate the robbers have to obtain first the consent of the Militia Committee and report to the district magistrate.

(7) The people's armed organisations have to be stationed at their respective places and not to move away without adequate reasons.

If they should move for the purpose of eradicating robbers a report must be made to the army officers stationed there and local authorities.

If this is not done, such organisations will be disarmed and dissolved.

(8) All the peoples' armed organisations, when holding a meeting to discuss plans for the attacking of robbers, have to report to the local authorities who will send representative to the meeting.

If no report is given beforehand such organisations will be severely punished.

(9) During the Northern Expedition all people's armed organisations should help each other as much as possible. All disputes should be settled by the Militia Committee. And the party or organisation first to start trouble will be disarmed and dissolved.

(10) The Regulations will be effective upon the day of announcement.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen, 29-7-26.)

6. THE DUTIES AND RIGHTS OF THE MILITIA POLITICAL DIRECTORS.

(Regulations adopted by the Kwangtung Militia Controlling Committee, October 1926.)

(1) The duty of these political directors is to follow the political scheme of the Militia Council and put it into practice in the militia organisations under their supervision.

(2) The political directors should distinctly and thoroughly understand that the aim of founding the Militia Council and its scheme, is to change the people's force into revolutionary force. For instance, referring to the history of the people's corps, we found either the Militia Corps, the Merchants' Corps, the Village Corps or the like have been illegally organised and the members of these corps are not trustworthy. Consequently, they have every now and then sided with the robbers or have been made used of by anti-revolutionists. Hence they have failed to guard the peasants' property, etc., against pillage. Consequently, some peasants have organised peasants' departments and peasants' corps. But due to the fact that these peasants' organisations are still in the embryonic stage, disputes are frequent. This is not merely a hindrance to public safety but a check to the progress of the revolutionary movement. From such a point of view, we find that in order to stop all sorts of disputes, it is absolutely necessary to give these organisations political training and let them know the present political tendency and the tide of revolution, and at the same time teach them the principles of our party and convert them. In order to accomplish our end, we should appoint capable political directors.

(3) The political directors should at the same time know thoroughly our Party's policy of uplifting the peasants and acknowledge that peasants are the most important force in the National Revolutionary Movement. When the directors begin their work in the militia organisation, they should come into close touch with the peasants, cultivate them and protect their privileges and lead them into the right path; for, if the majority of the peasants partake in the revolutionary task, the aim of revolution would be practically accomplished. Hence the directors should lay special stress on this point.

(4) Each and every director, when working in his militia organisation should find out the nucleus of it and should improve it. In fact, to the Militia Council, he is a direct bearer of responsibility; and, to the militia, he is a supervisor and a reformer.

(5) If there are counter-revolutionists or bad members in the militia organisations, the organisation's affairs are apt to be hindered. The directors should therefore make reports once a week; and, if the organisations create trouble or other illegalities, they should be put to a stop and secretly return and make a report if absolutely necessary.

(6) If some political problems arise and if some serious change in society takes place, the directors should summon the lads and give them a lecture; and, if necessary, unite with the villagers and hold a demonstration. Right at this moment, they should show the students and the people how important such political changes are to them and how close is the relationship between the state and its citizens.

(7) The directors' daily work is to show the lads the present situation of China and the suffering of our fellow country-men as the result of imperialism; and, if the imperialists are not put down, the warlords,—who directly oppress the people,—and the rotten officials can hardly be extinguished. Hence, under such circumstances, the people should protect themselves; and, going one step further, should change the people's force into revolutionary force.

(8) In order to put the preceeding scheme into practice, the directors should show the students the functions of National Revolution and that our party is the one and only guide of National Revolution. All genuine citizens therefore should be members of our party. All political directors should recognise this point; and, during the training period, should make clear to the lads the summary of the San Min Principle and lead them stand on the side of our party.

(9) To accomplish the preceeding aim, the directors should organise night schools, speaking classes, libraries, directing classes, and hold meetings weekly in memory of our late president, Dr. Sun Yat-sen and give the up-to-date political reports.

(10) The materials that the directors should use are those given by the Militia Council. At the same time, they should summarize the news published by our Party and give them detailed reports.

(11) The courses of study for the night schools are as follows:—Summary of San Min Principle, Three Principles of Sun Yat-sen, Summary of Imperialism, simple oral lessons, good behavior that the lads should have, general knowledge that the lads should possess, discussions on the present happenings and the policies of our Party.

(12) As to the activities of the students after the schools are opened, the directors should make monthly detailed reports.

7. CONVOKE MEETING FOR DISCUSSING REORGANISATION OF SHUN TEH MILITIA.

The administration of the Militia Bureau of Shun Teh District has long been corrupt and unprogressive, thus causing the degeneration of the militia. Moreover, troubles have recently arisen in the organisation. In view of this, the Shun Teh Branch of the General Union of Peasants, Workers, Merchants and Students convoked a meeting of representatives of various classes for discussing affairs concerning the reorganisation of the bureau on the 23rd instant. The attendants of the meeting included the representatives of the District Peasant Union, the District General Labour Union, the District General Chamber of Commerce, the various city branches of the Merchant Associations, the District Student Union, the District Educational Association, and the Doctors' Union etc. As a result of their discussion, all delegates present at the meeting were of the opinion that the corruption of the

Militia Bureau was not only due to the corruptness of the chief of the bureau, but was also attributable to those overbearing authorities at the head of the organ because the directors of the bureau, like the subordinate officers of the chief, have no right to supervise the actions of the head of the bureau. In view of the fact that in order to obliterate that corrupt practice, it was necessary to improve the organisation of the Militia Bureau, the delegates decided on the following 5 measures:—(1) Meetings for discussing affairs relating to the militia should be convoked by the directors of the bureau. They shall be presided by the chief of the bureau, and all projects of the bureau shall be passed at the meetings before they can be put into practice. (2) When any important case is to take place, a meeting of the representatives of various classes should be convoked for devising measures of settlement. (3) The budgets and financial affairs of the Militia Bureau must be made public. (4) The budgets of the monthly expenditure of the bureau must be drawn up by the meetings for discussing militia affairs, and the chief of the bureau shall have no right of appropriating the funds of the organ. (5) To abolish all exorbitant impositions formerly levied on merchants and peasants. After the above resolutions were passed, the branch union of Peasants, Workers, Merchants and Students, besides addressing a letter to the Militia Affairs Commission to ask them to enact as soon as possible the regulations governing militia affairs meetings, which all chiefs of Militia Bureaus must obey, has also issued circular telegrams, requesting the people of various classes to render them assistance so that the trouble of the Militia Bureau be settled at an early date, so that the peace and order of the locality might thereby be maintained.

(Min Kuo Jih Pao, 30-1-26.)

B. THE MILITIA AND THE PEASANT SELF-DEFENCE CORPS.

1. THE CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE MILITIA AND THE PEASANT SELF-DEFENCE CORPS.

(During the period, May-June 1936.)

The following table compiled by the Militia Controlling Committee shows the disputes between the militia and the peasants corps.

Date of dispute	District	Part of district	Village	The accuser	The accused	Reason of dispute	Conflict	Our decision
May 13	Hsin Hui	Fourth	Maak Yuen	The Provincial Peasant Organisation.	Ng Yue-ping	Oppressing of peasants and collecting money illegally.	No	Ordered the magistrate to investigate and report.
May 13	Chung Shan	—	Sin Wong Po	Through the Peasant Affairs Dept.	Chan Hing-wa and others.	Forcing the peasants to pay Cocoon Tax.	No	Ordered the militia to stop collecting the tax.
May 13	Shun Teh	—	Sui Tung Six village.	Ma Suet-hung	The peasant organisation of that village.	Devastating the militia corps.	No	Ordered men to investigate and report.
May 17	Chung Shan	Fourth	Ho Chung	The District Peasant Organisation.	Yim Choi-sun and others.	Oppressing the peasants.	No	Ordered them to wait for a settlement.
May 17	Hsin Hui	—	Sui Naam	Leung Hoi-sung	The peasant organisation there.	Depriving the militia corps of its current expenses.	No	Ordered the militia to send its budget and accounts.

Date of dispute	District	Part of district	Village	The accuser	The accused	Reason of dispute	Comment	Our decision
May 17	Shun Teh	Fifth	Sui Tung	The district peasant organisation.	The local militia organisation.	Firing at the peasant corps and of falsely accusing the peasants of robbery.	No	Sent men investigate before taking the matter up.
May 18	Chung Shan	—	—	Through the Department of Civil Affairs.	The district peasant corps.	Interfering with the doings of the district soldiers.	No	Sent a letter to the Provincial Peasant Organisation.
May 18	Chung Shan	Fourth	Ho Chung	Through the Civil Affairs Dept.	The local peasant organisation.	Intention of disarming the militia corps by force.	No	Same as the preceding decision for this case has been reported.
May 20	Kao Yao	Eighth	—	do	The peasant organisation there.	Falsely-accusing the militia organisation.	No	Asking the Provincial Peasant Organisation to put a stop to that.
May 20	Tung Kuan	—	—	Chung King-kai	Lo Kie-sheung	Making use of the militia organisation to squeeze money & selling its arms.	No	Ordering the magistrate and our inspector to investigate and report.
May 20	Chung Shan	—	Kam Tau Wan	The Peasant representatives' executive council.	Yeung Kwan-hin	Pretending to be the commander of the peasant corps.	No	Sent a letter to the Provincial Peasant Organisation and sent men to investigate.
May 24	Feng Chuan	—	—	Through the magistrate.	The peasant organisation of Tung Sze Sheun.	Forcing the local militia to give up its building & devastating everything in the militia	No	Sent an inspector there to investigate.

Date of dispute	District	Part of district	Village	The accuser	The accused	Reason of dispute	Conflict	Our decision
May 24	Chung Shan	—	—	Through the Dep't of Peasant and Labour.	Im Hing-jin and others.	intending to swallow up the militia & to disarm it by force.	No	This case has been reported before.
May 24	Chung Shan	Fourth	Ho Chung	Yim Kwan-ert.	The peasant organisation there.	having seized the militia, they fired at the other militia.	No	sent man to investigate.
May 25	Hua	—	—	Through the Department of Peasant and Labour.	Kong Hap-um	gathering robbers to attack the peasants.	Yes	The headquarters sent 2 men & our council 1 to settle the dispute but the militia refused to obey. Hence the soldiers built eight redoubts but one of the men sent by the headquarters has been shot. Now the militia is willing to pay for the dead and losses.
May 25	Shun Teh	Tenth	Lok Siu	The district peasant organisation.	The militia of Ng Fong	intending to collect a sort of military fee.	No	sent man to investigate.
May 25	Shun Teh	—	Ma Kong	The commander-in-chief of the district militia.	all peasant organisations in the neighbourhood	intending to disarm the militia by force & to take away the militia's money.	No	asked the provincial peasant organisation to put a stop to that.
May 25	Shun Teh	Eighth	Sheung Ti	The district peasant organisation.	The militia of Sheung Ti	murdering the peasants.	No	ordered the magistrate to report.

Date of dispute	District	Part of district	Village	The accuser	The accused	Reason of dispute	Conflict	Our decision
May 26	Ching Ynan	Fourth	Kong Tan	The Central department of peasants' affairs.	Li Chung-yan	Occupying land by force.	No	Ordered the magistrate to report.
May 27	Hsin Hui	Fourth	Maak Ynan	Through the department of peasant and labor affairs.	The Peasant Organisation there.	Taking away the expenditure of the militia by force.	No	Ordered the magistrate to investigate and report.
June 3	Kao Yao	Second	King Hau	The leader of the local militia.	The local Peasant Organisation.	The men having been disarmed, robbery is frequent.	No	Asked the Provincial Peasant Organisation to put a stop to that.
June 3	Kao Yao	Sixth	Loh Po	The head of the local militia.	The local Peasant Organisation.	Taking away the militia's arms & money and occupying its building.	No	This case has been reported before.
June 5	Ho Shan	—	Sah Ping	The district superintendent council of our party.	The merchants' local corps.	Forcing the people to pay protection and special fees.	No	Ordered the magistrate to put a stop to that.
June 8	Tien Pai	Third	—	The people's representatives.	The Peasant Organisation.	Making illegal troubles.	No	Asked the Provincial Peasant Organisation to punish it, if true.
June 10	Feng Chuan	—	—	The head of the united militia of that district.	The Peasant local Organisation.	Colluded with robbers to hinder the work of the militia.	No	Sent men to investigate.

Date of dispute	District	Part of district	Village	The accused	The accuser	Reason of dispute	Conflict	Our decision
May 29	Kao Yao	—	King Hui	The head of the militia of that village.	The Peasant Organisation of that village.	Taking away the militia's money and intending to disarm its members.	No	Asked the Provincial Peasant Organisation to stop that and order the magistrate to report.
May 29	Shun Teh	Sixth	Wong Lie	Through the Provincial Peasant Organisation.	Kong Hwak-fong.	Intending to run down the Peasant Organisation.	No	Ordered the magistrate to investigate and report.
May 31	Pao An	—	—	Chong Luk-tin.	The Peasant Organisation there.	Having killed several persons, kidnapped, plundered and burnt down houses.	No	Asked the Provincial Peasant Organisation to settle the dispute for them.
June 1	Pao An	—	—	Through the magistrate.	do	Illegally collecting all sorts of taxes and protection fees.	No	Asked the Provincial Peasant Organisation to put a stop to that.
June 1	Kao Yao	—	—	The district militia's commander-in-chief.	Lam Tze-kong.	Occupying the militia's building and disarming its members.	No	Asked the Provincial Peasant Organisation to consider and settle the case.
June 10	Ho Yuan	—	Toai Po	The trustees of the militia of Luk Woh.	The Peasant local Organisation.	Burning houses, plundering and murdering.	No	Asked the Provincial Peasant Organisation to punish it severely.

Date of dispute	District	Part of district	Village	The accuser	The accused	Reason of dispute	Conflict	Our decision
June 12	Yu-nan	Sixth	—	The Peasant Representatives.	Gentries and local tyrants (rascals).	Organizing Peasant Organisation and admitting robbers and levying severe taxes.	No	Asked the Provincial Peasant Organisation to settle the dispute.
June 12	Chung Shan	—	Kore To	The head of the Peasant Organisation.	Lo Kwok-kit.	Occupying the peasant building and levying tax on rice-fields.	No	Ordered the magistrate to investigate and settle the case.

2. THE MILITIA AND THE PEASANT CORPS.

*(Resolution passed by a Special Meeting at the Political Department
of the General Headquarters on September 2, 1926.)*

To stop the conflict between the Militia (Mintuan) and the Peasant Self-Defence Corps, the Political Department of the General Headquarters adopted the following resolutions:—

(a) During recent months, nearly every day news have come to us reporting that such or such militia has attacked such or such a Peasant Union, or looted and burned such or such a village. In almost every district, the Militia committed the same acts against the peasants, and it appears as if they have conceived a general anti-peasant plan. On the one hand, the aggressiveness of the militia may cause trouble and disturb the peace and order at the rear. On the other hand, it makes the Nationalist Government look suspicious in the eyes of the most revolutionary and best organized elements of the population: the Peasant Union. We think, therefore, it is a vital question for the Party as well as for the country, and necessitates a radical solution. For that purpose, we must analyze thoroughly the basis of the conflict as well as the origin of the two organisations.

What is the militia? Before coming to the origin of the militia, we must state that within the Militia there is the Merchant Corps, which, after the Merchant Revolt, was transformed into the "City Militia."

The history of the militia can be divided into two periods: before and after the Merchant "Tigers" Revolt.

The following causes gave birth to the pre-Merchant revolt militia:

1. First, owing to political trouble and civil wars, militarism has reigned supreme during these last years, many have turned soldiers and when discharged became bandits. Secondly, famine and unemployment drove many others to banditry. Thirdly, Hongkong, Macao and Kwang Chow Wan are the headquarters of all those who smuggle arms. Thus Kwangtung has been made into a bandit infested land, and its peaceful inhabitants have had to have some kind of force to defend themselves.

2. Kwangtung is especially rich in sand-fields. About 50% of these fields are public property, i.e., belong to the families or to religious corporations. In ninety cases out of a hundred, they are managed by a corrupt gentry, who, to defend their privileges, must have some armed force.

3. In their infancy, the militias were very simply organised. Each village appointed some night watchers under the command of a strong fellow. Their duty consisted of patrolling the fields. They were armed with native muskets and were subsidized by the inhabitants, whose contributions were quite small.

4. But since banditry grew faster and faster, these small forces could not cope with it. They were enlarged, reorganised and changed their name into "Protecting Corps." Unemployed peasants and idle individuals were recruited to fill up their ranks. Modern arms were bought for them. Extra taxes were collected to pay them. Bad gentry become their self-appointed chiefs. Thus, they became a great armed force among the villages. Their chiefs are omnipotent in the villages, where they do what they please, and naturally, they use their power to exploit the peasants.

(b) After the defeat of the Merchants' Revolt, all the important militia and Merchant Volunteer Corps were disarmed, and their leaders fled to Hongkong. It was possible to solve the question then, if Liu Chen-huan and Yang Hsi-min had not protected them. Thus, the question continues to exist until now.

Instead of using drastic measures the government employed peaceful methods in dealing with the organisation. It was in order to form a Militia Central, firstly to centralize the militia, secondly to change the Merchant Corps into a city militia, and thirdly to reorganise all the "Protecting Corps" into militia.

The idea was good, but the application of it was not. Those responsible for the Central did not understand the political result of their doing. They began by giving the "fortifying injection," then protected them, and then ordered the whole Kwangtung to organize militia. In their proclamation, they wrote, "Defending ourselves is better than being defended by the government," "militia uber alles!" etc.....

Being thus protected and encouraged by an official organ, the militia revived, their leaders returned from Hongkong and Macao, the Merchant Corps changed only their name. They were not only restored but extended.

(c) At that time, the peasant movement was growing. Thinking that the Peasant Unions were under the leadership of the Kuomintang and were an obstacle to them, the militia started trouble. Some of the militia such as those of Kwang Ning, Hua Hsien, etc. were especially used in destroying the Peasant Union, murdering the Peasant Union militants and burning villages. That is not all. After the assassination of Comrade Liao Chung-kai the pirate-like militia of Chung Shan cooperated with bandits to attack the district and to help the counter-revolutionists.

After the defeat of the Merchant Volunteers, when Chen Chiung-ming was driven out, Liu and Yang occupied Canton, levied heavy taxes and sold themselves to Hongkong. The merchants were very much against them.

At the same time, the Kuomintang was reorganized. With the Party program, the labour and peasant movement were growing fast. This caused fear and anger among the counter-revolutionists. Chen Chiung-ming, Teng Pen-yin, Hongkong compradors, corrupt politicians and discontented militarists formed a united front

against the Party government. On the one hand, they financed and armed the bandits, Teng and Chen. On the other hand, they consolidated the anti-revolutionary forces.

Thanks to their help, activity and propaganda, the militia developed fast and extended its organisation to every district and city. Gradually, they became Merchant Volunteer Corps. The Canton Militia was then extremely powerful, and especially anti-revolutionary. Finally, they became the tools of Hongkong against the Kuomintang and its government. The following characteristics must be noted:

1. Before, there were no "Inter-Militia." In order to centralize their forces, the counter-revolutionists organized four or five districts into an Inter-Militia. The whole province was divided into several Inter-Militia under a centralized command.

2. All the Militia members were ex-soldiers or bandits and all their chiefs ex-officers.

Generally whenever there are any military movements, one is sure to see reactionary cliques trying to create trouble at the rear. It is the same now with the Northern Expedition. The counter-revolutionists are endeavouring to rally the ex-soldiers and bandits, and to unite the militia and to strengthen them for their own purpose. Recent reports received by us from various districts confirm that view.

- (a) June 1, utilizing the name of the 36th infantry, the chief of the Ching Yuan District Militia's Preparatory Bureau issued a proclamation fixing the date for the Militia Constitution, and ordering the peasants to pay an extra tax of one dollar for each mow of land to finance the militia.

The San Shui District Militia ordered every 60 peasants to send one man and one gun for the militia. Those who cannot send either a man and gun, must pay \$8 for the first and \$6 for the latter. To get more money, they even doubled the extra taxes.

- (b) Shun Teh and other districts witness the same development of the militia. Even those previously dissolved by the Government for having committed crimes against the peasants and villages, such as the Kao Yao militia, have been reorganised. Where there is already a Peasant Self-Defence Corps to keep peace and order, the militia established like branches. New militia sprang up like mushrooms, and in 90 out of 100 cases, they did not even inform their Central. As soon as they got the necessary money, men and arms, they organized a militia, disregarding the order of the Central, which, although having given very few authorizations, received nevertheless more than 150 demands to establish City or Urban Militia.

This shows the rapid growth of the militia, the result of which growth will be demonstrated later on.

- (c) The growth of the militia is followed by the formation of the Inter-Militia.

The Inter-Militia is not only useless, but it is also harmful. Each Inter-Militia has several hundred permanent armed men, recruited from ex-soldiers and bandits. They make the burden of the peasants heavier by the imposition of extra taxes. The Central has ordered their dissolution. But the Inter-Militia still exists.

(d) What is the composition of the District Permanent Militia?

1. The leaders are all corrupt gentry and land sharks.
2. The training staffs are all discharged and dissatisfied officers.
3. The commanders are all discharged officers or head bandits.
4. The rank and file are composed of ex-soldiers or bandits.
5. Organisation is the same as that of the local troops (section, company, battalion, etc...)
6. The budget is made up by extra taxes imposed upon the peasants.

To prove the statement about the composition of the militia, the following mention is necessary:

a. The chief of the Chung Shan District Militia is a hunting-dog of the counter-revolutionists.

The chiefs of the San Shui and Ching Yuan District Militias are Chen Chiung-ming's "die-hard" followers and officers.

The chief of the Shun Teh District Militia is a well-known land-shark and bandit, etc.....

b. Over 40 officers of a District Militia are ex-soldiers or officers.

c. The investigation list presented by the Militias themselves shows that most of the Militiamen are not natives of the district, and that the majority of them have been in some of the armies.

The City Militia is a metamorphosis of the Merchant Volunteer, because,

1. All the leaders are compradores or corrupt politicians.
2. All training officers are discontented military men.
3. All the permanent Militiamen are ex-soldiers or bandits.
4. Only the reserve is composed of half-merchant, half-worker elements.
5. The expenses are imposed upon the merchants.
6. Their oppressive attitude towards the workingmen.

Cantonal Militia-Chiefs of these Militias are generally the most powerful and most corrupt gentry or landsharks. Their permanent men are idlers or ex-soldiers, not one regular peasant. The money to cover their expenses are gathered from the peasants.

In nine out of ten cases, leaders of the village militia are the bad gentry. The big landlords seldom take the business directly into their hands. Still less the worker, merchant, student, or peasant. 90% of their permanent men are ex-soldiers or idlers, very few serious peasants, and these in the reserves only. Their expenses are made up by "squeezing" the peasants in many and various ways.

The Peasant Corps (distinct from the Peasant Militia, which is an old organisation and a tool of the gentries and landlords).

Since the 1st. Congress of the Kuomintang which adopted the Peasant Program, the Party organised a Peasant Section especially to take charge of the peasant movement. The Party Government, on the other hand, had time and again proclaimed its pro-peasant policy. Thanks to the courage and enthusiasm of the comrades responsible for the peasant work, the movement developed very rapidly.

The corrupt mandarins, gentries, covetous landlords, etc. looked upon with suspicion and hatred the organisation of the peasants whom they used to exploit and oppress, and so endeavoured to destroy the new organisation by every way and means. Faced with that danger, the peasants thought it necessary to arm and to defend themselves. Our various party sections also believed that without armed defense, the peasant movement could not develop. Our late President and Comrade Liao Chung-kai time and again told the peasants to defend themselves, on the one hand; and on the other hand, told the Government to facilitate the peasant forces by selling them arms at reduced prices.

Then the Peasant Self-Defence Corps was born.

Our Party and Government are the party and government of the masses; and the peasantry comprises more than 80% of these masses. Therefore, National Revolution cannot be accomplished without the participation of the peasants. And we may say that the Peasant Self-Defence Corps is one of the fundamental forces of the Party and the Government.

Theoretically the Peasant Self-Defence Corps is a revolutionary force under the leadership of our Party. This theory was often proved to be true, for, besides fighting for their class interests, the Peasant Self-Defence Corps fought courageously for the Party, whenever this latter had to deal with the counter-revolutionists.

1. During the first Northern Expedition undertaken by Dr. Sun (1924) the Peasant Self-Defence Corps escorted our late President to Shao Kwan and undertook propaganda work.

2. During the Merchants' Revolt, the Peasant Self-Defence Corps, 300 strong, defended the Provincial Government Building.

3. During the East River Expedition (1925), the Peasant Self-Defence Corps hampered the enemy forces and helped the revolutionary troops greatly. The victory over Chen Chiung-ming and the consolidation of Canton was partly due to them.

After the East River campaign in February, came the Liu and Yang revolt in June. All the Peasant Self-Defence Corps of Kwangtung put themselves under the direction of the Party, and rallied the Railway workers against the rebellious militarists. The East River Peasant Unions sent out 3,000 of its members to undertake transportation work for the Party armies. All the Peasant Self-Defence Corps

around Canton were procuring information for the revolutionary soldiers, or hampering the rear-guards of the rebellious troops. The Peasant Self-Defence Corps of Nan Hui disarmed the unruly soldiers along the Canton-Sanshui railway. Sikiang and Kwang Ning Peasant Self-Defence Corps cut off the retreat of Liu and Yang. The Peikiang Peasant Self-Defence Corps volunteered to insure the transportation service in that region, and chased off the scattered defeated soldiery.

Many peasant militants lost their lives in that affair.

Since the commencement of the anti-imperialist strike all the peasants near seaports and waterways cooperated and are still cooperating with the pickets to prevent smuggling and to tighten the boycott. In their fight against bandits and smugglers, many members of the Peasant Self-Defence Corps were killed.

After the assassination of Comrade Liao Chung-kai, the Peasant Self-Defence Corps disarmed Tan Kai-sui's men, arrested many of his officers and soldiers, and sent them to the Military Court. All the peasants of Kwangtung were on the "qui-vive," and made the agitation of the reactionary militarists well-nigh impossible.

When the second East River expedition started, the Chungshan Peasant Self-Defence Corps fought several days against a regiment of Chen Chiung-ming. The Kwang Ning Peasants—in cooperation with other classes of the district—watched the bandits, and kept peace and order in that part of the country. The Peasants of Wei Chow, Hai Feng, Wu Hua, etc., fought bravely, several hundred of them died fighting while their leader—Comrade Lee Lao-kung was quartered by the enemies because he refused to submit when he was caught.

When the revolutionary troops arrived, the Peasant Self-Defence Corps not only guided them, helped them, got information for them, but often took part in the fighting. Thus, with the devoted aid of the Peasant Self-Defence Corps, East River was reconquered within one-month's time.

During the Southern expedition, the Peasants in the Southern Districts were so eager, brave and enthusiastic that Teng Pen-yin could not with stand their revolutionary fervour. They did as much for the soldiers there as their comrades in the East River had done. And Teng Pen-yin had to flee for his life.

At the beginning of the Northern Expedition, the Chiu Kiang Peasant Union called out 3,000 members and took the military transportation service into their hands. Tung Kiang peasants arrested counter-revolutionary agitators and sent them to the Martial Court. Shun Teh Peasant Self-Defence Corps and those of Tung Kuan, Chung Shan and other districts prevented the militia, bandits and other counter-revolutionists from troubling the peace and order of the rear.

These facts are sufficient to show that the Kuomintang's peasant program is just, and that the Peasant Self-Defence Corps is part of the National Revolutionary Forces.

The Organisation of the Peasant Self-Defence Corps.

(1) Except in places where the militia and bandits' oppression is too hard a task, there is no permanent formation. The majority is composed of volunteer peasants, they respond when called but remain at work when not needed.

(2) Having no great expenses, their budget is made up from small voluntary donations from the peasants. They never gather money from other classes of the population.

(3) Their leaders are generally advanced peasants, many of whom are party members. Although there is an intellectual element, these are courageous and advanced youth of the village.

Genesis of conflicts between the militia and the Peasant Self-Defence Corps— Being organised by gentry, landsharks, etc., the militia live by squeezing the peasants. They live in luxury made possible only by the peasants' sweat and tears. What they impose upon the villagers are often heavier than the legal taxes gathered by the Government.

The San Shui militia usually increase by 100% when they gather legal taxes. Besides, each male has to pay 60 cents monthly. Women and children pay 40 cents.

The Shun Teh Militia imposes more than twenty kinds of extra taxes upon the mulberry-tree land alone.

The Ching Yuan Militia imposes a tax of one dollar for each mow of land.

The Yu Nan Militia imposes taxes on every kind of product and every kind of animal, including chickens and ducks.

Besides the oppression and exploitation of the gentry, landlords, mandarins, bandits, imperialists, the militia makes the burden of the peasants heavier. It is natural that these latter defend themselves, resulting often in pitched battles.

The following happenings are sufficient to illustrate the struggle between the two organisations:

1. In 1924, the Militia and Peasant Self-Defence Corps of Tung Kuan fought. The outcome was that the thirty odd taxes imposed by the former were abolished. The vice-chairman of the Peasant Union was killed by the militia.

2. In December of the same year, the Canton Suburban Peasant Union refused to pay the taxes levied by the militia. This latter murdered the Peasant Union chairman.

3. During the same year, the Pao An district militia together with the garrison troops (whose commander turned a counter-revolutionary afterwards) levied twenty different taxes. The Peasant Self-Defence Corps fought against them. Six Peasant Self-Defence Corps men were killed, but the taxes were abolished.

To relate all the militia's oppressions endured by the peasants would fill a volume. With the above-mentioned examples, we can assume that the oppressive and terrorist rule of the militia is the first and main cause of the conflicts.

The militia used to employ every kind of machination and intrigue with a view of destroying the peasants' organisations. Being the tool of the gentry and the landsharks, the interests of the militia are diametrically opposed to those of the peasants and the Peasant Self-Defence Corps. The first want to squeeze the peasants, while the latter want to defend them. Consequently everywhere and everytime the militia provoked and attacked the Peasant Self-Defence Corps without any reason. The following recent events prove clearly who is wrong and who is right:

(a) Last June the militia of Yu Nan surrounded and attacked the 4th and 5th District Peasant Unions. They looted and burned five villages. Several thousand peasants became homeless. The militia kidnapped six peasants whose fate up till now is unknown.

(b) May 17 the Fung Shun militia sent out a great band of their men to disperse the First District Peasant Union. They arrested nineteen Peasant Union members. They constrained others to quit the organisation and to pay three dollars fine each.

(c) June 12 the San Shui militia surrounded the Kang Kuong Peasant Union and then dispersed it. They then drove the Peasant Union members from the village. They beat two special delegates from the Kuomintang Peasant Section nearly to death. August 15 they again attacked another Peasant Union and arrested eight Peasant Union members.

(d) In June the Hua Hsien Militia prevented the Peasant Union members and the students from going to a meeting. They intended to start a fight.

(e) The Shun Teh militia pirated many villages and arrested nine Peasant Union members. Nearly every district of the province can tell the same story.

In every case, our investigation proved that it was the militia who oppressed and provoked the Peasant Self-Defence Corps. Having their village plundered, their houses burnt, their Peasant Union dispersed, their members killed or arrested, the peasants, being pushed to extremes, could make no more concessions, and had to defend themselves. Particularly during these last three months, we have always heard the cry of distress of the peasants ill-treated by the militia; but we never heard of the militia being oppressed by the Peasant Self-Defence Corps.

The landlords, the gentry and the militia oppress the peasants, and want to prevent them from defending themselves. That is the cause of the conflict. Fatal conflicts occur and will continue to occur as long as the gentry and militia keep on exploiting and oppressing the peasants.

It is a question that cannot be solved by a simple resolution or ordinance. When we study carefully the kind of self-defence the peasant try to establish, we will see that they are quite right.

1. Everybody, especially the militia who oppress them, will agree that the peasants are in the right when they use their own money to organise their own defence.

2. All the arms in possession of the village were bought with money from the public funds. The greater part of the funds was paid by the peasants. It is quite natural to give the peasants the arms bought with the peasants' money.

3. Wherever the majority of militiamen are real peasants it is not difficult to transform them into Peasant Self-Defence Corps. Therefore, the conflict lies with the gentry, and with them only. The only way to end the conflict is to hand the arms over to the peasants who compose 90% of the village population.

(f) With the above analysis, we can conclude: Firstly, that the majority of the militia are the tools of the gentry, land-sharks, compradores, corrupt politicians, discontented militarists and greedy Imperialists. They are anti-revolutionary. The best they can do is to become non-revolutionary, but they can never be revolutionary, or obey the direction of the Kuomintang and the Nationalist Government.

Secondly, that the Peasant Self-Defence Corps is an organisation of the exploited and oppressed. And that the forces of the peasants are the best forces of the National Revolution. They are always and extremely revolutionary. They will never be anti-revolutionary. It is an exception when the Peasant Self-Defence Corps is not revolutionary. It is also an exception that they will not obey the direction of the Kuomintang and the Nationalist Government.

Thirdly, that the militia oppress and exploit the peasants. They back bad landlords against the peasants; they do not allow them to defend themselves. The peasants cannot let themselves to be thus trodden underfoot forever. That is the principal cause of the conflict between the Militia and Peasant Self-Defence Corps.

(g) How shall we solve this question?

1. We must always keep in mind the Party principles and the revolutionary viewpoint. To be true to the meaning and ideals of National Revolution, we must work to free the peasants (who compose 85% of our population) from their sufferings and miseries.

2. According to revolutionary tactics, if the great masses composing 85% of the population (the peasants) will not cooperate in the movement, then National Revolution cannot be successful nor will the Kuomintang and the Nationalist Government have a solid foundation. Therefore, we must follow the peasant policy of our late President, and the peasant program as adopted by the First and Second Party Congresses. We must do our utmost to help in developing the Peasant Union and the Peasant Self-Defence Corps. We must do everything legally possible against the anti-peasant militia which acts against the Party program.

3. However, it is not yet possible to solve completely the militia question at present. We can only allow the militia to decrease but not to increase hereafter. We might control and educate them, make them less anti-revolutionary, and transform them little by little into a force which will fight for the peasants and National Revolution.

4. If there are Peasant Self-Defence Corps which are not sufficiently organised, trained and educated, for the National Revolution's sake we will strive to help them in getting a better organisation, better training and education. But we must never misjudge the whole by the rare exceptions.

Method of solving this question—Following are the immediately practicable and minimum solutions:

1. Where there are Militia and Peasant Self-Defence Corps already authorized by the Nationalist Government, they must avoid conflict but cooperate and not look askance at each other.

2. If, unfortunately, conflicts occur they must be immediately stopped; the two organisations shall wait judgment and decision from the Military Organisation Bureau.

3. Any militia convicted of cooperating with imperialists, compradores, corrupt politicians, discontented militarists and bandits, or oppressing the Peasant Union, will be dissolved.

4. If the inter-Militia have been ordered by the Military Organisation Bureau to dissolve, that order shall be carried out.

5. The District Militia is useless for keeping peace and order, but utilized by the gentries and counter-revolutionary elements to exploit the peasants and to usurp political power in the village, shall be disarmed and dissolved.

6. Strict investigation and statistics shall be made about the militia of all the Province.

7. To those militia not within the above-mentioned (3), (4), (5) clauses, the government will send to each district a number of special delegates to give them political education and control their movement.

8. Militia regulations must be very strict in preventing the rowdy elements from penetrating it, and to transform it into a real self-defense organisation of the people.

Method for Militia Organisation.

a. Before organising the promoters must hold a general meeting for all the people of the place, report the situation of that place, and the reason for organising the Militia, the plan, etc. If the meeting approves, provisory organisers will be elected, who will make the same report to the Military Organisation Bureau.

b. If the Bureau approves, organisers will be appointed.

c. The Bureau will buy arms to get money for expenses and equip the militiamen.

d. When the organisation is ready, the organisational work, list of men and officials, the number and model of arms, and the budget must be reported to the Bureau for investigation and approbation. After that responsible members will be officially elected, and inauguration will take place.

e. Prefects shall not approve of the Militia Organisation, nor appoint militia officials. For unification purposes, all approbation must come from the Military Organisation Bureau.

f. In order to avoid conflict, where there is already a Peasant Self-Defence Corps, the organisation of militia will not be permitted.

g. Where there is a Peasant Union, the organisation of militia must have its agreement.

If the militia was formed before the Peasant Union was organised, the latter shall have the right to ask the former to reorganise itself into a Peasant Self-Defence Corps.

h. Leadership of the militia must follow the representative system. Meeting shall be opened for the population to elect militia chiefs by popular suffrage.

i. Officials and officers must get the suffrage of the majority of the population. Those who are not actually peasant, worker, merchant or student are not eligible.

j. Those who are not natives of the villages, and not actually peasants, workers, merchants or students, cannot be accepted as militamen.

k. The village shall be the unit of the militia. Besides the village, there must be no other Militia Organisation. When banditry is rife many villages can unite to fight. In ordinary times, there must be no permanent militia men.

l. A Police division shall be the city militia's unit. Besides the division, no militia will be allowed.

m. The militia shall not be permitted to levy taxes without the agreement of the majority of the population and the approval of the Military Organisation Bureau.

n. To realize the above program, we must have an organ, responsible and independent, which will be absolutely under the direction of the Party. Such an organ must be organised by representatives of the Central and Provincial Peasant Section, the Nationalist Government, the Military Headquarters, the Political Department, and the Provincial Government.

Concerning the Peasant Self-Defence Corps:—(1) In our opinion, the Peasant Self-Defence Corps is not yet completely organised; it is very poorly armed. The government shall sell them arms at reduced prices in order to strengthen their defensive capacity. (2) Party sections must give the Peasant Self-Defence Corps more political education. Their self-defence organisations must be developed in order to make them one of the fundamental forces of National Revolution.

3. DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE COMMITTEE FOR SETTLING DISPUTES
BETWEEN THE MILITIA AND PEASANT CORPS.

Regarding the petition of the Enlarged Conference of the Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Union, the Political Council at its meeting passed 8 articles re procedures, which have already been published.

Among the 8 articles, the 7th one is about the question regarding the settlement of the disputes between Militia and Peasant Corps. In that article it is provided that the Central Peasant Department, the Provincial Peasant Department, the Provincial Peasant Union, the Department of Agriculture and Labour, the Department of Civil Affairs, the Headquarters of the Commander-in-chief, the Militia Affairs Committee and the Political Departments of the various Armies are to organise a committee to discuss measures for settling disputes, and afterwards report to the Central Political Council.

On the 18th instant, the above organs held their 1st meeting at the Central Peasant Department. The proceedings are as follows:—

Those present at the meeting were Wong Kon-po of the Political Department of the 5th Army, Chu King-fai of the Political Department of the 3rd Army, Yuen Tan-ping of the Political Department of the 2nd Army, Kwan Yuen-chong of the Militia Affairs Committee, Cheong To-fan of the Department of Agriculture and Labour, Chen Keh-man of the Central Peasant Department, Tan Fook-hong of the Department for Civil Affairs, Lo Yee-yuen of the Provincial Kuomintang (and Provincial Peasant Union) and Wong Keng-wen of the Political Department of the 4th Army. Chen Keh-men, secretary to the Central Peasant Department, acted as chairman, and after reading the Last Will of late President Sun he announced the object of the meeting. Proposals regarding the settlement of the militia and peasant question was then put forth and the various delegates present were requested to express their opinions regarding it.

The representatives of many organs, namely: the Civil Affairs Department, the 2nd Army, 3rd Army, 4th Army, 5th Army, Department of Agriculture and Labour, Provincial Kuomintang, and Militia Affairs Committee gave their views, followed by discussions.

Results of the discussions being:—

(I) For settling disputes between Peasant Self-Defence Corps and militia, there should be detailed regulations.

(II) Before deciding upon detailed regulations, the draft of articles should first be determined.

(III) The representative of the Peasant Department of the Provincial Kuomintang then put forth 9 articles, which were accordingly passed after detailed discussions.

The articles for the settlement of disputes between Peasant Self-Defence Corps and militia are as follows :—

1. Do not allow the gentry to control militia affairs. The militia chiefs should be elected by the villagers.
2. The militia corps should be changed into People's Self-Defence Corps in order to protect the welfare of the people.
- (3) In organising Militia Corps, villages are counted as units (the scope of a village's administrative power should be explained). There should be no United Militia Corps (the so-called "United Militia Corps" should be explained).
- (4) Militia Corps should be under the control of their Control-Officers. The militia chiefs cannot be appointed by district magistrates. Militia chiefs should be given political training.
- (5) All financial affairs of the militia bodies should be made public.
- (6) Militiamen should be natives of their own villages and should have regular occupation.
- (7) Militia Corps should not be established in a village where there is already Peasant Self-Defence Corps.
- (8) In a village where both the Peasant Self-Defence Corps and the Militia Corps have been established, or if only the latter have been established and not the former, then the Militia Affairs Committee and the Peasant Department of the Provincial Kuomintang shall call all the people in the village to a meeting in order to reorganise them.
- (9) The Peasant Unions and the Militia Corps, before obtaining the order of approval from their superiors cannot levy any tax or duty.

(IV) Five organs, namely, the Central Peasant Department, the Provincial Peasant Union, the Department of Agriculture and Labour, the Civil Affairs Department and the Militia Affairs Committee have been elected to form a Drafting Committee in order to undertake the work of drafting the regulations. The Central Peasant Department shall make the first draft.

(*Kuo Min Hsin Wen*, 20-9-26)

C. THE MILITIA AND THE PEASANTS.

1. DECISIONS CONCERNING THE QUESTIONS ON PEASANT SELF-PROTECTION CORPS AND MILITIA.

(Passed at the First All-Kwangtung Peasants Delegate Conference)

China is a country which has lost her sovereignty. With regard to international relations, she has become a semi-colony of other countries; with regard to her internal affairs, she has been attacked by two great enemies—the Imperialists and the Militarists. These two great enemies are continuously encroaching upon her interior and attacking her people. The Alien Imperialists' economic aggression takes away the management of our Customs, fills our ports and cities with foreign goods, and causes the abolition of our peasant handicraft-workers' industrial products. In addition, civil wars are always being waged between the Militarists who are close allies of the Imperialists; such civil wars bring much affliction upon our farmers. Thus the loss sustained by our peasants is enormous in a financial way; and this financial loss not only affects the peasants, but also those landlords who do not work themselves but who depend upon the rent of their lands only. They have to suffer much through the various above-mentioned troubles. Consequently those great landlords who were formerly great landowners have recently lost all their property, and have turned into local bandits or gentry and are seeking their living in squeezing money from the peasants. Some other landlords, after losing a greater part of their property, may turn into those farmers who cultivate their own grounds, or, if their possessions are small, they would lease some more land from the other landlords. Some other landlords who have lost all their lands become so poor that they will have to work as farmers for other landlords. Seeing the fall of their former comrades, the gentry, the native bandits and the remaining landlords are much affected in their minds; but, owing to their conservatism and their inclination toward comfort, they do not wake themselves up to seek work for their living but continue their action of oppressing the peasants and at the same time contriving to get hold of the political power of the villagers so as to make themselves strong enough to resist outside action and to suppress the rising of the peasants. In view of the recent affairs of Kwangtung, we discover that during the continual civil wars between the various Militarists, the landlords have tried to get hold of the management of the village affairs and to utilize the peasants for their own protection. Thus they have organised many Peasant Corps, Village Corps, Allied Corps and Protective Corps. Hence the Peasant Corps becomes one of the subjects to be discussed by us.

We must acknowledge that the landlords who have been governed by autocratic rulers are full of old ideas, such as autoeracy and are ignorant of the principles of revolution. They not only do not know anything about revolution but are also liable to unite

with the Imperialists and Militarists; some of them even hope for the reinstatement of the former King of the Ching Dynasty or expect to see the rise of another autocratic emperor to rule China. Such persons very easily become enemies of the Revolutionary Government and obstacles to the emancipation of our Chinese Nationalists.

The above prediction is true and in accord with the real facts. Since the birth of our Peasant Union, we have produced unions with our own hands and we have begun to unite under our own organisation and to oppose our oppressors—the landlords. Those landlords, seeing the rise of our peasants, have to admit that our farmers are not so easily utilized as before; they put aside their former action of organising militia, of demanding self-rule for the people, and of opposing the local soldiers and pursue their real purpose of oppressing the lower class of people. They have turned to unite with the local soldiers whom they opposed at first, and have formed a union of both landlords and Militarists to vehemently work for counter-revolution and have attacked our farmers. In the wars which occurred last year at Tungkiang, when the militia rose up to join the battle not only the counter-revolutionary armies under Chen Chiung-ming were disarmed, but also those troops under the Revolutionary Government were similarly treated. These actions were due to the peasants' enthusiasm of protecting their own villages and to avoid the disturbances of the unruly soldiers. In the districts of Tung Kuan and Tseng Chen and along the West River, battles between the Militia and the local soldiers were fought. But, at present, the militia at various places have changed their objects and movements; the militia at Tung Kuan have selected one of the military officers of the local armies to be their leader, while the corps stationed at Kwan Ning District have refused to accept the farmers in their body and have closely related themselves with the local soldiers. What is the cause of such changes in the actions of the militia? They are the result of one class desiring to dominate another.

In their early movements, those unarmed farmers are certainly not strong enough to resist the assault of their armed enemies—the united force of the landlords and the Militarists. Consequently not long after the commencement of the farmers' movements at Kwangtung, damages brought about by the militia upon the farmers' associations at various districts were found. Between May and June of last year, the landlords of Kwang Ning, by the force of the peasants corps, demolished the Peasant Union of the first division of Kong Tuan Tam Ming. In July or August of the same year, the Nan Hai Peasant Union was also ruined by the Militia who united with the local troops; in November of the same year, the Peasant Union of the 3rd Division of Tung Kuan was also ruined by the native bandits, landlords' and peasants' corps who spoiled the meeting place of the Union and arrested some of their members; in December of the same year the destruction of Hua Hsien Peasant Union was brought about by the landlords who used the force of the Militia to raise havoc with the meeting place of the Union and to kill some of their members. The Peasant Union

of the 1st Division of Fan Yu also met with the same fate as the other unions, and the Chairman of its commissioners was also assassinated. Such cases occurred continually at various places; many Farmers' Unions were ruined; many members killed and arrested. In Kwang Ning owing to the refusal of the demand of rent-reduction made by the farmers, these latter openly made war with the help of the Government troops upon the landlords, this war lasting for several months. Consequently at present, the questions of farmers' self-protection and of the militia become important subjects for discussion.

The expenses for the organisation of militia and their ordinary expenditures are obtained from the public funds and property of the villages or from forced subscriptions of the farmers. In Pao An the amount of subscriptions for the Militia Bureau, which the farmers are forced to pay by the badly-behaved gentry, native bandits and landlords, was over one hundred thousand dollars every year; part of such subscriptions was collected by means of a poll-tax, i.e., every one, regardless of age, sex, rich or poor, should pay an amount of forty cents each year as duty. In the 3rd Division of Tung Kuan District (Wai Tak Village) miscellaneous taxes were levied for the expenses of the militia of that region, field tax at 20 cents per acre per annum amounting to more than one thousand and five hundred dollars every year, tax on the farmers' own fields at 30 cents per picul of rice amounting to more than three thousand and three hundred dollars per annum, and also many other surtaxes, such as tax on pigs, pork, fowls, sweet potatoes and taroes, in all more than twenty such taxes. Several hundred thousand dollars were subscribed from such taxes and were all spent on the militia. What an unreasonable thing for the landlords who, having squeezed such a great amount from the peasants, used the same to arm themselves and to oppress the money-subscribers!

Moreover, a great part of the constituents of the militia are vagabonds and bandits. Though their actions may not be ruinous to the peasants, they at least will not be benefited by them. Consequently the militia is a great obstacle to the practice of the Revolutionary Kuomintang Government's policy of protecting the peasants, and, in order to release the peasants from their distress, the Government should order the abolition of the militia in those places where farmers' unions have been organized and where peace and order could be maintained by the Peasant Self-Protecting force. Instead of those abolished Militia, Farmers' Self-Protecting armies should be organised by the farmers' associations in accordance with the formulated regulations, for the purpose of (1) practising the Government's policy of protecting the farmers and (2) virtually maintaining peace and order in the villages.

The Peasant Union is a body organised by the farmers themselves; it has its own armed guards for the protection of its members—our fellow farmers. The landlords are not liable to force our farmers to join the Militia whose interests are not of the same nature as ours, and, at the same time, they are liable to levy miscellaneous

surtaxes from us for the purpose of supplying those militia who are disadvantageous to us. If they are obliged to do so, we may oppose them by means of our armed forces.

Many militia, no matter whether they be managed by the native bandits and gentry, or they be supplied by the landlords with the subscriptions which are extorted from us, are made up of many of our present fellow-farmers or those farmers who are unemployed. Consequently, in order to relieve those farmers who are now under the control of their oppressors from ruining their fellow-comrades, we must take the following two steps:—

(1) We should spread widely our propaganda, telling the farmers that we shall enlarge the scope of our Peasant Union and that we shall train some farmers for the establishment of the Farmers' Self-Protecting Corps. Having acknowledged that the farmers will have their own organisation and their own armed force protection, those farmers who have joined the Peasant Corps will separate themselves from their oppressors, the native bandits and the landlords, and turn to unite with us by taking a part in our self-defence corps.

(2) We should strongly resist the levy of miscellaneous surtaxes by the landlords and demand the management of such taxes to be given to us, so that the landlords, having no such subscriptions, are obliged to abolish the organisation of the Militia Corps, for, since such native robbers—the militia—are not only raising havoc with our farmers, but also sometimes rebelling against their leaders and the landlords do not use their own money to support such robber corps but money extorted from the peasants.

(May 1925.)

2. CIRCULAR TELEGRAM BY KWANGTUNG PEASANT ASSOCIATION REGARDING THE OPPRESSION OF PEASANTS IN KAO YAO BY THE MILITIA.

According to the report of the Kwangtung Peasant Union, the Kao Yao peasants were severely oppressed by the Militia Corps. More than 100 peasants were killed and the village was burned. Many villagers are homeless. For this reason the Kwangtung Peasant Association circulated a telegram regarding this matter and asked the people to render them help. The telegram reads as follows:—

“After the Peasant Policy was adopted at the First Kuomintang Delegates Congress, the regulations of the Peasant Organisation were publicly announced by the C.E.C. and the Peasant Department of the Central Kuomintang, and our late Dr. Sun declared the Government Proclamation on Peasant Movements, the peasants of various districts accepted heartily the help of the Party and worked strenuously for their emancipation. But on investigating the past events of the Peasant Organ-

isations in each village, section and district not one of them could escape the ill-treatment and oppression of the Militia Corps abetted by the local rowdies, unscrupulous gentry and landlords.

For instance, in 1924 and 1925, the Peasant Organisations in Kwang Ning and Hua Hsien were continually oppressed and destroyed by the Militia Corps. The losses were heavy and the calamity was great.

In the first week of January this year, just after the eradication of the counter-revolutionary armies in the East River and Southern Districts, when Kwangtung was somewhat unified the 2nd Kuomintang Delegates Congress held its session in Kwangtung, the purpose being to lead the peasants and workers in the National Revolution, thereby giving rise to an enthusiastic revolutionary spirit and affording no room for the activity of the counter-revolutionary factions. But there had been many severe oppressions of the counter-revolutionary Militia Corps on the peasants in Chung Shan, Nan Hai and Kao Yao Districts. The following accounts give one information regarding the trouble :

On December 27, last year, in Chung Shan District, Ng Sin-yuen, the leader of the Peasant Self-Defence Corps of the Tuk Ning Section was shot by a group of men, namely: Ng Ning-shan and Lim King-min, the notorious gentry of Cheong Ka Pin; Ng Min-sau, the leader of the Militia Corps; Ng Kwun-yat, the director of the 3rd sub-police station; and Ng Suen, the leader of Sand Field Protection Corps.

On December 30, last year, in the 3rd section of the Chung Shan District, Ngan Hi-chau, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Peasant Organisation in Chik Ma Sa Village, was killed by the notorious scholar-official, Leung Se and Muk Kwan, the leader of the Militia Corps.

On January 1 of this year, the Peasant Self-Defence Corps of the Tai Tin Village, Nan Hai proceeded to Tung Chuen Po to offer sacrifice to their comrade Leung Lo, and on their way back they were stopped by the Militia Corps in Sek Wan. In the fight that followed three members of the Peasant Self-Defence Corps, namely, Leung Yi, Leung Kiu and Leung Nam were wounded.

On January 7, the Peasant Organisation of the 2nd Section in Chung Shan District reported that Li Kung-fan, the leader of the Militia Corps and the Director of the Protection Bureau in Chung Tau village harboured vindictive feelings towards the peasants of Chung Pin, Chung Tau and Hou Shan villages, because on September 21 last year, the peasants petitioned the Government to punish Tsang Wah-yi for having attacked and wounded the peasant soldiers, and again on December 20, last year, the militia corps were punished for having disarmed the Peasant Corps and taken the Peasant Flag by force. Therefore the Militia Corps secretly conspired with the Ching Nin Tong bandits and disarmed the Peasant Corps of the abovementioned three villages.

Thus the peasants are always under severe oppression and are continually begging for our help. They need the help of the Peasant Policy adopted by our Party. And this is not all. There are calamities severer than those abovementioned.

For example, the trouble in Kao Yao exceeded the rest in severity. According to the report of the Peasant Organisation of the First Section of that district the information reads as follows:

'Our Organisation has been spending the greater part of its time in helping other villages to form Peasant Organisations. On January 3, the Peasant Organisation of To Kuen village was inaugurated, and the peasants of Si Ho, Ng Choi, and Lo Kin villages also sent delegates requesting the inauguration of like organisations. But during the process of formation the local rowdies, notorious gentry and landlords, Liu Kan-chuen, Leung Wing-pong, Wong Wei-lau, Tse Tat-hing, Sung Yuk-chor, Ng Yue-wen, Cheu Chor-yau, Leung Yik-tsan, Kam Kit-yuen and Chen Kam-po, who are always maltreating the peasants, thought that once the Peasant Organisation was formed, it would not be good for them; and hence on January 2 they assembled more than 500 members of the militia corps in Siu Nam and Sam Sing-kung at night and suddenly on January 3 at 3 a.m. attacked the Peasant Organisation of the 1st Section in Ling Chuen village. We being unprepared hastily resisted them and managed to hold our ground till 9 a.m. Afterwards they broke into the village, because we were few in number. In this engagement three members of the Peasant Corps were killed. The villagers followed the Peasant Corps and fled for their lives. The militia corps set fire to the village and more than 30 cottages were burned. A 63 year-old member named Chen Tai was burned to death and a 58 year-old peasant woman, who suffered from rheumatism, was shot. Besides these the wife of Tse Kung-hing, Muk Hing, a member of the Peasant Organisation, Chen Siu tsoi, Luk Tai, Luk Sui and a woman with the surname Sung, were murdered. More than twenty were wounded. At the same time over a hundred buffaloes and three hundred pigs were confiscated and much personal property robbed. The loss was incalculable.

After the fighting began the Peasant Corps of other sections came to our rescue, but they were attacked by Tse Tat-hing, and in the skirmish Chen Siu-ngo was killed. After this, fighting again started in the Ling Chuen village and lasted for a whole day. The Peasant Corps of the 2nd and the 16th section, numbering over one hundred each, were despatched to help us. But Wong Wei-lau led the militia corps and occupied Tong King beforehand to intercept them. More than ten of the Peasant Corps of the 16th section were wounded and thus they were unable to go forward. The others were also intercepted and defeated by Chen Yau-tsoi in the neighbourhood of Lo Pan. More than twenty were killed.

On January 4 the Peasant Corps of the 16th section and all the sections of Kao Yao also arrived to help the Peasant Organisation of Ling Chuen. But the next day at 10 a.m. the Tuk Hing Militia Corps and bandits numbering over 1,000 arrived from Yuen Lau Village, the Kwang Ning bandits together with Li Tsai-yuen's remnants totalling more than 1,000 from Sum Ying Tung and the militia corps of Kao Yao, Luk Po and Sam To having a force of 500 men from Lo Kin Village. The

total number from the three sources was not less than 3,000 men. They surrounded the Po Ho Liao Village, the Sup Village and others. Our troops fought with them for two hours, but because of their small number of men and insufficient ammunition were forced to retreat to the 16th section of Kwang Ning District. During our retreat we saw our enemy set fire to the villages, the farm houses of which were entirely destroyed by fire. In this fighting two members of the Peasant Corps and three peasants were killed and eight were brought to Sam Sing Kong where they were shot. The number of wounded was numerous. During the fight on the 3rd, 4th and 5th instant over a hundred of our members lost their lives. No record of the dead and wounded or of those who escaped was obtained. Besides the militia corps have also confiscated all the water buffaloes, pigs and movable property of the villages. Hence the villagers were deprived of food and homes. The calamity is inexpressible. At present the militia corps and bandits are still stationed in Ng Chuen and Lo Kin and are searching the woods with the hope of unearthing and slaughtering the refugees. They declared that they would burn the cottages of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Sections. The 5,200 members of the Peasant Organisation of twenty-seven villages in the three sections of our District are not only homeless and propertyless, but also they have no place to bury their corpses. We, therefore, sincerely beg you to despatch a large number of troops to protect our Peasant Organisation and to punish the ringleader.

We realize that the calamity of Kao Yao is the sacrifice of the peasants in struggling for freedom in organisation. We also understand from the above events that the calamity is an indication of the oppression of the unscrupulous gentry, local rowdies, and landlords of the peasants by means of the militia corps. We hope that you will abide by the Peasant Policy adopted by our late Dr. Sun and help our brave peasant comrades of Kao Yao. We further hope that you will bring this before the 2nd Kuomintang Delegates Congress and request the Nationalist Government to despatch troops at once to Kao Yao to settle the trouble, to punish the ringleaders and to order them to compensate the sufferers. At the same time we hope you will request the Nationalist Government to punish the notorious gentry and militia corps, who killed Ng Siu-yuen, the leader of the Peasant Corps of Cheong Kar Pin in Chung Shan District; Leung Se who conspired with Muk Kwan, the leader of the militia corps, to kill Ngan Hi in the 3rd section of the Chik Ma Sa village; the militia corps of Sek Wan, Nan Hai, who wounded Leung Yi, Leung Kiu and Leung Nam, and Li Kung-fan; and the leader of the militia corps of Ghung Tau Village, Chung Shan Districts, who disarmed the Peasant Corps by force.

The above facts will reveal to you the sufferings and difficulties of the peasants and we hope that you will listen to our appeal and severely punish the ringleaders, so that the peasants may be protected in the future. We are in need of the help and cooperation of all classes."

(sd) *The C. E.C. of the Kwangtung Peasant Association.*
(*Min Kuo Jih Pao*, 12-1-26.)

3. PEASANT UNION AT SHAM KAU IN CHAO YANG RUINED BY THE MILITIA.

After the Peasant Union of Sham Kau in Chao Yang was officially established, the militia there attempted more than once to destroy it by means of force. It is understood that a serious accident also happened there last month. The details are contained in this declaration of the peasants:

"We, poor peasants, have for a long time suffered from the suppression or the Imperialists, militarists, corrupt officials, capitalists, landlords, depraved gentry and bullies, who hinder us from securing political, economic and educational improvements. The most pitiful condition is that though we endure great many sufferings from them, yet we dare not groan louder under their ill-treatment. We all know that the only weapon by which the landlords, bullies and depraved gentry can use to kill us is the militia. That is to say, the militia is organised by landlords, bullies and depraved gentry. When they kill us in cold blood they suppress us from crying for help. Being in such a miserable condition and intending to improve our livelihood, we unanimously awakened to organize this Sham Kau Peasant Association last July. As soon as it was established the bullies, landlords and depraved gentry concocted many treacheries to destroy it and more than once they incited the militia to kill our members. Because our members had no firearms to resist them, we were forced to yield every time. This did not satisfy their wicked minds so they continued to commit murder. Yesterday they suddenly came to our association and destroyed everything they met with. Five members were hurt and one was seriously wounded. The likeness and last will of our late President were totally ruined. Everything belonging to our association was either looted or destroyed. The reason why this accident happened is as follows:—We have several hundred members in our association. Their work is to cultivate lands, etc. Because our village is not a large one and our inhabitants not numerous, thieves are always coming from other villages to steal things from us. Before the Peasant Union was established several men of the militia were despatched as watchmen to look after them. After the organisation of our union it is our duty to send our men for this work; so we despatched several members to keep a look-out for the thieves. Notwithstanding the fact that what we were doing was for the good of the whole village, one of the depraved gentry, Hsu Hing-shun (the vice-president of the militia) and his hunting-dog, Ah Tim, unreasonably interfered with us. They stopped us from sending watchmen and despite our efforts to talk, they immediately assembled the full-equipped militia to attack us. At that time we only had ten members in the association, who, seeing the number of the militia, were filled with fear and attempted to escape. Unfortunately the five members were too slow and were knocked down by the militia. One of them named Hsu Ying-cheung was seriously injured. It was reported by the doctor that he had little hope of recovering. In short, what the militia has done is in opposition to the law. They dared do this in the day-time and in open opposition to Reason and Humanity.

Therefore we denounce them in this declaration and at the same time ask our countrymen to support us by petitioning the Government to disarm those wicked militia punish their arch-plotters and compensate the damages done to our union."

4. CONDITIONS OF THE MILITIA IN THE SOUTHERN DISTRICTS.

There is no proper organisation of the militia in the Southern Districts. There are merely some nominal militia offices or Defense Boards established in the district cities or in the villages. Those bodies which have control of the militia of a district are called the General Militia Defense Board of that district; those which have control of the militia of a division are called the Militia Office or Militia Union Bureau or Militia Defense Board of that division; while those which have control of the militia of a village are called the Militia Office of that village. In each of those offices are ten or less militiamen whose only business is to help the directors and committee of those offices (all of them are gentry) in extorting money from the peasants. In Yang Kiang and Tien Pai Districts, the total amount of field-tax levied by the militia every year exceeded \$640,000. The directors of the General Defense Corps Offices or General Militia Defense Boards of the districts of Hua Hsien, Lin Kong, Ng Cheun and Sui Kai are very influential, and have the power to interfere with the administration of the districts. Even the magistrates have to rely upon them, for they would not be able to collect their revenues but for the assistance of those directors. The peasants have long felt the cruelty of the members of those organs in levying various exorbitant impositions on them. But in spite of their anger, they dared not oppose them openly for they knew that those extorters were backed by the local authorities. Recently those peasants of Yang Kong and Hoi Hong Districts who are now organised, have petitioned their authorities to disband the militia corps. The General Defense Boards of Sui Kai and Hoi Hong Districts have been closed already and those Boards of other districts will surely be abolished soon. The gentry of those districts, knowing that the disbandment of the militia corps is unfavourable to their own interests, are positively opposed to such movements. But they, being aware that such a movement is conducted according to the public opinion of the people and that the Peasant Unions, the promoters of such movement have some great influences behind them, dare not openly oppose it.

(From the Chinese Peasant No. 4, April 1926.)

5. PAST EVENTS REGARDING THE OVERTHROW OF THE UNITED MILITIA CORPS OF PAO AN DISTRICT.

The united militia corps and the militia union offices, established by the depraved gentry, native bullies, and landlords who were in league with one another, are deadly enemies of the Peasant Unions. At the time when the organization of

Peasant Unions was just started, the united militia corps of various divisions all tried their best to oppress the peasants and hinder the development of their organisations. On the other hand, the Peasant Unions were very hostile to the united militia corps and exerted strenuous efforts for the consolidation of their own organisation with the intention of overthrowing their enemies. After the Peasant Union of Pao An had gathered together all the Peasant Corps of Tang Kuan and Pao An Districts, they drove away the troops under the command of Tam Kai-san, and overthrew the militia union offices and united militia corps of the 4th and 5th divisions of the western section, which were the strongest forces of all the militia corps of the district. All the other united militia corps, such as those of 1st and 2nd divisions of the central section were very much terrified, fearing that they would soon meet with the same fate as those of the western section. Nevertheless, they still made use of the order issued by the Magistrate and the director of the Militia Directing Office for the reorganisation of the militia corps in order to deceive the peasants and also tried their best to oppose the Peasant Unions and impede their development. The village of Sai Heung was the largest and most important one in the 1st division. It was also the base of the united militia corps of that division. But at that time, the peasants there rose up to organise their Peasant Union. Seeing this, the chief of the militia union office of that division began to admit that it was impossible for them to oppose and overthrow the peasant organisations. He then despatched some members to negotiate with our comrades, asking them to give their consent to the reorganisation of their united militia corps into Peasant Unions, and promising to allow our comrades to form the preparatory committee of the Peasant Unions of the whole division. But our comrades refused their request and tried their best to extend the organisation of the Peasant Unions. On the day of the inauguration of the Peasant Union of Sai Heung, the members of the Militia Union Office, fearing that the Peasant Corps would punish and attack them on that day fled away to other regions and dared not return for several days. Later on their income obtained from the issuance of licenses for a sort of gambling called Fa Wui upon which the standing force of their united militia corps depended for maintenance, was taken away by the Peasant Corps, and, moreover, their levying of a poll-tax in various villages was also opposed by the Peasant Union. Then they, seeing that there was no means for them to support their militiamen, were obliged to dissolve their militia corps themselves. As to the united militia corps of their regions of the 1st division, they were also maintained formerly by the income obtained from the issue of licenses for various sorts of gambling. But after the Peasant Union of the 1st division took measures for a strict prohibition of all sorts of gambling in the division, those united militia corps were also compelled to dissolve their organisation themselves. After their dissolution, they handed back to the Peasant Union all the guns which they formerly forced the peasants to surrender to them. Regarding the 3rd division, although the magistrate had requested all the native bullies, depraved

gentry and landlords of that division to organise the united militia corps there, yet, on account of the opposition of the peasants, they were finally not established. The united militia corps of the 6th division were also not organised, because the peasants of that division had risen up to establish their Peasant Unions and consequently the depraved gentry, the landlords and the native bullies dared not continue their work of organising their militia corps, which had already been begun. In the 7th division, there have not as yet been organised any Peasant Union; but being affected by the conditions in the various divisions, the gentry, bullies and landlords there also dared not carry on their movement for the organisation of united militia corps.

(From a Report on Pao An District, April 1926.)

6. VIOLENCE AND CRUELTY OF THE MILITIA OF LUNG AN VILLAGE IN SHUN TEH DISTRICT.

Kwang Hung-chang, a member of the Shek Chung Village Peasant Union of the 6th Division, went to Lung An village on a private mission on the 17th of September. On his return from the village, he was suddenly attacked when halfway home by some members of the militia, viz., Leung Shik, Leung Chin and Leung Hin, who fired at and wounded him in the feet. Upon learning this news, the Peasant Union of that district immediately addressed a letter to the magistrate of Shun Teh, asking him to despatch some delegates to examine the wound of the peasant and to arrest the violent militiamen for trial.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen, September 1925.)

7. MILITIA IN CHING YUAN DISTRICT.

At present the militia is expanding more and more everyday. According to the regulations of the Corps Affairs Committee, the militia should come under the direction of the Corps Affairs Committee, and should entertain no divergent plans in regard to one another. Contrary to all expectations, many reports have been received from the various village associations stating that at present the Militia are proclaiming everyday they will attack the Peasant Unions and butcher the peasants. For this reason, those members who do not quite understand the position are afraid, while those who are about to enlist as members, hesitate. As for these impediments, placed by the militia in the way of the Peasant Union, I hope you will write to the Department of Peasantry and Labour or to the Corps Affairs Committee requesting their restriction.

Wong Hek,

Special Delegate.

(July 4, 1926.)

To Mr. Kan Nai-kiwong,

Head of the Peasant Department of the Kuomintang C. E. C.

8. ATTITUDE OF THE MILITIA IN HO SHAN DISTRICT.

There are the South East United Militia Bureau, and the North West United Militia Bureau in this district. The director of the South East Militia Bureau, Kwan Si, is a retainer of Li Yat-og. His object is to exact exorbitant levies and oppress the people, and he is hostile to the Peasant Associations. He has under him half of the forces of the district, controlling over 300 militiamen. A regulation has been enacted by him that a Militia Branch Office should be established in every village. If any village does not wish to establish a Militia Branch Office, it shall have to pay a militia fee of \$250 yearly.

The first cause for the establishment of these militia offices is to prevent plundering by bandits, but recently these organs have become organs of individual influence. It has been the custom of the Militia to establish a United Patrol Corps of about thirty strong to be stationed at various villages, staying from three to five days at each village. The expenses are to be borne by the villages. They have often created disturbances, and extorted money from the villages. Although repugnant to the peasants of every village these peasants dare not express their feelings.

The director of the North West United Militia Bureau is Li Yiu-ku who has over 300 militiamen. He has kept the district in peace and order. He evidently hopes to utilize the Peasant Association.

*(From a report of the Special Delegate of the
Peasant Department of the C. E. C., 19-6-26)*

9. MERCHANT MILITIA KIDNAP THREE MEMBERS OF THE HO SHAN PARTY DEPARTMENT.

The department of our Party in Ho Shan District reported that the merchant militia of Sa Ping forced the shops to pay a sort of protection fee from fifty cents to two dollars per day. If any shop refused to pay, the militia would carry off the doors of the shop. The militia also kidnapped three members from the department. The magistrate attempted to put to a stop to that, but in vain. Recently, the militia imported arms and ammunition for anti-revolutionary purposes, so the department asked our organisation to abolish the militia.

(From a Special Report, March 1926)

10. MILITIA OPPRESS PEASANTS IN CHUNG SHAN DISTRICT.

The Provincial Peasant Association sent the Militia Controlling Bureau a letter stating that it had received a report from the Peasant Organisation of Sui Wong Po village, Chung Shan District, reporting that on the thirtieth of April, while two peasant members were on their way, carrying some cocoons to Yung Ki for sale, the commander of the

Yung Ki Militia seized them and forced them to pay him over hundred dollars. When the Peasant Organisation of Sui Wong Po sent a man there to ask him to release the two peasants and return them the cocoons, the commander did not listen but said that he would try by all means and at all times to oppose that Peasant Organisation. Finally the peasants paid him fifteen dollars and so he released them, but said that he would do likewise the next time. Hence the Provincial Peasant Organisation asked the Militia Controlling Bureau to seize and arrest the commander.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen, May 1926.)

11. MILITIA ARBITRARILY ARREST PARTY MEMBERS IN NAN HAI.

Over a month ago the militia at Lung Poon Village at Lung Chun Po forcibly arrested the villagers of Tung Chung Village. They were freely beaten and locked up. Besides, a village elder named Fong Sien was detained and afterwards brought to the headquarters of the 45th regiment at Hoihow. Over a month has elapsed and up to now he has not yet been released.

Upon investigation, Fong Sien, or better known by this name, Fong Li-cheong, is a Party member of the 8th Sectional Branch and the Sub-Branch of the 7th Section at Nan Hai. He is also a reserve for the Executive Committee.

The Sectional Branch and the Nan Hai District Branch despatched delegates to the headquarters of the said regiment to ask for his release on bail, but their request was refused. Moreover the regiment said that he was suspected of harbouring bandits and should not be released until a proper investigation had been made.

That is only a plan for extorting some money from the villagers, according to the villagers of Tung Chung. That regiment wanted the village to give them fifteen rifles and hand over three bandits before Fong Sien would be released.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen, 22-3-26)

12. MILITIAMEN COMMIT ABDUCTION IN Hsin HUI DISTRICT.

Yeung Yik-shik, a peasant of Ho Shan District, recently petitioned the Department of Agriculture and Labour to instruct the magistrate of Hsin Hui to arrest and punish some militiamen who have been continually kidnapping in the district. His petition reads as follows:—

“Kwan Chim, the militia chief, and Kwan Chuen, the corps leader, of the family of Kwan of Tum Chi-heung in the Ho Chuen village of the 10th Division of Hsin Hui, joined themselves with the bandits of various villages, and bribed them to spread the rumour that the militia bureau was enlisting militiamen at \$12 a month. When any villager, being deceived by their fabrications went to see them with the intention of enlisting himself as a member of the militia,

they then held him in custody for ransom. My son, named Yeung Kwan-yeong, was introduced and brought to see Kwan Chim and Kwan Chuen by two natives of this village on January 5th this year. After he went away, several letters were received from Kwan Chim and Kwan Chuen, threatening me and demanding ransom for my son. As I am a poor peasant, my family was ruined and my property lost after I redeemed my son for \$1300 on April 21st. Afterwards I found out the truth of the whole case, knowing that my son was kidnapped and held for ransom by Kwan Chim and Kwan Chuen, that Kwan Chuen undertook the confinement of the kidnapped villagers and the supply of food for their colleagues among whom were Kwan Sum, Kwan Lung, and Kwan Sau who helped them in their business by examining and finding out who are rich and so can be extorted. Now, since Kwan Chim and Kwan Chuen, being militia leaders, are so audacious as to entrap the people and hold them for ransom, if they be not strictly dealt with, then their example will be followed by many other people, and our innocent peasants will have to continue suffering from their evil actions. Being one of their victims, I am anxious to have my wrongs avenged. Besides petitioning the magistrate of Ho Shan to arrest and deal with Yeung Kwei and Yeung Lam, I hereby put the case to you for inspection, and also request you to instruct the magistrate of Hsin Hui to immediately send troops to arrest the criminals in the case, viz., Kwan Chim, Kwan Chuen; Kwan Sum, Kwan Lung, and Kwan Sau and to restore to me the ransom money and to punish them according to the law."

Upon receipt of the petition, Commissioners Liu replied on the 19th, stating:—

"Petition noted. If your statement regarding Kwan Chim and others of kidnapping and holding men for ransom is true, these acts are indeed unlawful. I will instruct the magistrate of Hsin Hui to carry out an investigation of the case immediately, and to submit reports to me after the criminals have been strictly punished in accordance with the law. This is my reply."

(*Kuo Min Hsin Wen*, 22-9-26)

13. PEASANT UNIONS IN HUA HSIEN RUINED BY MILITIA AND BANDITS.

On the 27th instant, the Peasant Unions of over ten villages namely, Yuen Tien, Tsang Ka Po, Po Chu Kong, Seong Ko Lin, Kau Chuen Wu, Tin Lo Wu and others in the 2nd section of Hua Hsien were devastated and burned by the militia at Chi Cheung and Ping Shan as well as the bandits of Chu Wan and Chang Kau, numbering about 800 persons under the leadership of Kong Hap-um, the militia chief. Brutal slaughtering took place and thirteen villages were burned to the ground. Several thousand persons have been left homeless and the sight is unbearable.

Upon investigation, it has been found that the Peasant Unions in Hua Hsien have repeatedly been attacked by militia and bandits. Regarding the case about the burning of Yuen Tien and the killing of Wong Fook-sam year before last, Minister Hsiao Chung-kai during his lifetime advocated the dissolution of the militia. Hence the militia were a bit frightened but all the while were plotting to carry out their slaughter.

When Wang Yam was the magistrate of Hua Hsien, he favoured the militia and conspired with them. Moreover he falsely accused the Peasant Unions and Kuomintang branches of being bandit organs. Kong Hap-um and the militia have since become more violent towards the Peasant Unions. He frequently directed the militia to attack the Peasant Corps in order to incite troubles, but the peasant were patient enough and did not challenge them. Kong Hap-um and the militia then became more atrocious and on the 27th when the peasant corps were unprepared, they perpetrated the tragic event.

Now several days have gone by and yet they have not stopped burning and massacring the peasants. The Peasant Unions of various districts after being informed of the matter were very indignant. They have incessantly submitted petitions to the Provincial Peasant Association asking for permission to go to the rescue of the distressed peasants of Hua Hsien.

Over five hundred peasant soldiers of Nan Hai and Fan Yu Districts in the vicinity gathered together yesterday and are waiting for the order to be despatched.

The Provincial Peasant Association has obtained the opinion of Chairman Tan Yen-kai', who greatly approves of the action of the peasant soldiers. Besides, the Provincial Peasant Association despatched Lo Yi-yuen, director of the Standing Committee, accompanied by Chen Keh-min, secretary of the Central Peasant Department to go to the Headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief to ask for the issuance of an order for despatching the peasant soldiers to Hua Hsien. They waited for three hours and afterwards were received by Mr. Wu, head of the Militia Affairs Section, who said that the Government would take action carefully and no peasant soldiers could be despatched. After a prolonged conversation there was no result. In the end Mr. Wu only promised deliberately to despatch soldier sfor suppression.

Lo Yi-yuen and Chen Keh-min then departed and went to the place of assembly of the Peasant Corps to make speeches stating that since the Government did not allow them to go, they should obey the order, because the Peasant Unions have always supported the Nationalist Government and they should wait for the Government to solve it, but the Peasant Unions still should have to unite their strength to deal with the counter-revolutionists. After giving them some encouragement, the Peasant Corps then returned to their respective villages.

It is reported that yesterday a decision was made at the meeting of the Central Standing Committee that since the militia and bandits have been so violent in Hua Hsien, having, of course, some intention of violating the peace and order at the rear

during the Expedition, it is essential strictly to suppress them in order to eradicate the rebellious characters. The Headquarters of the Commander-in-chief was then instructed to despatch a large troop of soldiers to suppress them. Upon receipt of this instruction, the 20th Division was ordered to take up the mission, and started in the afternoon of that day.

The Provincial Kuomintang despatched a letter to the Headquarters of the Commander-in-chief of the National Revolutionary troops asking him to send soldiers to suppress the reactionary militia in Hua Hsien. It reads as follows:—

"Recently we received an express letter from Chang Ti-heng, member of the Controlling Committee of the Kuomintang Branch at Hua Hsien and others stating that on the 27th, 28th and 29th instant, Kong Hap-um leader of the militia of the district led over 600 militia and bandits to attack the nine villages in the 2nd section. All the Party branches and Peasant Unions as well as the residence of the Party members and the Peasant Union members were plundered and burnt. They asked us immediately to despatch soldiers to suppress the militia and the bandits.

Upon receipt of the information, we learned that Kong Hap-um, the militia leader, was so audacious as to lead the militia and bandits to surround and attack the nine villages in the 2nd section of that district, burn the Party Branches and the headquarters of the Peasant Union as well as the houses of the Party and union members, and killed Wong Shu-kan, a Party member, and rendering over 2500 persons homeless. They also declared that they would proceed to Sunkai and get hold of the railway in order to further extend their dirty work.

If this is true, he is indeed very unruly and violent. Feeling that it is right for us to inform you, we despatch this to you with the hope that you will immediately send troops to rescue these unfortunate people and quell the troubles.

(Sd) . Kwangtung Provincial Kuomintang, August 31.

To the Headquarters of the Commander-in-chief of
the National Revolutionary Troops. .

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen, 1-9-26.)

14. PEASANT VILLAGES IN HUA HSIEN BURNT BY MILITIA AND BANDITS.

It has been published in our previous issues that the militia of the Luan Wai Yeok of Fan Yu District and Hua Hsien employed bandits to slaughter the peasants in the 2nd Section of Hua Hsien and burnt their houses.

During the last few days the distressed peasants have continually fled to Canton to petition the Central Peasant Department and the Provincial Peasant Association to devise means for asking the Government to hastily despatch soldiers to the rescue.

According to the peasants' report, the militia leader, Kong Hap-un, on the 27th instant directed over ten thousand militiamen and bandits to attack Yang Chuen. After entering the village they freely plundered and burned the houses. After that they attacked Kau Wu Village where there was a Peasant Union. The peasants hardly put up any resistance on account of the fact that there was a shortage of ammunition. Moreover the militia employed over six hundred bandits from Kong Chuen and some other places to help them.

Those bandits had previously made an agreement with Chang Kau, Chang Kee, Kong Kum-tong, etc., the militia directors, that a dollar and fifty cents be paid to each bandit per day and the booty be given to the bandits also. Consequently the bandits and the militia were more violent in attacking Kau Wu.

On the 28th, nine villages were captured by the militia and the employed bandits. Houses of over five hundred families were burned and over thirty children and more than a hundred men were massacred. Women were violated and much booty were taken away. At present the people of the whole section have fled to other places for refuge.

Kong Hap-un, Chang Kee, etc., the militia directors of the Luan Wai Kok of Fan Yu District and Hua Hsien intended to create a disturbance at the rear and to extirpate the Peasant Unions. So they again ordered their employed bandits and all the militia under them to attack Tien Lo Wu of the 3rd section. The peasant soldiers resisted, but they were short of arms and bullets. The militia not only have sufficient ammunitions but also have organs for the secret manufacture of arms and bullets as well as inferior coins. Hence they are rather influential. The peasants of the whole district have now been placed in a very critical situation.

Yesterday afternoon the District Peasant Union specially sent delegates to the Central Peasant Department and the Provincial Peasant Association for help. The Peasant Department that very night despatched officers to report to the military authorities and ask for the despatch of soldiers to suppress the reactionaries. The Provincial Peasant Association issued the following important telegram in connection with the matter:

"Very urgent—We have just received an express telegram from the District Peasant Union of Hua Hsien reporting that on the 27th instant Kong Hap-un, the head of the Hua Hsien Militia Bureau directed over 600 well-armed militiamen and bandits to attack the Peasant Union in order to carry out their murderous actions. The Peasant Self-Defence Corps were only a little over 200 in number. They gathered together at the villages of Kau Wu and Tien Lo Wu where they resisted to their utmost. For three days and nights they were besieged and at last failed in upholding their resistance against the militia and the bandits on account of the fact that they ran short of bullets and no assistance was given them from outside.

Altogether nine villages were razed and set on fire. Plundering, raping and kidnapping were rife. Many were killed and wounded, and the sight is unbearable.

Yesterday the first defensive line of the peasant soldiers at Kau Wu Village was also battered down. The 2nd defensive line at Tien Lo Wu is now in a very critical condition. The peasants there request a hasty appropriation of bullets and ask the Government to despatch soldiers to their rescue; if not the Peasant Unions as well as all the mass movements will be entirely ruined.

At present the whereabouts of all the staff members of the Kuomintang Branch of Hua Hsien and the District Peasant Union is still unknown. Kong Hap-um, the above-mentioned militia leader has always been in collusion with traitor Chen Chiung-ming. The latest event of burning the peasant villages and slaughtering peasants not only gives distress to the people, but also affects the peace and order at the rear during the Northern Expedition. Therefore they should be strictly suppressed by the troops.

(Sd.) *Executive Committee of the Kwangtung Provincial Kuomintang. August 20th.*
(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen, 30-8-26.)

15. MILITIA AND BANDITS IN HUA HSIEN ARE AS VIOLENT AS EVER.

After the withdrawal of the Revolutionary soldiers from Hua Hsien, the militia and bandits in that region have become more violent. They show no intention of respecting the stipulations formerly made.

Recently they gathered bandits at various places and are preparing to once more attack the two villages of Shang Ku Lin and Chiu Hu. Kiang Hap-um, the militia chief of the district, and Kong Kum-tong, the notorious bandit of Chang Shan, led their adherents, the militiamen and bandits, to disturb villages possessing Peasant Unions, and also kidnapped people for ransom. They are more outrageous than ever.

On the 18th instant during a market day in Chang Shan, the militia and the bandits searched the people who were in the market. All those who belonged to the Peasant Unions or in any way related to it were arrested, with the result that Yeok Chi and Hung Yong-sin were taken away by them and Yu Ping was shot.

The following day a large crowd of bandits and militia rushed into the villages of Yang Chuen and Au Yang Uk with the purpose of plundering them. Luckily they failed, but still one house belonging to a peasant family was burned down.

In the morning of the 21st the militia and bandits attacked Shang Shoh, Yang Chuen. Luckily at that time the peasant soldiers had taken strict precautions. Seeing that it would be hard for them to be successful in the attack, the militia and

the bandits then retreated. At 11 a.m. the same day a member of the Mi Chai Village named Wong Wood-tsoi, when carrying grain to Shih Kuo Market for sale, was robbed by many militiamen and bandits of Li Mai near Chiu Hu Village. Besides being robbed, he was beaten until half dead and then released.

At 5 o'clock in the afternoon a large gang of militia and bandits at Tien Mi joined with those at Ngar Yiew Village in upper Fan Yu District, numbering in all over a hundred, assembled at Wang Tan market with the intention of plundering villages. Just then a hawker who was passing by was robbed and killed. the corpse was left there. That night the whole crowd of militia and bandits passed the night at the market, thus causing great fear among all the people. Many went to other places to keep away from them. The merchants at Sin Wen Fou, upon hearing that the people of Wang Tan market were taking refuge also conveyed all their goods to other places.

On the morning of the 21st instant over a hundred bandits and militia at Li Kai surrounded the whole village of To Hu Kong and arrested a certain member of the Peasant Union. The same day in the afternoon a woman passing near Tin Lo Hu with some hens was also robbed by the militia bandits of Si Lin Village.

Such action are too numerous to be mentioned here. Since the withdrawal of the Revolutionary soldiers, the militia and bandits at Hua Hsien have become exceedingly violent. Not only the Peasants suffer, but also the people of various classes are affected likewise. Moreover during these days the militia and bandits have been making preparations to tranship guns and ammunitions in order to get ready to perpetrate another great brutal massacre.

If the Government does not strictly suppress them, it is feared that all the peasants in the district will be exterminated.

(*Min Kuo Jih Pao*, 23-9-26)

16. UNRULY HUA HSIEN MILITIA AGAIN PLAN TO DESTROY PEASANT UNIONS.

Though the militia of Hua Hsien have been disarmed by the 60th Regiment of the 20th Division for having demolished Peasant Unions, they have not yet awakened. They go out everyday to intercept and attack the peasants, confiscating buffaloes, etc. The adjacent villages are also incessantly molested by them. Their intention is to destroy the Peasant Unions in the entire district.

Of late, they have employed hundred and one ways of attacking the Peasant Unions. We shall now set down what we discovered after an investigation of their plots:—

1. They inverted the facts of the recent trouble and propagated same to the oversea Chinese at San Francisco, Victoria, Pánaná, Peru, in the hopes of influencing these emigrants to subscribe funds so that they may buy arms to butcher the peasants.

2. They spread rumours to the ignorant farmers that the Peasant Unions had practically taken steps to confiscate the ancestral fields and that no sacrificial pork-meat would be distributed in the future. They did this with the view of instigating the farmers to revolt, so that there might be further massacres.

3. They spoke to the bandits, saying that the Peasant Unions accused them for having assisted the militia in attacking the Peasant Unions. They did this in order to arouse the bad feeling of the bandits against the Peasant Unions. Bandits were also hired by them to assassinate the peasant leaders.

4. They instigated the bandits to plunder and interrupt the communications and delivery of foodstuff of the rural villages.

5. They censored the mails of the district, preventing the Peasant Unions from making known their plots by correspondence.

6. They oppressed the peasants of the weak rural villages, forced them to resign from the Peasant Unions, and confiscated their properties.

7. Outwardly, they despatched delegates to participate in meetings of the various public bodies in Canton. At these meetings, the delegates as a rule spoke of the troubles between the militia and peasants and about the joint responsibility re the question of indemnity. In reality their object was to upset the previous terms of settlements and end the matter by carrying no burden of indemnity.

8. They are clandestinely importing arms everyday, preparing for a second massacre, and say that they are willing to sacrifice 600,000 mow of land for the extinction of the Peasant Unions. From the foregoing we may perceive that the Hua Hsien Militia is not willing to carry out the terms of settlement that was put forth by the Government. As they are planning everyday to devastate the Peasant Union, in other words, to disturb the rear of the Northern Punitive Army, they are precisely counter-revolutionists. To this particular point, the Government should pay some attention.

(*Kuo Min Hsin Wen*, 9-30-26.)

17. PEASANTS IN CHAO YANG STRONGLY AFFLICTED BY MILITIA

Chen Cheong-wu, Chen Pa-yu, Chen Ah-si, etc., the directors of the militia bureau of Ho Si Section, are the local bullies and depraved gentry of that place. They have always molested the peasants and oppressed the weak. The people of the whole district know about their evil actions.

Since the establishment of the Sectional Party Branch there last year, great work has been done in supporting the peasants and workers. The militiamen

considered that detrimental to them. Hence they tried very hard to frustrate the work of the Branch. Moreover they purposely prevented the proceedings of the Ho Si School established by the Party.

They conspired with all the reactionaries of that place and in July they convoked several hundred vagabonds to establish a vocational labour union. A few days afterwards, Chen Ah-si gathered together over two hundred militiamen and members at Sin Lau Village and intentionally stirred up trouble in order to obtain an excuse for attacking the peasants. Luckily at that time, the directors of the Chap Heng Charitable Association, being informed of the matter immediately came out and settled the trouble.

The Sectional Peasant Union afterwards reported the matter to the Department of Agriculture and Labour and requested it to deal with the case. This was ratified and the said Department then instructed the magistrate of Chaoyang to deal with it accordingly.

Chen Cheong-wu and the said militia directors still did not repent. Several days ago they again intructed Chen Ah-si, Lim Hoi-cheong, etc., to lead vagabonds to attack the peasants at Sin Lau village. Many of the peasants were seriously wounded and have appealed to the magistrate while their wounds have already been examined by the authorities.

Now this trouble also affected Ho Po Village. Luckily the directors of the Chap Heng Charitable Association again came out to settle the affair but the said militia leaders were so atrocious that they refused to listen to the mediators.

At 7 p.m. on the 6th instant when a certain member of the said Charitable Association with the surname of Chen was passing the door of the militia bureau, he was mistaken for a member of the Peasant Union by the militiamen who then stabbed him in two places. Chen was seriously wounded.

The militia are still looking for ways to attack the peasants. If not rescued, the peasant comrades of the Peasant Union will be obliged to take proper steps for their own protection.

(*Min Kuo Jih Pao*, 23-9-26.)

18. MILITIAMEN IN CHAO AN FRUSTRATE ENLISTMENT OF COOLIES FOR THE NORTHERN EXPEDITION.

The Peasants, Workers, Merchants and Students Cooperative Committee of Chao An Hsien, for the sake of actually giving assistance to support the Government in launching the Northern Expedition, convoked the various revolutionary organisations to establish the Coolies Enlisting Committee in order to enlist coolies for transportation work during the expedition. In order to treat well the peasants and labourers, a resolution was passed that \$2 extra would be given to each of the

transportation coolies. It is reported that fifty coolies for permanent work and ten foremen would be employed. The estimated expenses amounted to \$4,000. It was resolved that the money would be shared and given by the various villages.

When Yu Shum-yat was in Chao An, he ordered the various militia bodies and the police stations together with the peasant and worker organisations to do their best to enlist coolies, but the militia corps then took the opportunity to fabricate rumours stating that only the peasant and worker organisations were responsible for the enlistment of coolies and that all those who joined the Peasant Unions not only would have to become coolies but also soldiers. Moreover they opposed the resolution of the said Cooperative Committee regarding the subsidy of \$4,000.

These are facts regarding the Chao An militiamen frustrating the proceedings for the enlistment of coolies.

(*Min Kuo Jih Pao*, 23-9-26.)

19. MILITIA AND DEPRAVED GENTRY AFFLICT PEASANTS IN CHUNG SHAN HSIEN.

After the Peasant Union at Nam Ping Village in the 7th Division of Chung Shan District was devastated by the depraved gentry and militia—flags were destroyed, arms were taken away and staff officers were arbitrarily arrested, the District Peasant Union on the 30th of July despatched Peasant Corps to the village with the intention of advising both parties to peacefully settle the matter; but unexpectedly the militiamen in the village, upon seeing the Peasant Corps coming immediately fired at them. One peasant soldier was instantaneously killed and eleven were wounded. Many rifles were lost.

Afterwards the recruited regiment garrisoned at Chin Shan, seeing the atrocity of the depraved gentry of the village, at once went forward to stop them from firing. When the peasant corps went away, the militiamen again maltreated the families of the peasants more violently than ever, thus causing the peasants to flee for refuge and leave their fields barren and uncultivated. Many were rendered homeless. The sight is intolerable. This shows how cruel those depraved gentry are in arbitrarily frustrating the self-protection of the peasants.

A report regarding the above events has been submitted to the Government, which is requested to devise measures for relieving the peasants and the peasant unions.

(*Min Kuo Jih Pao*, 22-9-26.)

20. MALICIOUS MEANS OF OPPRESSING PEASANTS.

Chang Man-yun, the leader of the Militia Corps of the 2nd Division of Chiung Shan District (Hainan), is by nature a very cruel man and his actions of oppressing the peasants have been very violent and intolerable. Having been instructed to sell in the division some Northern Expedition bonds to the amount of

over \$40, he, without caring about the difficulty of the people, secretly and forcibly distributed them to various villages, and also issued some additional bonds amounting to about \$100, thus making a total of more than \$140. He did so with the intention and purpose of taking advantage of the opportunity of making some money for himself. But the peasants of these five villages for which the biggest amount of loan bonds was assigned, upon holding a meeting with each other criticised his action as being unjust. On learning of this he was very angry and arrested the father of Wong Sin-chun, an executive committee member of the Peasant Union of Tin Sheun village, and beat him most severely. After being detained for about 2 days, the innocent and oppressed peasant was released. Furthermore on the night on the 14th. he again led some militiamen to Wong Kwong-chun's house in the same village and confiscated all his belongings. At first the peasants in the village thought that the intruders were bandits, and so fled away to other regions or hid themselves. Not long afterwards, Wong Kwong-chun was seen bound hand and foot and taken out of his house by 4 militiamen and led away by Chang Man-yun. Along the way, Wong was seriously beaten by the militiamen, and brought to the yamen of the magistrate, who, without making any sort of an examination, had him put in prison.

(*Kuo Min Hsin Wen*, 27-9-26)

21. KAO YAO MILITIA AGAIN PREPARING TO ATTACK PEASANT UNION.

The Militia Director of the 6th Section of Kao Yao, Liang Yun-ku, has ever been hostile towards Peasant Unions. In May of this year he ordered his hunting-dog Tse Kam-hi to besiege the Kwei Ling Village Peasant Union, and severely wounded Liang Ya-shun and four other farmers. The farmers dare not oppose him because of his infamous ferocity.

During June, he directed Chu Kan-yen, Chu Chiu-cho to mobilize the militia, seizing 7 rifles belonging to the Peasant Corps, and arresting 7 farmers.

Also, because of a quarrel, he instructed the militia to go armed and challenge Chen Chun to fight. The peasant union has repeatedly conceded for the sake of maintaining peace.

But Liang Yun-ku is becoming more and more wild. Now, he has united the militia of the 6th and 7th sections and is preparing to attack the Sha Pao Village Peasant Union.

Also he has mounted two guns at the embankment of Sha Pao, placing a dozen or so militiamen as sentinals at the cross-roads, as if they expect to meet a great enemy force.

All members of the peasant union whether male or female are searched when passing by the place.

The farmers, having already received various kinds of insults, are very indignant and so have telegraphed on September 24th to the Nationalist Government and all classes for help, requesting that severe punishment be meted out to Liang.

(*Kuo Min Hsin Wen*, 24-9-26)

22. CHAO YANG MILITIA AND GENTRY BESIEGE AND ATTACK PEASANT UNION.

At Ho Shan Village in Chao Yang the gentries Chen Cheong-wu, Chen But-teu and Chen Ah-heung, in the afternoon of the 8th day of the 8th moon led Chen Lam-kum, Chen Sing-ping, Chen Ah-pui, Chen Tam-mui, Chen Wung-tun, Chen Food-cheu, Chen Chu-neung and Chen Kow-si, numbering over 200 strong, carrying poles, rifles and other weapons to besiege and attack the peasant union of the village.

At that time, the District Peasant Union instructor, Chow Yuan-hing, was present. He ordered all the doors to be shut so as to avert the brunt of the attack. At the same time he hastened to report to Magistrate Mao, requesting him to despatch troops to the rescue.

Upon receipt of the report, Magistrate Mao despatched Corps Leader Wong with his troops to the place. Upon seeing the forces, the villains dispersed, but returned to attack the Peasant Union after the corps had retreated. Just at the time, the peasants corps arrived, and broke the siege, arresting one villain who was immediately brought to the Magistracy.

(*Kuo Min Hsin Wen*, 9-25-26.)

23. RESULT OF CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE MILITIA AND PEASANT CORPS IN TAI SHUI LONG VILLAGE.

A conflict commenced during September between the militia and Peasant Corps of Tai Shui Long Village, Nan Hai. During the hostilities, 2 peasants were killed, and 5 wounded; great losses being sustained by both sides. The Peasant Corps of the neighbouring villages also sent help to the corps in the Tai Shui Long village. In view of the fact that the trouble was on the point of being extended, the elders of the village came out to undertake mediation and suggested six terms for peace, promising the immediate dissolution of the militia. Towards these conditions the Peasant Corps acquiesced; and with the militia actually disarmed, the fighting stopped on September 27th.

(*Min Kuo Jih Pao*, 9-27-26.)

24. FASCIST MILITIA GAVE UP ITS VIOLENT POLICY.

Having read the reports published in these columns, our readers know well how the militia are organized, what their aim is, who their leaders are, and what they have done. Although they are not under the direction of Mussolini, nor do they wear black shirts, yet the militia are Fascist in principle as well as in action. However, some time the revolutionary peasants get the upperhand, and then the militia which used to oppress them have to give up and retire. This is shown by the following letter of apology published in the Chinese press a few days ago.

"Not having understood clearly its principles, we have oppressed the Tung Tong Peasant Union. At present, knowing that we were wrong, we voluntarily agree to sign the following peace treaty, in order that every one will live and work peacefully, not to remember past antagonism, and not to hate each other. We agree:

1. To dissolve the unlawful militia.
2. To indemnify all the peasants whose houses have been burnt.
3. To indemnify the families of the two peasants killed.
4. To pay the medical fees for the three peasants wounded.
5. To pledge that henceforth we will not oppress the Peasant Union of Tung Tong and those of the neighbouring villages nor molest the Peasant Union movement or its propagandists.
6. To publish a letter of apology in the press.
7. To raze immediately the stone barrier built by us in the Tung Tong thoroughfare and thus facilitate communications.
8. To take away immediately the stone erected by us before the village temple in order to abolish the vexatious regulations.
9. To re-build the wooden bridge before the village so as to facilitate communications.
10. To return the sixteen dollars and six measures of rice stolen from Mr. Yip Tak.
11. The above conditions were agreed upon by both parties on the 15th day of September, 15th year of the Chinese Republic.

(sd) *The Lang Hing Militia of the 5th District of Nan Hai.*

(*Canton Gazette*, 9-27-26)

CHAPTER X.

BANDITRY

AND THE

PEASANTS.

A. GENERAL.

1. Banditry in Kwangtung Province.

(From the Min Kuo Jih Pao).

There are more bandits in Kwangtung than there are in any other province of China. The causes are:

(1) The early connection with the imperialists, which caused the early breakdown of the agricultural economy and making the peasants become bandits.

(2) Contact with the civilized life of the European peoples made Kwangtung hope for such a life, but it was not easy to accomplish such social conditions. This caused men to become bandits.

(3) Military struggles of successive years gave rise to many army refugees, and those who lost their homes became bandits.

(4) The utilization of bandits by imperialists against the Nationalist Government caused more bandits.

(5) The prolonged seacoast and mountainous land made it more convenient for the bandits to conserve their forces, which increased in number year after year.

There are bandits everywhere in Kwangtung, especially in Weichow of Tung Kiang, Se Ye of Southern Kwangtung, Kwangsi border of West River, and Chin Yuan and Yin Teh of the North River.

Now, let us consider some measures, which could settle the question of clearing up the bandits.

(1) All soldiers should be given the responsibility of suppressing bandits.

During the last few years there have been many people who wished to become bandits. This was not all on account of economic pressure. Most of them left their fields to join the bandits. Why was this so? Because the people felt that a bandit's living was easier than plowing the field. Their income was far better than any kind of business they knew of. Formerly there were few bandits, because their lives were often in danger. But during these recent few years, it seemed that all the soldiers are for war purposes only and not responsible for suppressing bandits. Therefore sometime bandits would come to their very faces in safety. Most of the kidnapping and robbery cases have occurred near the soldiers' camps. News concerning this have always been published in the newspapers giving the real facts. People have continually asked the soldiers to help them to suppress the bandits, but have been

refused. One thing very wonderful was that when the people asked them to suppress bandits, they carelessly replied "We are common soldiers. Are we supposed to be used by you for suppressing bandits?" According to this reply, we see that the meaning of the soldiers is that common soldiers are not for suppressing bandits. This kind of misunderstanding certainly came from the fact that formerly there was a difference between the Boundary Patrolling Army and the Army. In fact the common soldiers believe that they are to be used for fighting only in war and not for the protection of the people. We can scarcely understand this attitude. The people know that if they become bandits the soldiers will not attempt to suppress them, therefore they sell their cattle and buy weapons and go to join the bandits.

We have so many soldiers at present that if they were made to feel their responsibility for suppressing the bandits at any time or place, the difficult task would soon be accomplished. The attitude should be changed so that if they did not actually attack the bandits it could be said of them that they are protecting the bandits. Also if this were true, those who do not find it absolutely necessary to turn bandit would be kept from leaving their farms because of the danger involved in the bandit profession.

(2) All the soldiers should be stationed at the districts where there are bandits and be kept for suppressing the bandits.

At present most of the soldiers who do not eradicate the bandits have an excuse as vivid as if it had been carved on a piece of wood: "If we suppress them at one place they run to another." In reality this is only a one-sided statement. If we have to take the words of the soldiers that the movements of the bandits are uncertain, we feel like saying that the soldiers are lazy. In fact, according to the present condition, the place where the bandits can settle together are very few and the roads by which they can escape are fewer still. The habit of indolence seemed to have gotten into the lives of the soldiers. The soldiers purposely select the most crowded and safest cities to station themselves and are very much dissatisfied with stations where there are plenty of bandits. These places are in a condition similar to being under a separate government. The bandits protect the steamer going to and fro and help in the opening of plowing work. For instance, if all the soldiers were removed from the cities and stationed at those places where there are bandits, the bandits would lose their gathering places and a big gang of bandits could not be formed and at the same time there would be no road by which they could escape. The number of bandits would then be reduced. Everyone knows that the robbers work on land and water alike. If the river patrolling gunboats would patrol those places or remain where the robbers are known to be staying, they will certainly not be so brave as at present. But the captains of these gunboats are all unwilling to do this. They are satisfied to burn the public coal for their trips to Macao to play "fantan". Moreover, they smuggle goods or carry passengers privately and that is why the people have no

confidence in them. Therefore if the Government wants to eradicate all the bandits and prevent them from forming into big gangs to commit mischief, other places aside from the important towns should be stationed with soldiers. Those soldiers who are not kept for training should be despatched to stations in districts where the bandits are. Then the soldiers will be able to answer us why when "we suppress them at one place, they run to another."

(3) Exorbitant taxes must be strictly abolished and the rowdies and depraved gentry be punished.

Why do the people want to become bandits? One reason is that the living they make is insufficient. What they receive from tilling the fields does not suffice to meet the exorbitant taxes imposed by the unruly soldiers, insubordinate generals and corrupt officials. During these past few years the people have been forced to pay what is called the military expenses and the 50% tax on rations. The people were afraid that their incomes would not be sufficient to meet these heavy expenses. In addition the rowdies and depraved gentry have used every method to squeeze the peasants under the pretext of organising the militia. That was why during these past few years the exorbitant taxes and miscellaneous duties have been increased. The number of bandits has also increased. Moreover there were some rowdies and depraved gentry who wanted to secure their own position or to occupy a place by force. They were always assisted by the loafers, rascals, robbers and bandits. Therefore, if we want to eradicate all the bandits, speaking from the economical point of view, we must work for the abolition of exorbitant taxes and miscellaneous duties, so that the people can more easily earn a living and at the same time exterminate all the rowdies and depraved gentry that protect the bandits. When these measures have been carried out, then we can expect that banditry, which is one of the most considerable obstacles in the development of the economic and social life of the Kwangtung province, will be easily eradicated.

2. Peasants and Brigands.

Agriculture has ever been the fundamental industry of China. Those who have earned their living by agriculture have always been esteemed as honest citizens while those who strived hard for unnecessary enterprises have been held to be dishonest citizens. Since Socialism, which aims at the equalization of land rights, has been adopted as a Kuomintang principle the peasant movement has come into existence. Farmers are willing to join peasant organisations, but they do not realize that robbers spring up from those idlers who have forsaken their farming.

At the present moment from Wuchow in the West to Weichow in the East all districts are suffering from brigands whose profession is half peasantry and half robbery.

In ancient times the farmers received military training during their leisure, but nowadays these brigands resort to robbery when they have spare time after farming. The desperate brigands even rise up in revolt and if their attempt is successful they pillage cities and carry away with them captives and treasures. If they are defeated, they flee and hide themselves among the ordinary people. They even employ the banners of the Peasant Organisation as a means of protection and accuse the military officers of disturbing and oppressing the peasants.

Alas! the protection of the Government is thus abused to suit the brigands in their evil designs. It is true, that the majority of farmers are honest citizens, but among them there are some who take advantage of the organisation as their refuge. If this defect is not corrected then the protection of the people will become a terror to the people, which is of course contrary to the principle of the Kuomintang.

At present the idea of the emancipation of peasants must be carried to the people; but the wheat must be separated from the chaff, otherwise the dishonest will be lost among the honest, a result contrary to the wishes of the Government which is working for the public welfare.

Moreover, peasants, militia, and brigands are getting involved, and if proper measures are not duly taken, confusion will not only jeopardise the community but will become a great obstacle to military operations and civil administration. The Book of Odes said, "Everyone asserts that he is right, but who can discern the sex of a crow." This is good advice for those who work for the peasant movement.

(From *Hsin Min Kuo Poa*, 10-10-25.)

3. Are the Peasants Bandits.

(*Declaration of the Kwangtung Peasant Association.*)

Our Kwangtung province is the first province upon which the imperialists bestowed their aggressions, and our people are among those who suffer most from their oppressions. The loss of Hongkong, Macao and Kwang Chow Wan has rendered our province defenseless. The imperialists have watched and still keep on watching us, manipulating our finance and the price of various commodities and filling our markets in the cities as well as in the villages with foreign goods and capital. Besides, they have also united with the militarists openly and secretly supplied the bandits with arms and munitions, instigating civil wars in our country and supporting the enemies of our populace. Hongkong, Macao, and Kwang Chow Wan are the headquarters for all reactionaries, who serve the Imperialists as their servants, and who have been directed by them to create disturbances in our region whenever an opportunity offered itself. All the people of various classes, such as the students, peasants, workers and merchants have been groaning under their oppression while our peasants are suffering the most.

Every year the loss of our lives and property due to the oppression of the imperialists is enormous. Hence the imperialists may be said to be not only the primary factors for shaking the foundation of our rural villages, but also the chief instigator of all the troubles that takes place in our province.

In addition to the imperialists, the militarists are also doing very much harm to our peasants. Ignoring the cases which have taken place long ago, the recent affairs are still worthy of repetition. Ever since the Revolution of 1911, our Kwangtung province has been unfortunately under the iron heel of the militarists. Rebel generals, Lung Chi-kwong, Lu Wing-ting, Chan Ping-kwan, Tam Ho-ming, Mok Wing-sun, Ma Chai, Sun Hung-ying, Yang Hsi-min, and Liu Chen-huan as well as the native militarists, such as Chen Chiung-ming, Teng Pen-yin, Ngai Pong-ping, Liang Hung-kai, Chang Yan-ki, Mok Hung, and Lin Shu-ngai, have in succession usurped the administration of the province. They, joining with the corrupt and avaricious officials, have brought about in the province a permanently unsettled and disorderly condition. They have commandeered coolies, enforced extortions, and issued licenses for gambling and opium-smoking. Women have had to suffer from their violations and many citizens have been killed for no reason. Bandits are to be found everywhere. Merchants and travellers are often disturbed. Many people are unemployed. During this period many of our peasants' houses have been burned and devastated, many of our women violated and innumerable lives of our peasants lost on account of the unruly soldiers and robbers. Being angered at their unlawful actions, all our peasants are very hostile to those oppressors and regard them as our irreconcilable enemies.

Besides the imperialists and militarists there are the native bullies and depraved gentry, who have always depended upon their wealth and power to oppress our peasants. They have secretly united with the corrupt officials, harboured the bandits, usurped the administration of the militia offices as well as the government of the villages. They have embezzled the public funds, and ill-treated the common citizens. They have considered themselves as feudal lords of their native regions. But as the Government could not protect the peasants, and the peasants themselves were not strong enough to oppose their oppressors, they were obliged to remain quiet, having nobody to tell their grievances to. On account of the oppression of these bullies and corrupt gentry, thousands of our peasants have also lost their lives during the past several years.

As a result of the harsh government and oppression of our peasants by the imperialists, militarists, bandits, corrupt officials, native bullies and depraved gentry, the organisation of our rural villages have been utterly devastated, the livelihood of our peasants has remained unprotected, the old and the weak have died while the young and the strong have been obliged to turn bandit or engage themselves in other unpatriotic undertakings. On account of many people being unemployed,

vagabonds are found everywhere and various kinds of troubles occur in all rural villages, leaving them in an unsettled condition. Furthermore these affairs effect not only our peasants but also other classes, such as the workers and merchants, and thus the foundation of the country is being periodically shaken.

Having observed carefully the general situation of the whole world as well as our country, Dr. Sun Yat-sen realized that in order to achieve the National Revolution it is first necessary to overthrow imperialism, the militarists, and all other reactionaries; that in order to exterminate the imperialists, the militarists and all other reactionaries, it is first necessary to attain the emancipation of the peasants; and that in order to liberate the peasants, they must first be organized legally, before they will be enabled to join together to exert themselves in their struggle. On account of this he promulgated the regulations for the Peasant Union the year before last and set an example in Kwangtung for the peasants of other provinces to follow. Since then the peasants have found the right way of attaining their emancipation. They have risen up in succession to organize their own Peasant Unions, so as to work for their own relief.

The object of the organization of the Peasant Unions lies in the contention for improvement of the livelihood of the peasant masses and the alleviation of their sufferings. But since those who caused the peasants to suffer were the imperialists, the militarists, the bandits, the corrupt officials, the native bullies and the depraved gentry, our peasants should therefore remove all those evil beings first in order to improve the peasants' opportunities for gaining a livelihood. For this reason, our Peasant Union persistently advocates the overthrow of imperialism, the militarists and all other reactionary influences and the participation in the National Revolution, as well as the strenuous struggle for the success of the National Revolution under the guidance of the Kuomintang. Our peasants can never get rid of their yoke until emancipated by the success of the National Revolution. The action and advocacies of our Peasant Unions therefore all agree with the object of the National Revolution. Moreover, it will swear to support from the beginning to the end the Nationalist Government and the Kuomintang which is directing the National Revolution. Upon examining the works and achievements of our Peasant Union during the past two years, the above statements can be verified. For, the peasant masses, under the direction of our Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Association, have exerted themselves strenuously and participated in all the movements for consolidating the revolutionary foundation, such as the general election of the mayor by the common citizens, the launching of an expedition to attack the rebels as far as Shao Kuan, the October 10th case, the suppression of the Merchant Volunteers Revolt, the Battle of Tungkiang in February, the suppression of the Yang-Liu Trouble in June, the declaration of a General Strike by the workers on account of the May 30th Affair, the campaign against counter-revolutionists after the occurrence of Liao's assassination, and the two expeditions for pacifying the Southern and Eastern Districts and for the unification

of the whole province, etc. The peasants were obliged to do these things not only for the sake of the Nationalist Government but also for the sake of their own interests.

But their actions have stirred up the indignation and jealousy of the imperialists, militarists and all other reactionaries who depend upon the extortion of the peasants for their living. For, when the peasant are strongly organized, and enthusiastically take part in conducting the National Revolution, the revolutionists, having the peasant masses as their basic forces, will be able to develop their revolutionary work continuously and competently. Such development will, in reality, be very unfavourable to the interests and privileges of our enemies. Furthermore, on account of the Peasant Unions always keeping an eye on the actions of the corrupt officials and the unruly soldiers, who are in league with and dependent upon the bandits for protection, they feel very uneasy at being unable to carry out their selfish and wicked movements as freely as before. For the above reasons, those reactionaries have been obliged to cooperate together to launch attacks upon the Peasant Unions, with a view of overthrowing the force of the revolutionary masses. They have, in dealing with the Peasant Unions, adopted every possible measure advocated by the Nationalist Government and the General Strike and enforced them. Beside this, they have sometimes adopted more drastic schemes. They sometimes made use of the militia, sometimes gathered together all the reactionary rebels, sometimes bribed the corrupt officials, the unruly soldiers, or bandits to attack and do harm to the Peasant Unions, with the intention of attaining their object of devastating and oppressing the peasants by use of military force or political influence. Moreover, they are devising and enforcing all sorts of plans for oppressing the members of the Peasant Unions, such as the direction of the landlords to take back from the tenants the lands which they are cultivating, the expulsion of the peasant members from their clans, and the bribing of murderers to assassinate the peasants, etc.

During the last two years we, peasants, have consequently been suffering from the terror of bankruptcy and ruin. Our sacrifices are perceivable to all who can see. Besides their unlawful military exploitations our enemies have employed every base measure to divide our unity, fabricate rumours, and provoke the hatred of the various classes against the Peasant Union.

They have said either that the Peasant Union is going to practise Communism or that the Peasant Union is working in collusion with the bandits. These rumours when spread have had some effect on the people. Therefore there have been many protestations and accusations against the Peasant Union. Thus, unfortunately the plot of the reactionaries for dividing the revolutionary strength has been somewhat successful.

On our part we are not disheartened, but we regret to see such obstacles in our way. The rumour about Communism is known to be a baseless lie to all really sensible persons and needs no refutation. However, the rumour about our collusion with bandits, the most conventional accusation against the Peasant Union by the

reactionaries, is still having some impression upon the people. To this we have to make refutations,

In truth, bandits are produced by the oppressions of the Imperialists, militarists and reactionaries. The Imperialists and the rebels time and again give them money and ammunition, instigating them to provoke disturbances in the interior. They are therefore, in the same manner as the gentry, influential tools of Imperialism; and have become a kind of reactionary strength, which impedes the unification of China and the progress of National Revolution.

The Peasant Union has participated in its revolutionary work and supported the Nationalist Government of its own accord. The success of the revolution means the success of the peasants. They would of a surety eliminate all impediments in the way of National Revolution. How can it be said that they would on the contrary accomodate the reactionaries, which means a suicidal policy to them? This is not at all reasonable.

Having observed the evils of the bandits of Kwangtung, and knowing that unless a proper solution be effected all the projects of the Nationalist Government will be thwarted for the evil of banditry does not rest only in the plundering of the peasants, the 2nd Congress of all the delegates of the Kwangtung Peasant Unions concentrated their attention on the suppression of bandits and the tranquillization of the people, and unanimously passed a resolution to make these a reality. The request was submitted to the Government in cooperation with the workers, the merchants and the students. This indicates the earnestness of the peasants for bandit suppression.

As regards the material indications which can be seen by all, there are the efforts displayed by the Kwang Ning Peasant Self-Defense Corps in undertaking irrigation work to cooperate with various classes. For a month they have fought desperately with the bandits, sustaining over one hundred casualties, and in the vicinity of Tai Tung over ten villages have been burnt by the bandits. In other districts, such as Tung Kuan, Chung Shan, Wei Yang, Hai Feng, Lai Feng, Kao Yao and Hua Hsien most of the district peasant associations have been devastated by the bandits.

Hence it is clear that we, peasants, are now suffering from the disturbances, extortions, plunders, and a hundred and one kinds of exploitations from the bandits, and are groaning under heavy oppressions. While we, the peasants, are in such a deplorable condition, the reactionaries have defamed us with reports that we have colluded with the bandits, and many who have not investigated the case have believed them. Is there anything more unjust than this? The intrigue and subtlety of the reactionaries are indeed deleterious!

Up to the present the Peasant Union has been established for only two years; but the number of members already exceeds 800,000. With this vast organisation under the present unstable conditions of the rural villages, the coarseness of their living, environment, and the incessant exploitation of the Imperialists, militarists,

bandits, corrupt officials and degenerated gentry; the number of unemployed increases with time. There might be some who, having formerly enlisted in the Peasant Association, have degenerated into bandits. We cannot guarantee that among these 800,000 members that there are no bandits. But we are certain that such is not an universal phenomenon, for that would be greatly in contrast to the principle and object of the Peasant Union and is intolerable to the discipline of the various grades of Peasant Associations.

Moreover, there is a well-defined system in the organisation of Peasant Associations. The activities of the various districts, sections, and Village Peasant Unions are absolutely under the supervision and direction of the Provincial Peasant Association. Any infringement of the resolutions or disobedience to the orders of the Provincial Peasant Association are strictly dealt with. If in any grade of Peasant Union bandits are found hiding there and giving trouble to the village, the Provincial Peasant Association will certainly not connive with but will eliminate them, after having ascertained that such a report was true. Every peasant under the unification movement will try its best to struggle for the National Revolution as well as for their own interests.

But according to the newspapers, recently bandits have been discovered feigning as Peasant Self-Defense Corps in order to plunder the villages. These incidents have been taken and used by the reactionaries as propaganda material with a view of realising their plot for the destruction of the Peasant Associations.

Besides solemnly instructing the various Peasant Unions and Peasant Defense Corps to inspect their respective body of members and eliminate all bad constituents, this union hereby declares to the public that all the rumours about the ravages committed by the Peasant Self-Defense Corps are not facts; for under the strict discipline of this unified organisation, it is impossible for such things to have happened. The fact is, either counterfeiters committed these ravages under assumed names, or that they were pure fabrications. Suffice it to say that it is the plot of the reactionaries to frustrate the people's organisation in order to shake the base of the National Revolution. We hope that the officials of the Government will not fall into the trap set by the traitors.

The activities of the Peasant Unions in various districts might have been too fervent, their watchwords might have been too high; but all these were evolved from their zeal of upholding the Nationalist Government. Their extremeness can, of course, be rectified.

We peasants, having suffered many afflictions during succeeding years of alien exploitation and internal dissensions, are earnestly longing for peace and order. There is nothing we like better than peace, and nothing we hate more than war, disturbance, and those obstacles to peace such as the Imperialists, corrupt officials and degenerated gentry.

We hereby announce our purpose of gathering the forces of the peasant masses together to follow the officials of the Nationalist Government and the workers and the students to strive after the success of the National Revolution. We hereby solemnly make this declaration for the kind consideration of the people.

Routine Committee of the Executive Committee of the Kwangtung Peasant Association.

*Lo Yee-yuan, Chow Chi-kam,
Yuen Siu-sin, Pang Pei,
Tsoi Yu-ping.*

4. Are there Actually Bandits in the Peasant Unions ?

Many people hold some or other misunderstanding about the peasant movement. For instance, some people consider the peasant movement as a sort of bandit or militia movement. Hence the fabrication of various sorts of rumours by many people who are against the Peasant Union. Those people, who have a great number of soldiers under their control, do not only scold the Peasant Unions but also attack them. In fact when they lead their soldiers to suppress the bandits, whom they say the Peasant Unions are harbouring, they are not actually doing so but are only infesting the peasants of the villages under the pretext of suppressing the bandits. Such people not only do not know what mass movement is, but also may be said to be ignorant of the mission of the Kuomintang and its policy of supporting the labourers and peasants as mentioned in the platform of the Party.

Moreover, we have also understood who those people opposing the Peasant Union are. They are mostly the militiamen and bandits who are always utilized by the depraved gentry, as well as the Patrolling Corps of the magistrates. These people, although not being irreconcilable enemies of the Peasant Union, yet upon being bribed by the native bullies and depraved gentry, are willing to serve as their hunting-dogs. Many of the peasants of various districts, such as Kwang Ning, Yu Nan, Shun Teh and San Shui in Kwangtung have been killed and their homes devastated by the bandits who are utilized by the depraved gentry and bullies against the peasants. From this we can decide whether the Peasant Unions are harbouring bandits or the bandits are opposed to the Peasant Unions. Consequently those people who falsely accuse the Peasant Unions of containing bandits, may just as well awake and be aware of their own faults. Now let us take for example the case of Kwang Ning. The following is an extract from the news section of an issue of the "Kuo Min Hsin Wen" for June 12, 1926:—

"The recent infestation of the region of Pa Tung by Chan Pat-hing, a notorious bandit of Kwang Ning District, has caused considerable suffering to the peasants of that district. Upon investigation it is found that after the bandits of Chan's clique were defeated by the garrison troops and the Peasant Corps at Kong Chik on June 8, they all fled away towards the Chung Pak Hill and Pak Ma Tau.

But there were still some bandits in the regions of Kai Kung Tau, Chuk Mei, Ma Chi Hang and Kuan Yam Ngam. Taking advantage of this opportunity they went out, committing robbery and kidnapping people everywhere. According to the latest reports, on the afternoon of the 4th, some bandits were seen passing Ko Hang and Chung Tong Ping, holding torch-lights in their hand, carrying some pork, beef and wine on their shoulders, and bringing with them a number of kidnapped women. They were all going towards the regions of Fan Shui Tong and Tai San. As these regions are very near the Ling Chuen village of Kao Yao district, the bandits went there in order to cooperate with the "Supernatural Fighters" of Kao Yao. It is said that Wong Wai-lau, a landlord of Kao Yao, led, on the night of the 6th, more than 100 "Supernatural Fighters" to Fan Shui Tong to join the bandits. Along their way, they told the villagers that more "Supernatural Fighters" would come to the region in a few days. When informed of this, the peasants were in great terror. A certain leader of the peasant corps, named Au Kam, who was kidnapped by the bandits when they captured the region of Tai Tung, recently escaped from the den of the bandits and returned to his village. Having been a prisoner of the bandits for some time, he knew much about the internal condition of the bandits. The following is an account he gave of the cruel actions of the bandits which he himself had seen. From the account we can see the savagery and cruelty of the bandits.

Au Kam said: "When Tai Tung was attacked by the bandits, I led my men to fight energetically against the assailants. At first the bandits charged us several times, but all their attempts were abortive. At last as our men were not as numerous as the bandits, we were defeated and the enemy entered the village. I, myself, for want of cartridges was also captured by the bandits. At that time one of the bandits wanted to kill me instantly, but was stopped by another bandit who said that they had better kill me after they had obtained some money from the village. The bandit then stopped pointing his pistol at me, and I was taken together with other four members of the peasant corps to the Lung Hom Monastery. After arriving at the monastery, I was bound and whipped till I was seriously hurt. At that time it happened to be raining and the bandits, after striking me, took me out of the monastery. The rain which drenched my whole body, caused my wounds to become more painful. On the next day, the bandits inquired about my name, occupation and various other things. Seeing that the bandits have already known that I belong to the Peasant Corps, I plainly told them that I was a member of the Peasant Corps. But as regards my name, I thought that as the bandits have long been hostile to me, I would be instantly killed if I told them my real name, so I gave a false one instead. But the bandits did not believe me so they bound and beat me, trying to force me to tell them my real name. Nevertheless, I, bearing my pain still refused to do what they asked. On the following day, the bandits released me and ordered me to serve as a cook for them. While working in the kitchen, I found

what they ate were mostly pork and vegetables. As to the other kidnapped members of the Peasants Corps, they were bound hand and foot, and periodically hung up and severely beaten. The kidnapped women were auctioned off by the bandits, and those who offered high prices could get them. The price varied from one hundred dollars to over three hundred dollars. Regarding the kidnapped children they were all killed by the bandits, and their corpses were hung on the trees for the benefit of the public. From these facts we can see what savage and heartless people the bandits are."

From the above instance, it can be seen that all the false reports stating that the Kwang Ning Peasant Corps entered into a secret alliance with the bandits are just groundless rumours. If we carefully observe how Au Kam, the leader of the Peasant Corps, was treated by the bandits, we can understand thoroughly that the bandits and the Peasants Corps could not be allies. Moreover we can also infer from the above facts that the landlords and the bandits are actually in league with each other.

As regards the native bullies, the depraved gentry and the militia who are always utilized by the other two classes of people as their tools, let me mention for instance, the case of Yu Nan to prove their wickedness. The following is a copy of the report submitted by the Northern and Western Districts Branch Office of the Peasant Association on the devastation of the Peasant Union of Yu-nan by the militia, this report appeared in the issue of the "Kuo Min Hsin Wen" for June 30th:

"For a very very long time, the depraved gentry, the native bullies and the militia of Yu Nan District, viz., Li Ling-chun, Lo Yueh-chiu, Lai Yu-chang and others had joined with the bandits in carrying out various sorts of evil actions and doing harm to all the villagers. Ever since their assumption of office as officers of the militia bureau, cases of their harbouring and tolerating the bandits to infest the people have been repeatedly reported. Their crimes have already been known to all people. Moreover, they have always been trying their best to violate and ruin the Peasant Union, often falsely accusing the members of the Peasant Union of being bandits. They do this with the intention of deceiving the people by means of their false charges, exterminating the peasant movement of Yu Nan fundamentally, overthrowing the Peasant Unions of various grades in that district, and thereby avoiding the supervision of their action as well as the fulfillment of their evil and wicked plans and deeds by the Peasant Union, and facilitating the harbouring of bandits as well as their cooperation with them in perpetrating various sorts of illegal things. It has been known to everybody in the villages that the recent plundering of Kwai Hui was committed by Lai Shui Wat Ting, a notorious bandit and a nephew of Lai Yu-chang, Chief of the militia bureau of the 5th division, who joined hands with the colleagues of Li Ka-man and Chuk T'ao-fung, two notorious bandits of Kwangsi. But the evil bully and his colleagues, having been hostile to the Peasant Unions for a long time and being intent on over-

throwing them purposely fabricated rumours and involved the Peasant Association by false charges. Moreover, they instigated the soldiers to join with the militiamen to attack, on June 16th, the Peasant Unions of the 5th and 6th divisions and the villages of Sun Chai, Chung Lo, Sheung Yuan, Kurk Tin and Kap Tong. They killed the people, and robbed them of all their goods and materials. The sufferings of the villagers were indeed great and intolerable. Now they are still continuing to attack and set fire to the Peasant Unions of various divisions and villages. They want to take advantage of this opportunity to exterminate all peasant organisations in Yu Nan. Recently numerous letters and telegrams asking for relief have been received from the propagandists and special delegates sent by our office to various places to undertake investigations. Besides requesting the government to order the soldiers to suppress the trouble and to deal with the rioters, we hereby give the following account of the case for your inspection and expect that you will render us your assistance.

"It appears that since the 8th year of the Republic, the bandits of various cliques in Yu Nan, taking advantage of the confused and unsettled condition of the province, continued to devastate the district. All neighbouring regions were disturbed and the villagers have, many a time, petitioned the Government to despatch soldiers to suppress the bandits. Yet notwithstanding their earnest requests, no soldiers have yet been sent by the Government to pacify these regions, and the bandits have become even more violent than before. The suffering of the Yu Nan District City and the regions of Kap Sheung and Tai Shiu-shui in the 5th division is greater than that of other places. In the 11th and 12th years of the Republic, the bandits grew more and more violent, and the whole region of the 5th and 6th division was devastated by the bandits. Everyday cases of pillage and kidnapping occurred. The peasants, being unable to maintain their living on account of the rapacity of the robbers, and at the same time desirous of preserving their properties and lives, were obliged to become bandits and join the various robber cliques. Then all villages were in disorder and one could hardly distinguish between bandits and common citizens. The people robbed one another, and the inhabitants of the 5th and 6th divisions might be said to be all bandits at that time. The most notorious bandits and those who were wanted by the Government at that time are:—Yuan Tan-ngou, Wai Kam-sheung, Lau Min-yu, and many others.

"It was found upon investigation that these bandits are mostly relatives of the above-mentioned evil gentries, bullies and militia chiefs. In order to strengthen their influence and consequently to make themselves prominent and powerful in the villages, the evil gentry, bullies and militia chiefs, under the pretext of philanthropy, organized some militia corps which first depended upon the bandits for protection and afterwards cooperated with them in carrying out various unlawful actions. Being supported by the gentries, bullies, and militia, the bandits are growing more and more violent, while the villagers are suffering more and more from their depredations and oppressions. Now let us mention several

instances of the alliance of the gentries, bullies and militia chiefs with the bandits. In the year before last, when the wedding ceremony of one of the sons of Li Ling-chun, the present vice-chairman of the committee of the militia corps, was held, many of the notorious bandit chiefs, such as Wai Chuan-sheung, Yuan Tau-nou, Li Sap-chat, etc., were invited to attend the ceremony, and each of them presented Li Ling-chun with a fur coat worth about \$100. They also led scores of their armed followers to attend the feast held on that day. Again on the birthday of the mother of Yuan Tau-ngou, a notorious bandit, all directors of the militia corps of the 5th and 6th divisions, viz., Lai Yu-chang, Lo Yueh-chiu, Li Ling-chun and their colleagues offered many valuable presents including two scrolls to the bandits as a token of their happiness at the celebration of his mother's birthday. Moreover, although the bandits have been and are still very violent yet the gentries and bullies, who are rich people, can travel through all regions freely without being disturbed by the robbers. This is the first instance of the secret alliance of the bandits, the bullies and gentries. The notorious bandits, viz., Chang Kam-hing, Liu Chi-ting, Liu Wan, etc., have long been wanted by the Government. But the wicked gentries and bullies appointed them as the chiefs of various militia corps of the 5th and 6th divisions. The members of all those militia corps are mostly followers of the violent, notorious bandits. Ever since they joined the militia, they have committed various sorts of crimes, such as kidnapping, rape, etc. Instead of prohibiting them from doing such things, the gentry and bullies protected and harboured them. For instance, when the depraved gentry and the wicked bullies were asked to punish Wan Sup-ng and Lo Ah-yat, two militiamen, for having violated by force Moh Ah-yeung's sister—this was a real fact—they, replying to the petitioners, said that the militiamen could not be considered as guilty, because they were only enforcing the theory of nationalization of women, which was promoted by the Peasant Union. This is the second instance of the factual proof of the secret alliance between the bandits and the gentry and bullies. During the time when the 5th division was most violently disturbed by the bandits, the director and committee of the militia bureau of the 5th division, viz., Lai Yu-ying, Li Ling-chun, Lo Yueh-chiu and others established a secret organ in the Tai On shop in Ng Hui (this shop was owned by Lo Yuen-chiu) for purchasing, transporting and supplying ammunitions and provisions to the bandits. The depraved gentry and wicked bullies had also bribed the robbers to besiege and attack the region of Pak Far Shek Tung in the 4th division. Afterwards when the robbers were defeated by the militia of that region, Lai, Li, and Lo were compelled to give bonds as an expression of their repentance. This is the 3rd instance of the proof by facts of the secret alliance between the bandits, gentry and bullies. Furthermore, we find upon investigation that many of the notorious bandits are relatives or kinsmen of the gentry and the militia chiefs. For instance, the notorious bandit chief, Lai Shui Wat Ting, is a nephew of Lai Cheung, the militia chief of the 5th division; Lo Ah-cham is the brother of a member of the committee of the militia of the 5th division; Yuan

Tau-ngou is one of the intimate friends of Lau Chi-choy, the militia chief of the district (Yuan had once presented Lau with a white horse which he took away by force from the common people); Tai Ngan-mung is one of the relatives of Mok Chi-lun (Mok once held the office of advisor to Tai Ngan-mung); and Lau Min-yu is the son of Lau Yee-ting, a committee member of the militia corps. Lai Shui Wat Ting, Yuan Tau-ngou and other bandits could go in and out of their village freely. Lau Min-yu is even holding the office as corps leader of the militia. This is the 4th instance of proof by facts of the gentry and bully's harbouring and tolerating the bandits in order to get them to attack the villagers.

Besides the above-mentioned four instances, there are still many other cases which afford proof of the secret alliance between the bandits, gentry and bullies. On the whole, the fact that those evil persons are harbouring and are secretly uniting with the bandits can by no means be denied. The wicked gentry and evil bullies possess very great influence in the district. They can freely arrest or extort money from the people. The villagers are so afraid of them that they all look upon the bandits as fierce tigers. Being aware that the interests of the Peasant Union are opposed to theirs, they did not wish the Peasant Union to be organised in the district. But, knowing that the development of the peasant movement in Yu Nan can by no means be retarded and that to oppose such a movement would mean an infringement of the Government's order, they recognized it was impossible to prevent the Peasant Union from being established in the district. Being in such a dilemma, they then devised another measure of monopolizing the organisation of the Peasant Union, and despatched their adherents to conduct movements for the realization of their plan. But, to their great disappointment, our special delegate Chan Kwan-kuen discovered their wickedness, and so their attempt to enforce their plan of monopolizing the organization of the Peasant Association was fruitless. In view of this, the wicked gentry and evil bullies are cherishing great hatred towards our special delegate Chan. On account of the depredations of the bandits during the past several years, the people in Yu Nan have become very poor, and are all suffering very much from financial stringency. But in spite of this, the evil gentry and bullies extorted from the people funds for the maintenance of the militia (from every hundred catties of grains, they take away 10 catties; from each family of the villages, they collect 5 cents every month; on every ten piculs of firewood, 30 cents are collected as tax; on every picul of lichee and other fruits, 20 cents are collected; on every picul of tea, 60 cents are collected; when any person travels from Kwei Hui to To Sing-hui, he must pay 4 cents as passage fee; when a pig is being exported from any place, from 30 to 50 cents are collected as tax; for cows sixty cents per head are levied, for hens and ducks 20 cents per 10 heads, and for rice and other materials 8 cents per picul.) Their actions have caused much more suffering to the villagers. Afterwards when the Peasant Unions were established and had many peasant-members they immediately rose up and opposed these illegal extortions. This greatly pleased

the people of various classes who then expressed their sympathy for them. Consequently the organisation of the Peasant Unions was developed very much more, and the union then actually enforced supervision of the actions of the wicked fellows. Owing to this, the bandit militiamen became more hostile to the Peasant Unions and gave rise to the cases of devastation of the Peasant Unions by the wicked persons. For instance, when Li Kwing of Kap Tong joined the Peasant Union, they at first threatened him in order that he might be frightened and sever his connection with the union; but later on, seeing that Li still refused to resign from the membership of the Peasant Union, they became angry and attacked the Chun Yih shop in Kwai Hui, of which Li was the owner. Afterwards when Tong Ching-yin joined the Peasant Union, the militiamen summoned him to the militia bureau for trial and punishment. Being still not contented with this, they later on charged him falsely with blackmailing a certain person called Kwok Tai. But Kwok Tai announced that this was not true, and when the Peasant Union asked the militia bureau why they accused Tong Ching-yin of such things, they could not give any answer. Moreover, on the 26th of the 3rd moon (lunar calendar) when the bandits of Lai Shui Wat Ting's clique kidnapped some women from the region of Sai Ngon, they were intercepted and attacked by the Peasant Corps who, after defeating the bandits, saved the women. But the evil gentry, bullies and militia chiefs, upon learning of this, not only did not admire and reward the Peasant Corps for their good work, but issued a circular telegram, falsely accusing the members of the Peasant Corps of acting like bandits. Again when Wong Chuk-shou was killed and robbed of a badge No. 593 by his enemy who hated him because he joined the Peasant Union, the militia stopped by force the leader Chan of the Patrolling Corps from examining the corpse of the dead member, and even tried to attack and kill the other members who attended the memorial service held in honour of the martyr Wong Chuk-shou. Besides the above-mentioned cases, there are still many more instances of the militiamen's oppression and false accusation of the members of the Peasant Union.

"After giving a detailed description in the foregoing paragraph of the reasons why the evil gentry and bullies have been and are still hostile to the Peasant Unions, let us now briefly describe their scheme for overthrowing the peasant movement. In their scheme, the first step which they adopted was to fabricate rumours for deceiving the masses and to prevent the peasants from joining the Peasant Unions. They thought that if the peasants were prevented from joining the peasant organisations, then the peasant movement of Yu Nan could not develop. But the past events have spelled failure to their plan. They then changed their policy and adopted the scheme of stirring up ill-feeling between the Peasant Union and the common citizens, instigating the villagers to attack and do harm to the Peasant Union. They enforced this measure in order to render the Peasant Union helpless and destitute of support. Besides, they also directed some of their followers, viz., Chan Yik-sun (a member of the Merchant Volunteers), Lai Ying-chor (a native

bandit), Yeung Shiu and other depraved gentries and bullies to counterfeit the name of peasant representatives of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th divisions and to accuse the Peasant Union of being a bandit organisation, and also accusing special delegate Chen for colluding with the robbers. They made use of Yuan Sau-sing's joining the Peasant Union as a proof of their accusation, and submitted their indictment to various organs with the intention of fooling the Government and overthrowing the Peasant Union. Regarding this matter, we are obliged to say something as explanation. Formerly Yuan Sau-sing was a robber by occupation and was once wanted by the Government. The foregoing is all very true. But afterwards he gave up his evil occupation and became a good citizen. This can be easily verified by referring to an order issued by the magistrate Lo Kok-fei. After his conversion he was appointed leader of the militia corps of the 5th division, and regarding this information has been given by the militia bureau to all division and villages. Moreover, Yuan, after his conversion, has really behaved himself properly, therefore our Peasant Union cannot be blamed for having allowed Yuan to be enrolled as a member of our union. But unexpectedly the evil gentries and bullies, being angry with Yuan for not giving them any information regarding his joining the Peasant Organisation, dismissed him from his office and falsely accused our union of harbouring bandits. The plan of the evil gentries and bullies is indeed malicious. Furthermore, the evil gentries and bullies have many times oppressed our Peasant Union, and committed offences upon our peasant corps in order to provoke hostilities. Sometimes, being unable to suffer their aggressions, our peasant corps were obliged to fight them. But whenever our men struggled with them, they would accuse our corps of helping the bandits to resist the militia who were employed to suppress the bandits. Although there might be some undesirable characters among the members of our Peasant Union, and if the gentry and bullies could prove by true facts that there are bad people among our members, our union would surely not show indulgence on our wicked members and tolerate their evil actions. Yet it is not right to accuse our association of being a bandit organisation on account of a few ex-bandits being among its members, or to burn and devastate a whole village owing to a robbery alleged to have been committed by one or two of its members. But whenever any case of robbery occurs, the wicked gentry and bullies at once accuse the members of our Peasant Union or Peasant Corps of being the author of the robbery. Moreover, they have for a long time been working in collusion with the militia of Fung Chuen and Chong Ng, Kwangsi, to attack the Peasant Union and to burn the various villages under the pretext of suppressing the bandits. Recently a case of robbery occurred in Kwei Hui, and, taking advantage of the opportunity, the evil gentry and bullies made false accusations regarding the Peasant Union, saying that the bandits who committed the robbery in Kwei Hui were found bringing with them two flags belonging to the Peasant Union, and that the robbers were led by Yuan Sau-sing personally to attack Kwei Hui. But if the bandits who plundered the people of Kwei Hui were really

the members of the Peasant Union, why should they bring with them the flags of the Union and thereby make the people recognize them so easily and facilitate the work of the authorities in dealing with the case afterwards? Consequently it is evident that nobody would believe in those false fabrications of the evil gentries and bullies. As to their statement that the bandits were led personally by Yuan Sau-sing, this is also very absurd. For the 11th day was the day of the inauguration of the Peasant Union of the 4th division. Delegates of all bodies of various classes, such as the 37th regiment, the educational, labour and Party organisations were present at the inaugural meeting held in To Sing Hui, and Yuan Sau-sing also attended the ceremony on behalf of the Peasant Union of the 5th division. He spent that night in To Sing Hui—this was known to everybody. Now since the case of robbery in Kwei Hui took place on the night of the 11th, how then could Yuan take part in the affair? Therefore it is very evident that the evil gentries and bullies who fabricated the false reports, were cherishing the intention of falsely accusing the Peasant Union of certain crimes which it had actually not committed. During that time when the bandits entered the Kwei Hui village, they were besieged by several thousand militiamen. At this time it was practically possible for the militia to enter the village and drive the robbers away, thereby saving the villagers from being devastated by the bandits. But why could they not do so? This is not because the militia were not strong enough to overcome the bandits; but because, firstly, Lai Shui Wat Ting, the leader of the robbers, was the nephew of Lai Yu-cheung, the militia chief, and, secondly, because Lau Min-yu, the leader of the militia corps besieging the bandits and the members of the corps, was an old friend of the robbers. On account of these reasons, the bandits were able to stay in Kwei Hui for three days and leave the village freely, for they were purposely tolerated by the militia corps. Afterwards, when the regimental leader Yip of the 7th Army stationed in Wuchow arrived in that region together with his soldiers, the bandits had all flown away already. But the evil gentry and bullies, desiring to deceive regimental leader Yip, told him that the bandits in Sun Chai and Chung Lo villages were the ones who committed the pillage in Kwei Hui—this was not true but a fabrication only. Luckily the regimental leader knew they were telling falsehoods and did not believe their words. But unexpectedly on the 12th, the evil gentry and bullies secretly directed Lau Min-yu to lead some militiamen and joined the bandits under the notorious bandit-chief, Wai Kam-sheung, to plunder and burn the villages of Sun Chai, Chung Lo, Sheung Yuan, Kurt Tin and Kap Tong. As a result of the disaster, more than 40 buildings in Sun Chai, more than 10 in Chung Lo, over 10 in Sheung Yuan, 6 in Kurt Tin and 5 in Kap Tong were burned, and all cows and property of the peasants were taken away. Besides, a member of the Peasant Union named Nip Wan-ting had his head cut off and taken away by the murderers. Several other villagers, viz., Nip Ching-chu, Yuan Kin, Lun Wan-sun, his wife, and five other women were kidnapped by the robbers, and whether they are now still living or not is unknown. The

other peasants who have not been kidnapped by the robbers were rendered homeless; they remained all day and night on the hills, crying piteously for food. On the morning of the 19th, more than 200 distressed people, old and young, male and female, who had suffered from want of food for several days, took refuge in the sixth division. On their way, they were accompanied by the Peasant Corps of the 6th division, and when they passed by the building of the militia bureau of the 6th division in Ping Toi Miu, they were suddenly attacked by the bandit militiamen directed by the evil bullies and militia chiefs, viz., Chung Fat-kuen, Tang Mei-kai and Mok Chi-lun. As a result of the conflict, two members of the Peasant Corps were taken, two rifles and 300 cartridges were captured, and two other members were wounded. Now, these evil bullies and militiamen are still continuing to attack the Peasant Unions of various villages of the 4th and 6th divisions. Day and night bandits were despatched to guard various passes, and whenever any member of the Peasant Union or any person bearing the badge of the Peasant Union is met, he is either killed or kidnapped. Being oppressed so severely by those evil persons, the thousands of peasants can devise no measure for saving themselves, but can only expect our Revolutionary Government to immediately order the garrison troops to go and suppress the bandits, arrest the evil gentry, bullies and militiamen for trial, and dissolve the militia corps. Besides, they also hope that the people of various classes will try their best to render assistance to them."

(Sd.) The Western Districts Branch Office of the Peasant Association.

(June 27th.)

This deplorable report will surely make any reader of it be touched to the heart, even though the reader be an enemy of the Peasant Union and entertains great hatred towards the comrades of the peasant movement. Moreover, not only the peasants of Yu Nan are in such a miserable condition, but also those of various regions have to suffer from the oppression of the bullies and the local authorities. The magistrates of various districts are now declaring that the rate of land tax should be increased. In Sah Shui District, the peasants, though paying an amount of one tael for land tax, have to give another tael for extra charges. What is the purpose for charging this additional amount? This is unknown to us. Now cases of the militia and patrolling corps' attacks upon the Peasant Union and the Peasant Corps are occurring in nearly three-quarters of the districts of the whole Kwangtung province, such as Lo Chang, Jen Hua, Ying Teh, Hua Hsien, Ching Yuan (in the north), Tung Kuan, Kao Yao, Shun Teh (in the centre), and other districts in the West besides Yu-nan. It is now indeed the most critical moment of the peasant movement in Kwangtung. Are there actually bandits in the peasant union? Upon observation of the real facts, we only find that the bandits are very hostile to the peasant organisations!

(From The Peasant Movement, No. 1, August 1926.)

B. THE BANDITS OPPRESS THE PEASANTS.

1. Resolution on Bandit Suppression and Tranquilization.

(PASSED BY THE 2ND ALL-KWANGTUNG PEASANTS CONFERENCE.)

Since the unification of Kwangtung by the Nationalist Government, many benefits have been secured by the people. However, the plundering, looting, burning and murdering by native bandits, disbanded soldiers and rebellious factors inherent in inland districts constitute a great obstacle to peace in Kwangtung. We know that most of the bandits are unemployed peasants who have been driven to banditry by oppression. Besides, not a few disbanded soldiers and rebellious persons have become bandits. On the one hand, we should ask the Government to improve the organisation and livelihood of the rural villages in order to prevent the peasants from becoming bandits by reducing the number of the unemployed or enabling them to resume their work. On the other hand, the Government should be requested to clear out the bandits with military force. In Wei Yang and its neighbourhood the bandits work in collusion with the avaricious merchants, undertaking the transportation of boycotted goods and the ravaging of the rural villages, offering rewards for the arrest of Peasant Union members at \$100 per capita and of Peasant Union staff at \$300 and that of strike pickets at \$500. These bandits simply act as tools for the imperialists. In Lu Feng and Wu Hua, Chen Chiung-ming renegade followers, Lo Yi-tung, Yang Tso-mei, Wen Pa-chow, etc., joined the landlords, wicked gentry and native bullies in organising an armed corps of about one thousand men to be stationed at Chien Men-kang of Lu Feng and in the vicinity of Wu Hua for the sole object of devastating the peasants. They communicated with Chen Chiung-ming at Hongkong and secretly formed a triad society with the intention of troubling the East River Regions again. They will cause serious calamity unless suppressed at an early date. Apart from this, the bandits in the Northern, Western, Central and Southern Regions occupy water courses and extort money by charging tolls. They also kidnap peasants, loot villages and commit similar crimes. Unless they are rapidly suppressed, the people of Kwangtung will not acquire a real peace nor a unified and consolidated revolutionary foundation. It is imperative that we ask the Government to accomplish the work of bandit suppression and tranquilization within the shortest possible time.

(May 1926.)

2. Conditions of the Bandits in the Southern Districts.

The Southern Districts were of all regions of the Kwangtung province the most swamped with bandits, while among those districts, the people of Leichow suffer the most from the infestation of the robbers and pirates. The cause of the

prevalence of bandits in the Southern Districts is, as stated above, chiefly due to the proximity of robbers and pirates in Kwang Chow Wan. Nevertheless, the bad political and economic systems that are in force in the Southern Districts now, is also one of the main reasons for the prevalence of bandits there. Since the 10th year of the Chinese Republic, the people of Leichow have been constantly infested by the bandits from Kwang Chow Wan, and being unable to live peacefully in their former states, they were obliged to turn bandits also, for by acting as bandits, they could sustain themselves and also avoid the disturbances of the other villains. At the time when Teng Pen-yin controlled the Southern Districts, he not only did not carry out any work for the suppression of the robbers, but made use of them to protect himself. Consequently at that time, soldiers and bandits were mixed together, and the more robbers a bandit chief had under him, the higher rank he would be given. Afterwards, when Teng Pen-yin and his rebel followers were all driven away by the Revolutionary Armies from the Southern Districts, the latter immediately took action to suppress the bandits. The 'Two Yangs' Peace Restoration Committee was appointed to direct Chan Cheong-po's troops in eradicating the robbers of the Two Yang Districts: Yang Chiang and Yang Chun districts. The Kao Chow Six Districts Bandit Suppression Commission undertook to direct the forces under Yiu Chi-wing, Lui Chun-wing and Chen Chai-tong to extirpate the bandits in the Six Districts of Kao Chow. The Lei Chow Bandit Suppression and Peace Restoration Association was assigned to direct Chen Chai-tong's troops in clearing the robbers out of Lei Chow and Chen Ming-shu was employed to suppress the bandits in Yam Lim. At present peace has been restored to the Two Yang Districts and the bandits of various other regions, such as Tien Pai, Mo Ming, Wu Chuan, Hua Hsien and Lien Kiang, are also almost completely eradicated by the troops under Yiu Chi-wing, Lui Chun-wing, and Chen Ming-shu who undertook the suppression of bandits there. Recently Chen Chai-tong has despatched a regiment of soldiers to Shui Tung and Mei Lu to attack the bandits there and it is therefore expected that peace will be restored to Kao Chow soon. In the recent battles fought between the official soldiers and the robbers, the bandit chiefs of Lei Chow were nearly all killed. Now in Sui Kai and Hoi Hong districts people can walk safely along various paths without being robbed or kidnapped by robbers like before. Those natives who had, some time ago, fled to take refuge in other regions have now gradually returned to their own villages, while the bandits who formerly did harm to the villagers of those regions, have fled in great numbers to hide themselves away in the forests in Chui Man District. Some of them, however, secretly returned to those villages, some offering to surrender to the official soldiers, others demanding the villagers to harbour them, and still others requesting the Peasant Unions to admit them into their unions and promising to obey the rules of those organisations and to work as proper farmers throughout their lives. Those bandits who ran away to take refuge in the two small islands of Wai Chow and Ling Chai have now sent representatives to see the Commanders of

Bandit Suppression to offer their submission. Large number of soldiers have been despatched by Chen Chai-tong to Chui Man in pursuit of the defeated bandits and measures have also been devised for felling all the trees in the forests, so as to afford no refuge for the robbers. With such a procedure it is expected that Lei Chow will soon be cleared of bandits.

(From a Special Report, April 1926.)

3. Great Calamity as a Result of Bandit Activities in Leichow.

A reliable report in regard to Lei Chow and emanating from a certain propagandist who recently returned from the South, is as follows:—

1. The 200 miles around Lei Chow and An Poa, including the little market town of Yut Shing, is completely deserted. All buildings are torn down and not a single animal is to be seen.

2. On the road from Nan Hing to Ying Li, not a single man was to be found. Formerly Ying Li was a big market place of Hsu Min. Business there was flourishing, but now the whole city is destroyed and nobody is seen living there. According to a report given out by a certain old woman, in July last year suddenly more than a thousand bandits besieged the city. The whole city became a heap of ruins after the wholesale plundering and looting. More than 500 men, women and children were kidnapped and the number of dead is still unknown.

3. From Ying Li to Hsu Man there were no human beings, not even a single fowl was to be seen. Skeletons lay along the roads and in the wilderness. It made me shiver to look at them.

4. Between Ha Khiu and Hoi An formerly there were more than 10,000 people trading, but now only ten old men remain.

5. Corpses are seen everywhere to the South of Lei Chow, even along the seacoast. It is hard to find clean water to drink, though the water in Pak Shar is a little cleaner.

6. In the city of Hsu Man, there are at present 4,000 refugees and in Hoi How 5,000.

7. The cost of living in Lei Chow is very high. Ordinary goods cost twice as much as those in Canton. But the merchants lose a great deal because of Teng Pen-yin's spurious coins. If the Government does not find a good way of rescuing them, within five years Lei Chow will be deserted.

(From Min Kuo Jih Pao, 25-1-26.)

4. Kwang Ning Bandits Attack Peasant Corps.

It is reported that Chu Min-kwong led the bandits in plundering the villages in the neighbourhood of Kwang Ning. The West River Peasant Organisation sent a telegram to the Government begging for help. Their telegram reads as follows:—

“To the C. E. C. of Kuomintang, Political Council of the Nationalist Government, Military Council, Provincial Peasant Organisation, Min Kuo Jih Pao and the fellow countrymen:

According to the report by the Kwang Ning people it is stated that Chu Min-kwong led several thousand bandits and captured Lo Kong on the 19th instant. The Peasant Corps resisted them and over ten were killed and wounded. On their way they plundered the whole village.

The Peasant Corps, Merchant Corps, Militia Corps and the garrison troops protected the city, but bandit Chen Pat-hing joined the enemies to attack us. The condition is very critical and dangerous.

We hope you will send troops to render us help, so that these bandits may be exterminated and the people relieved from their sufferings.

At the same time we hope that all our fellow countrymen will help us.”

(From *Min Kuo Jih Pao*, 24-4-26.)

5. The Disturbance Caused by the Bandits and Militia in Kwang Ning.

The following is a report from the Si Kiang Peasant Union Office:

The Peasant Union of Kwang Ning District, on the application of the “General Conference of the People of the Whole District,” despatched 500 members of the Peasant Self-Defence Corps to recover the river communications. Unexpectedly the Merchant Volunteer Corps which was formed by both the remnants of Li Chai-yuen’s troops and some native bandits who were dissolved under an edict of the 3rd National Revolutionary Army, determined to go against the Peasant Self-Defence Corps and the government.

In the meantime, over 1000 “Supernatural Fighters” of Kwang Ning went on their way to Koo Shui Market with the intention of re-enforcing the landlord corps in Kao Yao which was working in collusion with Wong Wei-lan, a traitor. When they heard of the bad news regarding the failure of the landlord corps they stopped and stayed at Koo Shui Market. It was too bad that Kong Lan-sang and Kong King-chow, landlords of Fu Kai, Fung Shut-ehi and Chang Kwong-tung, corrupt gentry of the 23rd administrative division, worked in collusion with them so as to make them combine with the “Merchant Volunteers” in enforcing martial law for

over thirty Chinese miles between Koo Shui Market and Pan Long Kong. They inspected all the passengers and said that they would kill without mercy those who were members of the Peasant Union. Moreover Kong Kwan-yu, a corrupt scholar-official of Fu Kai, went to consult with Kong Yuen-chi, militia chief of Kong Tuen Market, about cooperating with the militia of Fu Kai in destroying the Peasant Unions in the various villages of Kong Tuen and Chak Shek in case of the failure of the Peasant Self-Defence Corps. At that time the reactionary atmosphere around us seemed very bad. With regard to Luk Ying-kwong, magistrate of Kwang Ning, he had long desired to usurp the right of collecting tax by the rivers and had asked the Nationalist Government to despatch the troops there for this matter. As he was afraid the peasant corps were striving for the same right, he again asked the Nationalist Government to cooperate in conducting the river communication of Kwang Ning and Wai Chap of which the magistrate had decided to despatch the Militia eastward so as to cooperate with magistrate Lu Ying-kwong of Kwang Ning. In spite of that the landlord corps seem to have been in disfavor with the magistrate Luk, yet they all cooperate with one another because they are all afraid of the expansion of the force of the peasant corps, which is especially strong along the valley of Shui Kong River. On the other hand the bandits who have occupied this river and interfered with the communications for over half a year, have often entered in conflicts with the peasant unions during these two or three months. The primary reason is because they can only devastate such regions as Sham Ying Yeung etc., where the Peasant Unions have not yet been established. Due to the frequently suspended communications, all food provisions are now very dear. One picul of coarse rice costs \$8.50, \$3.00 dearer than ever before. Therefore the peasants, merchants and the various circles in Kwang Ning upon seeing such intolerable sufferings, held a General Conference of the people of the whole district on a certain day and resolved that financial support should be offered by the merchants, scouts would be trusted to the labourers, propaganda should be carried out by the students and 500 members of the Peasant Self-Defence Corps should be despatched from the Peasant Union, especially for the purpose of recovering the river communications by clearing away the bandits. It was indeed surprising that we had been so unbearably oppressed. At present the peasants in Kwang Ning in dealing with this incident has decided to:

1. To mobilize the peasant corps at a certain place, and first of all to appoint 200 members to watch and defend Hau Kai and Tung Heung.
2. To appeal to magistrate Luk to immediately stop the eastward movement of the militia of Wai Chap District.
3. To petition the Pacification Corps in Kuo Yao District to come through the 16th Division to re-enforce us.

In view of the foregoing, we might just as well know that the first cause of the disturbance was due to the bandits and Merchant Volunteers who disliked to be prevented by the Peasant Corps from controlling the river communications and collecting taxes, and the second cause was due to the cooperation of the "Supernatural Fighters" and Merchant Volunteers in Ko Shui Market who were utilized by the corrupt gentry and landlords to destroy the Peasant Unions.

(March 1926)

6. Feng Chuan Banditry.

Feng Chuan District is a remote and not an easily accessible place, so it is often frequented by bandits. For years the neighbouring villages have been plundered and burned. For instance, the bandit chiefs Lui Nam and Chen Yau-sung assembled several hundred bandits and occupied the 3rd section, Sheung Li. Over 1,000 villagers were kidnapped and murdered and several hundred cottages were razed to the ground. Refugees were found everywhere begging and crying piteously for help.

In the middle of last year the bandit-chiefs of Tsat Sing Cave, Li Chiu-chung, Wong Kai, Chung Ngo-yat and Tau Shan-sing united with those of Wong Kong, viz: Pa Tau-min and Tse So-wui numbering over 3,000 bandits fully equipped with arms, suddenly attacked the 5th section, Leong Sum Tsai, Lo Yuen, and the villages near Si Shen. The Militia Corps were unable to resist them with the result that over 3,000 houses and over ten forts were set on fire, several hundred villagers were killed and kidnapped; and 2,000 cows and other valuables were taken away. The total loss was about \$200,000. On April 25, these bandits plundered Yuen Chuen, Sui Yung and Chu Chuen, and the loss was also great. On the 7th instant at 9 a.m. they captured Yue Lo Market, the busiest business centre of the district. Again they indulged in burning and plundering. All merchants suffered heavy losses. Villagers escaped with their lives, but were homeless and faced with starvation. The condition is shocking and horrible. Nearly half of the Feng Chuan District is in the hands of the merciless bandits. Communications have been suspended. The bandits call themselves soldiers of a certain Independent Regiment and publicly announced that they will capture the 4th section and attack the city. By this means they will seize the strategic point of the two Kwangs (Kwangtung and Kwangsi). At the same time the Sheung Li bandits are also active. In reality the 4th section is now surrounded on all sides by bandits. Because they are stricken by the terror of the impending catastrophe the people of various circles have stopped business. It is reported that the magistrate, who was on the point of going away, telegraphed for help but up till now no troops have been despatched. Not only the Feng Chuan District is in a perilous position, but also Luen Yuen is endangered. The healthy and wealthy citizens have escaped, while the old and poor villagers have to stay behind to await their fate.

The following is a telegram for help sent by the Protection Corps to the Nationalist Government.

"Lo Yue Hui, the 5th section, is the busiest business centre of our district. On May 7 it was captured by bandits who occupied and used it as their den. Thousands of houses and people were burnt or kidnapped. Sometime ago we sent a telegram asking for help, but still no troops nor help has been received. At present the bandits have become more ferocious and call themselves soldiers of a certain Independent Regiment. Their numbers have increased and they have extorted funds from the merchants. They seized Yuen Ling King and the members of the militia corps were tired by a heated battle with the bandits. At present the bandits are closely watching the city from Wong Kong and Sheung Li. The force of the militia corps is weak and was unable to meet the bandits who swarmed from every side. Hence we have no way to save those citizens who took refuge in the Ho Sheng Pawn Shop, and are thus compelled to telegraph to you for help and hope that you will immediately send troops to relieve us, so as to protect the place and save the people from sufferings."

(sd) Leong Ham-yeung,

Director of the Protection Corps of 4th Section, Feng Chuan District, May 9.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen, 14-5-26.)

7. Bandit Activities in Chung Shan District.

From the materials of the Provincial Peasant Association, 1925.

The Peasant Union in the Chung Shan District has transmitted the following report submitted by the Peasant Unions of seven villages, namely, Ping Tsung, Ha Shan, Yuey Hang, Siu Tok, Tit Shan, Nam O and Koi Shan:—

"The sandfields of the seven villages aggregating over a hundred 'ching' are within the scope of the sandfield protection of Wong Liang Chun of the 8th Region.

The peasants of these seven villages have long been suffering from the heavy extortions levied by the Sandfield Protection Directors, Chiu Ki-shao and Chiu Siu-pao. Besides these extortions, the leaders of the Sandfield Corps, Chiu Kit and Chiu Ping-ting, also terrorise the peasants by instigating the bandits to hold captives for ransom.

The farmers therefore are compelled to organise Peasant Organisations for self-defence. As regards the government's proper sandfield contributions, the peasants will pay them in accordance with the regulations fixed.

But Chiu Ki-shao and Chiu Shiu-pao are much dissatisfied and have a mind to devastate the peasants. During the harvest time they sent Chiu Kit to instigate the bandits of Kwong Tung Tong to exact a fee of sixty cents a mow on the sandfields within these seven villages.

Furthermore, during the night of the 2nd day of the 11th moon of the lunar calendar, Ly Yuk-leung of Ha Shan, shipped 1950 'shek' of grain out of Tsung How for sale. Unexpectedly, Chiu Kit made use of a launch and seized all the grain. A member of the Peasant Self-Defense Corps named Chow Sai-kou was killed, and a banner of the Peasant Corps, one musket with eighty cartridges, and one rifle with a hundred cartridges were seized.

At night on the 3rd day, Wu Cha-on, Wu Cha-liang of Siu Tok, and Ho Hung-yuk of Ping Tsung, together hired a boat called Lam Wiu-kun to transport the grain for sale. Wu Cha-liang had 600 'shek' of grain, Wu Cha-on had 1200 'shek' and Ho Nung-yuk had 820 'shek,' the total amount being 2620 'shek' of grain. While the boat was towed by the Chun Hing steamer from Ping Tsung How to Tsok Chow Tou, Chiu Kit personally followed with two launches to seize the grain. Several passengers were made captives and the Chun Hing steamer was also seized and concealed at Sin Wong Yang.

The grain seized were subsequently sold at the bandit village, Ta Chek Huin. One of the passengers, Ho Ngon, was eventually rescued by General Li Fu-lin's soldiers. These are facts which can be proved.

The bandits, Chiu Kit, etc., became more bold. They used the money obtained from the sale of their booty to bribe Tsang Yung, Director of the Chung Shan Sandfield Office, requesting him to falsely accuse the peasants of the "Seven Villages" of having refused to pay sandfield taxes and of accomplishing a revenge by killing.

Upon investigation, Chiu Ki-shao and Chiu Liu-pao were commissioned by the sandfield office to collect these contributions. Inasmuch as these seven villages were not on good terms with these two men, they feared that these two men might arrest and harm them when they come to pay the taxes, for the way is long and communications are difficult. Therefore they petitioned the said Sandfield Office requesting it to despatch some other persons to manage the collection, which fact can be proved. It is plain that they did not refuse to pay the taxes.

Nevertheless, being bribed by Chiu Ki-shao and Chiu Shiu-pao, Tsang Yung purposely opposed the petition of the seven villages. On January 2nd of this year, he despatched several scores of bandit-sandfield-corps' members with Chiu Kit, who lead 300 or 400 bandits in four launches, three boats and six or seven sampans, to attack Tit Shan Village at Ping Tsung.

A fusillade of shots were fired. Three members of the Ping Tsung Peasant Union, Ho Ting-yau, Ho Ping-on and Tsun Yuk-lai, were killed. Three peasants were wounded, namely: Tok Ling, a member of the Nam O Peasant Union; So Fook, a member of the Yuet Hang Peasant Union; and Tsun Yau, a member of the Ping Tsung Peasant Union.

Several houses of the farmers and a guard-house of the Peasant Self-Defense Corps at Pak Ka were burned. Over ten houses of the farmers at Siu Par King were

plundered. They took away all the clothing, bedding, grain, fishing-nets, etc., and seized five boats to carry the booty. The Ki San Duck Store was also robbed, the loss being over four hundred dollars. The total loss of the seven villages aggregated over ten thousand dollars. The condition is unbearable.

At the time the peasants of the seven villages knew that when these corps arrived, manslaughter and arson would be rampant so they resisted with all their might and succeeded in driving the enemy away at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. They captured three banners from the bandits and five soldiers, whom the peasants treated well. At present, it is said that the sandfield office has decided to despatch a great force to besiege the villages. Please therefore render help to these peasants."

And here is another instance. According to the latest report from the Preparatory office, the Ko Sha Village Peasant Association in the third region of the Chung Shan District was devastated by Muk Sheun-nam, Director of the Sandfield Protection Office at Siu Lam at five p.m. on the 24th inst. He instigated the Kiu Tong notorious bandits: Lam Choi, Kwok Kau etc., and 600 members of the Defence Corps of Siu Lam with one launch to attack and enter the village, burning over seven hundred houses, seizing over thirty children and killing two peasants. This is but a single instance.

According to a recent report from the Peasant Union of the Chung Shan District, the fort at Tsung How of Pek Sha village where the village peasant corps was staying had been occupied by the bandits under Siu Kit, whose force has been reorganised by Lu Chuen, director of Fung Kai Sandfield Branch Office.

On the 26th of December he despatched the Sandfield Protection Corps to the peasant Chen Wing-tsoi's house to search and create disturbances. A further report from the members of the Peasant Association of Pek Sha village states that Siu Kit, leader of the Fung Kai Sandfield Protection Corps, has led several scores of these corps members into the village under the guise of revolutionary soldiers and plundered several houses. This is but another instance.

The foregoing incidents have been the most serious. But there are many other cases where the peasants have suffered oppression and have remained silent, not daring to accuse because of their fear of the bandits' infamous brutality.

The sandfields of Chung Shan District measure over ten thousand 'ching.' The farmers suffer the plunders of the bandits during ordinary times and have to bear the burden of the black bills (i.e. the bandit receipts for protection fees) at harvest time. Yet they have done their best to pay off the various taxes due to the government.

But there is a striking contrast between the present condition and the past. The cause of the trouble is due to Tsang Yung's collusion with the degenerated gentry and bandits whose aim is to oppress the peasants.

This Association has obtained two receipts made of cloth issued by the notorious bandit Siu Kit (alias Siu Lo-kit) and one copy of his proclamation

demanding the peasants to change to new bills. (This proclamation bears the chops of Sun Shun Shing Tong, Luen Yee-tong, Chou Shing-tong, Heung Yop-siu, Lo Kit and Heung Fap Siu Kit, etc.)

We have also obtained a copy of the proclamation signed jointly by Lu Chuen, Director of the Fung Kai Sandfield Office and by Siu Kit, leader of the Fung Kai Sandfield Protection Corps, urging the peasants to pay sandfield impositions.

These are incontrovertible proofs of Tsang Yung's endeavors to reorganise the bandits and oppress the peasants. The special contribution for military funds needs to be paid only once, but he forced all to pay even though some had already paid it. Thus he violated the regulations to enrich himself.

The peasants, having suffered repeated oppressions naturally rose to defend themselves. However, Tsang Yung, forgetting his own wrongs, beclouded the reputation of the Government by such statements as "Refuse to pay Sandfield Taxes" and "Resist the Government troops", etc. He did not mention his exactions forced upon the peasants. This is the cause of the trouble which has resulted in bloodshed and burning of the villages.

The bandits reorganised by him have had the opportunity to plunder. They have reaped the benefits and shifted the blame upon the Government.

On the part of Tsang Yung, the Director of the Sandfield Office, his action in allowing his subordinates to enroll bandits to oppress the peasant is but a minor crime while his action in violating the Party's Political Principles, thus damaging the respect of the people for the Government, is a major one.

3. Peasant Corps in Chung Shan District Attacked by Bandits.

On November 22nd, 1925, the Peasant Unions of Ng Lut and Chik Ma villages of the 3rd Division despatched more than one hundred members of the Peasant Corps to the region of Pak Li Sha to protect the peasants, who were reaping their harvest there. While passing Sai Sing Wai on their way to Pak Li Sha they were suddenly attacked by hundreds of bandits, who had hidden themselves behind the dikes of the fields, previous to the coming of the Peasant Corps. The assailants fired at the peasants with machine-guns, defeated and robbed them of all their rifles, flags, etc. Besides this, scores of members of the Peasant Corps were missing after the fighting, but whether they were killed or are still alive is unknown. In addition to the oppressions of the depraved gentry and native bullies, the peasants of that region have also to suffer from the infestation of the bandits. They are, indeed, in a very deplorable condition.

*(From a report of the Chung Shan District
Peasant Union, December 1925)*

9. Bandits Bribed by Notorious Gentry to Attack Peasant Union at Chung Shan.

A report from the Peasant Union of the Ho Lung Village, Chung Shan, states that at 6 p.m. on May 5th, the notorious gentry, Yim Tsoi-yi, Yim Weng-fok, Yim Chaak-si, etc., and the Militia Chief launched a general attack on the Peasant Union, thereby working in collusion with the bandits under Tao Pha-kow. There were about eighty bandits in the attack upon the building of the Peasant Union. This attack resulted in the death of Chan Lap, a member of the Peasant Union, and a girl named Yin Sun-ngor. The Peasant Corps fought against the bandits and killed one of them and also seized one Mauser. At 8 o'clock on the following evening fighting on both sides had ceased. At 11 o'clock the Peasant Corps arrested one of the spies of the Militia named Su Yi-wah. He was released on bail by the villagers.

On the 6th instant the District Patrol Corps leader Au Liang-wah and thirty-five members of his Corps were asked to stay at the Ancestral Temple of the notorious gentry for protection. Later they instructed men to inform the members of the Peasant Union that the criminal and the Mauser should be handed over to the Patrol Corps. Otherwise they would be severely punished. The villagers upon hearing this became terrified. Many of the men, women and children ran away from their homes for fear of being maltreated by the bandits and the Patrol Corps who had been bribed by the notorious gentry.

On the 7th instant the Patrol Corps proclaimed Martial Law, ordering that no man or woman, old or young should pass. The Peasant Union then sent men to negotiate the matter with them but only one man was allowed to pass. At the same time the Patrol Corps sent a message to the Magistrate saying that the Peasant Corps was surrounding them and asked for help.

On the 8th instant, the Peasant Union again sent men to consult with the Chief of the Patrol Corps about the matter, but he could not be found. They then asked the Magistrate to withdraw the Patrol Corps so as not to frighten the villagers, but it was in vain.

At present the Peasant Union in the Chung Shan District has petitioned the Provincial Peasant Union to punish the notorious gentry and at the same time has ordered the arrest of Au Liang-wah, Chief of the Patrol Corps, who had been helping bandits to oppress the peasants. It is reported that the Peasant and Labour Department will do its best to rectify things.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen, 12-5-26.)

10. Fighting Between Militia and Bandits at Sho To Village in Tseng Cheng District.

During the past few days Yuen Ha-kow, a notorious bandit in the East River Districts, led over five hundred of his men to attack the Sha To Village near Shak Tan in the Tseng Cheng District in order to plunder it.

Upon hearing this, the militiamen and the said villagers immediately came out to resist them. Therefore both the bandits and militiamen fought fiercely with each other. After about an hour of fighting the villagers and militiamen gradually retired. Seeing that the villagers and militiamen were nearly defeated, the bandits made use of the opportunity and rushed in. They set fire to over twenty houses but none burned down to the ground. One rich boy was kidnapped, and one peasant who was unable to escape from his burning house was burned to death.

Fortunately, having heard about the plundering of the village, Hung, Magistrate of the Tseng Cheng District, who had just arrived at Shek Tang Village in public, presently directed the militiamen, who, at last, also came to rescue the plundered village by attacking the bandits. Within a short time the bandits were defeated and had fled to the Shek Liek Kow village. Seven bandits were killed and over twenty were wounded during the struggle. It is said that eight militiamen were seriously injured and that the leader of the militia was slightly wounded.

(From Min Kuo Jih Pao, 2-2-26.)

11. Kill Bandits who Forcibly Reaped and Took Away the Corn of the Peasants in Pan Yu District.

Recently, the corn of the peasants of the Ping Mei Village of the 8th Division of Pan Yu District was forcibly reaped and taken away by the bandits, thus inflicting great losses on the peasants. On account of this, the Peasant Association of that district gathered all the peasant corps of different villages and despatched them to various regions to protect the peasants when reaping their harvest. Unexpectedly on the 26th instant the bandits, taking advantage of the small force in the peasant corps, suddenly attacked and fired at the members of the Peasant Corps. One of the members of the corps was wounded by the assailants and two others were killed. After being defeated, the Peasant Corps were obliged to return and ask the other Peasant Corps for help. Being re-enforced by the other Peasant Corps, they started again for various regions to protect the peasants. That same day they were attacked by the bandits. They then tried their best to resist the attackers and eventually defeated them, killing several bandits and capturing five guns. Since then the bandits have been frightened and have not dared to act so violently as before.

(From a Report, May 1926.)

12. The Peasant Organisation of the Chang Chung Village in Pan Yu Plundered by Bandits and Militia.

On the 6th of October at 8 p.m. the Peasant Organisation of the Chang Chung village in Pan Yu District was plundered by bandits who conspired with the Militia. The whole village was looted. More than two hundred cottages were burned.

All clothing and valuables were confiscated. One woman was burned to death and several others were wounded. The Peasant Self-Defence Corps fought with the bandits and chased them to Tai Pan Chung. But the militia harboured the bandits and did not allow the Self-Defence Corps to pursue. They even disarmed several peasant volunteers. At present the peasants are homeless. Fortunately the peasant comrades and the Peasant Organisations of the neighbouring villages as the Tai Chao village, Kei Chao village, Wan Lo village and the Lam Wat village, supplied them with provisions. It is estimated that the Chang Chung village has more than 2,000 inhabitants. The plundering happened just before the ripening of the silk worms and the spinning of cocoons. At present the Shun Teh Peasant Organisation is promoting a relief campaign for the collection of funds to relieve the sufferers and to supply them with winter clothing.

(From a Special Report, October 1925.)

13. People in North River Regions Appeal for Suppression of Bandits at O Muk Kong.

The Bandit Suppression and Tranquilization Commission has set forth the necessary plans for clearing out the bandits in various districts. A petition was recently received by the Commission from the natives of Ying Teh, Yung Yuen and San Fung Districts in the North River Regions, the contents of which are given below:—

"There is a robber's den at O Muk Kong on Kun Yum Hill on the border of Ying Teh, Wung Yuen, Shan Fung and Fo Kang districts, where about a thousand bandits have gathered and they often come out to commit robbery, looting, kidnapping and murder. They are very ferocious and their crimes are too numerous to enumerate here. In spite of repeated suppressions by Government soldiers, they are still at large. When the soldiers come their way, they scatter. After the departure of the soldiers, they return to their usual haunts and practices. This is due to the fact that they are being harboured by the wicked gentry and native bullies. Some years ago when Captain Wong was despatched to make an exhaustive search, with the cooperation of the militia of Cheung Shuk of Ying Teh District more than ten notorious bandits named Li Ah-tap, Li Lo-kow, Li Yan-po etc. were arrested and handed to Shiuchow for trial. But not long afterwards they fled by taking advantage of the situation which resulted when Yang Kun-yu's troops deserted in consequence of a mutiny in Chen Chiung-ming's army. We feel very sorry when we think of this incident.

Now that the Bandit Suppression and Tranquilization Commission has been established and proposals for bandit suppression called for, we beg to suggest that the cooperation of soldiers and militia would mean success, because the militia well-informed as they usually are of the local conditions, will not act as pilots and the soldiers,

equipped with effective arms, are able to subdue any resistance. With mutual help and a united force, the people may be released from the bandits once for all. We therefore elect three representatives to come to Canton with an appeal to the Government on behalf of the natives of the three districts, for the despatch of a company of artillery to act in cooperation with about two thousand men of the militia from the three districts in order to suppress the bandits. As the people have long suffered from banditry, we earnestly await your approval. When it is successful we shall have set an example for other places.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen, 4-2-26.)

14. Ku Long Village in Shun Teh Plundered and Burnt by Bandits.

Two months ago Ku Long Village was plundered by bandits and many houses were razed to the ground, which indeed was disastrous to the villagers.

Unexpectedly on August 8th (old Chinese calendar), the village was once more set fire to and looted by bandits. At 3 o'clock that morning a large number of bandits, numbering several thousand, rushed into the village from several directions. They plundered and set fire to all the houses.

Luckily the villagers and the garrison troops put up a spirited resistance. The fight lasted for 5 or 6 hours with the result that a great number of bandits were killed, one villager was shot dead while several were wounded. The bandits were totally defeated and their remnants ran away.

At dawn the soldiers on board a gunboat for the suppression of smuggling was informed of the matter. They at once informed the garrison troops of Shun Teh District. Upon receipt of the report, the troops were immediately despatched to the rescue, but when they reached their destination the bandits had already decamped and left no traces.

Altogether over a hundred houses were burnt down and innumerable movable property were taken away by the bandits.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen, 2-29-25)

C. THE GOVERNMENT SUPPRESSES BANDITS.

1. The Measures of the Government Regarding the Suppression of Bandits.

1. CENTRAL KUOMINTANG CONVOKES BANDIT ERADICATION CONFERENCE.

Seeing that it is essential to make more plans for the eradication of bandits as banditry in the various districts of the province is so prevalent, the Central Kuomintang at their 1st Standing Committee Meeting passed a resolution to convoke a Bandit Eradication Conference for the purpose of devising plans for the suppression of banditry.

It is reported that each of these organs, viz: the Pacification Committee, Militia Committee, Smuggling Prevention and Merchants' Protection Committee, Bandit Suppression and Tranquilization Committee, etc., have been notified by the Central Kuomintang to despatch two representatives each to attend the conference.

2. BANDIT ERADICATION CONFERENCE.

As previously mentioned, the Central Kuomintang will soon request the Militia Committee, Smuggling Prevention Committee, and two other organs to hold a Bandit Eradication Conference in order to devise plans for the suppression of banditry.

On the 8th instant the conference was held at the Secretariat of the Central Kuomintang. Representatives of various organs were present.

Mr. Yang Pao-on presided and Sew Yat-ping acted as the recorder. The meeting began with the reading of the last Will of late President Sun and following that the chairman made known the reason of the meeting. The events and resolutions are as follows:—

(A) Reports.

1. Yang Pao-on reported on the events regarding the organisation of the Bandit Suppression and Tranquilization Committee and its present work.

2. Leong Auk-luan made a report on the organisation of the Smuggling Prevention Committee and the work which is to be carried out at present.

3. Sew Yat-ping reported on the organisation of the Militia Committee and their present work.

4. Chao Chu reported on the work of the Military Council and the Pacification Committee and the events regarding their organisations.

(B) Discussions.

1. Plans should be drawn up by the four organs which participated in this conference and they should hereafter cooperate with each other.

It has been resolved to organize joint meetings. If there is any necessity to hold joint meetings for settling any problem regarding bandit suppression and tranquilization, they should be convoked and the Military Council has been assigned to undertake the work of convoking the meetings.

2. Wong Yeok-sang suggested that the United Militia in the various districts should be organized and the Government be requested quickly to organize branches of the Pacification Committee in various places.

With regard to the former suggestion, it has been resolved that the management of same should be undertaken by the Militia Committee while the latter should be handled by the Military Council.

3. Leong Auk-luan suggested that the Government be requested to draw up the regulations for examining the results of bandit suppression. It has been resolved to entrust to the Bandit Suppression Committee the work of drafting the regulations and after they have been submitted and passed by the Central Kuomintang, the Government shall then be requested to announce and have them executed.

4. Chao Chu proposed that hereinafter if there is anything regarding the conditions of the bandits in the various districts that should be investigated, it should at once be made known to the four organs. This was passed.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen, 4-9-26).

3. PLANS FOR ERADICATING BANDITS IN EVERY DISTRICT.

The Nationalist Government realizes that the bandits in every district ought to be entirely extirpated. On this account the Corps Commander of different armies have devised suitable plans for this important undertaking. They have proposed to extirpate all bandits within a month or at the most two months. Their plan is to start the campaign simultaneously in every district, namely, Ying Teh in North River, Luk Lan in East River, To Kau and Cheung Pang in Tung Kuan, Chu Tan Shen in West River, and Hai Chow and Pak Tang in Chung Shan, so that the bandits will have no way for escape. The project is under preparation and will soon be carried out. It is reported that the Military Council has ordered the Naval Department to despatch four cruisers to Kong Moon with orders to await for further instructions, and also that the 13th Division has been despatched to Kong Moon.

(Kuo Min Hsin Wen, 4-27-26).

4. TO ERADICATE ALL BANDITS WITHIN TWO MONTHS.

The plans for the suppression of the bandits of the whole province and for the system of organisation of the Pacification Committee have been enacted and executed. Recently it was resolved to get rid off the bandits within two months.

The Pacification Committee is composed of one delegate from the Provincial Government, one Party representative, one local military officer, one magistrate and a representative from the organisations of the people. Recently because this kind of a Committee was hastily formed in every section, the Provincial Government despatched special delegates to the various sections. Besides the special delegates for the 3rd and 7th sections who were sent last month, the Provincial Government again sent delegates to the 1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th, 6th and 8th sections.

The Provincial Government has issued an order to the special delegates to carry out their work quickly.

It is reported that the plans for bandit suppression of various sections have been stipulated by the armies. The 1st Revolutionary Army will most probably undertake the suppression of bandits in Chin Mui; the 2nd Army, the Northern Districts; the 3rd Army, the West River Districts to Lin Hsien, Lin Shan and a portion of Nan Hai and Fan Yu; the 4th Army, the Southern Districts to King Ngai; the 5th Army, Nan Hai, Fan Yu, Chung Shan and Shun Teh, while the 6th Army, the Tung Kiang Districts from Lung Chuen, Ho Ping, Wai Yang, Po Lo to Tung Kuan. The whole province is divided into 28 sections.

(*From Kuo Min Hsin Wen 5/20/26.*)

5. NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT UTILIZES ARMoured GUNBOATS.

Since bandits and pirates are so prevalent in the various rivers, people find it very inconvenient to go back to their villages or to come to the city. And because of the above fact the Nationalist Government of Canton decided to despatch twelve armoured gunboats to the various rivers in order to clear away the bandits and pirates and to protect the shipping and passengers. It is reported that the above-mentioned gunboats will soon be despatched to the various rivers, so that hereafter the navigators and travellers will have no need to worry about the pirates.

(*Min Kuo Jih Pao, May 1926.*)

6. GENERAL LI FU-LIN APPOINTED TUPAN OF BANDIT SUPPRESSION OF TUNG KUAN AND TSEN CHENG.

From Shek Tan to Tseng Cheng and from Canton to Tung Kuan and Wei Chow, one constantly hears mention the names of bandit societies, even during this past year. Most of the boats are afraid to sail about, and even if they are courageous enough they still have to pay a protection fee in order to be safe. To move about is very dangerous. The authorities on considering this state, besides instructing the defending soldiers of the various places to suppress the different bandits' gangs, has recently also appointed General Li Fu-lin the Tupan of Bandit Suppression of Tung Kuan and Tseng Cheng and ordered him to despatch large numbers of troops to cooperate with the defending soldiers to unearth and eradicate all bandits. It has been learned that General Li after receiving the order has proposed that within a few days he will personally lead his troops. The defence soldiers originally stationed at Weichow have also stated that within a few days, they will also start for the bandits' dens in order to surround and eradicate all of them as soon as possible.

(*Min Kuo Jih Pao, 12-3-25*)

7. METHODS OF BANDIT SUPPRESSION AND PEASANT PACIFICATION

SUBMITTED BY PROVINCIAL PEASANT ASSOCIATION.

After the 4th National Revolutionary Army had captured Lei Chow, Chang Yi of its Political Bureau issued a circular telegram on January 12th, proposing many schemes for the rehabilitation of Lei Chow and requesting the different circles for their views. The Provincial Peasant Association, especially on account of their attempts at bandit suppression and peasant pacification, proposed accordingly to telegraph their reply for consideration and action. The telegram is as follows:—

“To the Political Bureau of the 4th National Revolutionary Army in Lei Chow.

“Upon reading your telegram dated the 12th instant in regard to the cause of the troubles in Lei Chow, we were greatly pleased at the proposal to organize an association for the eradication of bandits and the tranquilization of the people by cooperating with them and also the different schemes for rehabilitation. All these plans are administrative objects.

“As regards Lei Chow, it has for many years been suffering from the disturbances of soldiers and bandits, while the Imperialists in their midst have become very aggressive. They have not only protected the bandits, but also have made use of them for disturbing the interior for their own benefit. Their movements are worse than a jackal's or a tiger's. If we want to be peaceful forever, we can never achieve this tranquil object without recovering Kwang Chow Wan and overthrowing all the French Imperialists. At present as the Revolutionary Army has already captured Lei Chow City, we ought immediately to arouse the masses energetically to carry out all the Revolutionary tasks. As to the bandits in Kwang Chow Wan with the French Imperialists as their protectors, we should clean them up so that not one will remain to cause us future misery. In regard to the question of rehabilitation, our association suggests the following:—

(1) That those who become bandits are mostly recruited from the unemployed. A proposal should be made for providing land to the unemployed peasants to cultivate and their implements should be supplied by the Government, so that they could depend on their work and living and not run the risk of becoming bandits.

(2) That your Bureau take the responsibility of investigating and reporting conditions in detail. You are to take photos of the miserable conditions and place them before the public. At the same time our union will request the different organs to convoke a general meeting of all circles for raising funds.

Besides these, we will endeavour to support all your proposals with regard to rehabilitation and make them effective, so as to have the cause of troubles cleaned up and the places tranquilized. The people of Lei Chow and our union will be most grateful.

Executive Committee of the Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Association. 24-1-26.

(From Kuo Min Hsin Wen, 7-1-26.)

II. Troops of the National Revolutionary Army Are Suppressing Bandits.

1. SUPPRESSION OF LIEN KIANG BANDITS.

Lien Kiang, situated on the boundary between Ko Lai and Yam Lim, is an important military base. It is also a stronghold of the bandits.

When petty warlord Teng Pen-yin occupied the Southern Districts, the place was infested by a large number of bandits, and after he was defeated by the National Revolutionary Army, most of the dispersed soldiers became bandits and assembled in Lung Wan and Kou On, fifty miles from On Po. They indulged in kidnapping, spoliating and slaughtering. During that time Yam Lim and Chiung Ngai were not yet captured by our Revolutionary Army. So the army had to advance and had no extra force to relieve Lien Kiang from the ravages of the bandits. In the district of Lien Kiang there were only a few soldiers, and these not strong enough to eradicate the bandits. Despite this the magistrate assembled all the militia and opposed them as strenuously as he could. On the other hand the bandits also mobilized and grouped together in Lung Wan to attack the soldiers. In November of last year the situation was very critical and dangerous, and the magistrate at that time increased the force of the militia to three thousand strong and at the same time cooperated with the garrison soldiers of the 10th Division to eradicate them. Towards the end of last year they cooperatively launched an attack on the bandits which lasted for four days. In this engagement the bandits were totally rooted out and dispersed, while their leaders namely Chen Mi-chor, Fu Kia-fok, Mok Ah-tai and others were arrested and shot.

It is reported that many bandits were killed, and over a hundred captives released. The impregnable bandit stronghold was thus eradicated. Though this was the victorious and meritorious deed of General Chen Ming-hsu, yet the militia of the place also rendered remarkable help. When they returned to the district after their victory, the people gave them a hearty welcome. It is reported that the magistrate and the Propaganda Department of the Party in that district have ordered the various villages devastated by bandits to establish Cooperative Peoples' Defence Corps in order to effect the total eradication of the bandits.

(Kuo Min Hsin Wen, 25-3-26)

2. BANDIT DENS ROOTED UP BY REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS IN THE SOUTH.

In the Southern Districts at Yu Mun, a city just opposite Hai Nan Island, bandits are reported to be very active. Formerly during the reign of Rebel Teng Pen-yin, the bandits amounted to several thousand. When our Revolutionary forces were passing Yu Mun on their way to attack Kiung Chow, last year, troops under Hu Han-hsiang attacked them causing great casualties.

As the bandit dens are located in the midst of the mountains around Yu Mun, and defensive works have been built at the foot of the mountains, it is really difficult for the soldiers to suppress them. The bandit chief Lau Ho usually plundered the whole city of Yu Mun and Hoi Hong and have killed hundred and hundreds of villagers who dared oppose him. Several years ago, the population at Yu Mun was 300,000, but now there are not more than 50,000 left. Either they were killed by the bandits or have removed to other places. When our Revolutionary forces returned from Hainan after defeating Teng Pen-yin, General Chen Ming-hsu, 10th Division leader of the 4th Army, instructed the 32nd and 33rd divisions to round-up the bandits in their dens at Wah Ka and Taan Ka villages. After a whole night of sanguinary fighting, our Revolutionary forces were able to kill several hundred bandits and also to capture their chief. It is reported that two battalion-commanders, two patrol leaders and forty privates were killed during the round-up.

Recently the rest of the bandits have fled to the mountains and the Revolutionary forces are still besieging their dens. As soon as all bandits in the south have been completely eradicated, the 10th Division Army will return to Canton.

(*Min Kuo Jih Pao*, 25-3-26.)

3. THE 11TH DIVISION ERADICATE BANDITS IN CHUI MEN MOUNTAIN.

Bandits have always infested the three districts in Lei Chow, the people of Chui Men suffering the most. More than a thousand bandits have gathered together on Chui Men Mountain. Depending upon the strategic position of Chui Men Mountain, they have occupied it for a number of years. They have a large supply of ammunition and continue robbing and killing travellers.

After the 11th Division had cleaned up rebel Teng on the island of Hai Nan and arrived at Lei Chow, it immediately began to eradicate other bandits, especially those on Chui Men Mountain. As a matter of fact, if this mountain is not captured, it will not be possible to extirpate all the bandits in the island of Hai Nan. During the month of March, chief of staff Lee Yang-king of the 11th Division led the 2nd and 3rd battalions of the 32nd and 33rd Regiments, Machine-Gun Company, and artillery and assembled them in Ying Lee and Chui Men preparatory to eradicating the bandits. As the bandits there depend upon the Ho Ka and Sam Ka villages for supplies, it is necessary to cut off their supply before attacking their stronghold. So, a few days ago, the armies broke into these two villages in succession, killed more than a hundred bandits, and rescued many kidnapped people. The rest of the bandits retreated to Muk Keh Kiu and Lu Shuk, where they defended themselves strenuously. These two places are very dangerous because bandits have dens in the forest stretching for many miles, and the way to their stronghold is very narrow and well-fortified. Therefore, although

there are large number of soldiers, they can accomplish little on account of the dangerousness of this region. Really it is most difficult to capture.

The officers of the 2nd Army, seeing such a condition and knowing that it would be impossible to break into the bandits' stronghold unless a good plan was devised, then prepared a few armored-cars setting upon them machine-guns and then attacked from all directions. At 4 p.m. on the 19th instant, the 31st Regiment approached Muk Keh Kiu while about a hundred bandits were gathered together at the gate of the village gambling and slaughtering cattle. Seeing the approach of the Revolutionary Armies they immediately started firing, putting up a strong resistance and at the same time retreating to their strongholds. The soldiers used the machine-guns, but the bandits were not frightened and also used their machine-guns upon the soldiers. The fighting lasted for about half an hour. Scores of bandits were killed while the others were greatly terrified. Taking advantage of this opportunity, the Revolutionary soldiers rushed upon them. Then the bandits retreated to Lu Shuk with the Revolutionary soldiers pursuing them. When the Revolutionary soldiers reached the region near Lu Shuk, the bandits launched a counter-attack because the soldiers were not acquainted with the condition of the locality. In this battle one officer and three soldiers were killed. Then the soldiers encamped themselves at Muk Keh Kiu. On the same day the 33rd Regiment captured Siu Sam-chang, Chan Nguk-ngam, etc. and dispatched a part of its force to attack Lu Shuk. Then the 32nd and the 33rd Regiments cooperated in besieging Lu Shuk and attacked it again on the morning of the 20th, utilizing armored-cars to attack the bandits' stronghold. They fought hard for about half an hour and at 10 a.m. the 11th Division of the Revolutionary Army broke into the bandits' stronghold, Lu Shuk, in Chui Men Mountain.

Upon investigation it is estimated that in the battle of Lu Shuk Regions, the soldiers killed more than a hundred bandits, wounded hundreds, arrested scores, captured about one hundred and thirty heads of cattle and about thirty houses, rescued many kidnapped men and women, and razed the bandits' stronghold. Soldiers were also despatched to arrest the escaped bandits. That day, the soldiers pursued the bandits to Shak Hum, Tai Shum Chang, etc. On the 22nd the officers led the soldiers into the mountain to see if any bandits were left behind but none were to be found. It is estimated that in the three battles of Ho Ka Chuen, Muk Keh Kiu, and Lu Shuk, about three hundred bandits were killed by our Revolutionary soldiers and more than a hundred who managed to escape and scatter, were killed by our village militia. As far as the soldiers of the 11th Division were concerned, eleven leaders of companies and platoons and about fifty soldiers were killed.

From our investigations the bandits in Chui Men Mountain have long disturbed Lei Chow and have killed more than ten thousand people. Formerly soldiers feared them very much and looked upon them as fearfully as upon tigers. Troops were despatched to eradicate them but were always defeated. For instance,

the Yunnan troops, Shen's troops, and Tang's troops failed to suppress them and lost lots of ammunition. Therefore, bandits gathered there and grew more rapacious day by day. At present the Revolutionary Army is developing this mountain and more than one thousand and five hundred persons are working there. The work will be accomplished very soon.

(*Min Kuo Jih Pao*, 4-13-26.)

4. NEWS REGARDING THE ERADICATION OF HO TONG BANDITS.

The fact has previously been published that Yong Woon, chief of the so-called Kwangtung gang of bandits, gathered together all the bandits of various districts of the West River at Ho Tong, Luong Chuan and Lo Pin in order to create trouble.

Upon receipt of this news, the Fourth Army immediately on the night of the 11th instant despatched 500 soldiers and eight gunboats together with the "Sin Kiang" cruiser to Ho Tong of Hsin Hui District. On their arrival at Ho Tong at 6 o'clock the next morning, the bandits attacked them from both banks. The soldiers fired at the bandits in return and succeeded in landing near Ho Tong by launching a charge.

After they entered Ho Tong they set fire to and burned the cottages and houses of the bandit village. Three bandits and a steam launch heavily loaded with rice and ammunition were captured. The bandits escaped and hid themselves in a blockhouse at the summit of the hill and there they used their machine-guns on the soldiers. Because of the strong resistance, the soldiers did not succeed in capturing the blockhouse and at ten o'clock retreated.

On account of the ferocity of the bandits, it is reported that the soldiers proposed to ask for the despatch of a larger force of soldiers to help them. It is said that two soldiers were killed and several were wounded whereas the bandits must have had a great number killed.

(*Min Kuo Jih Pao*, 4-26-26.)

5. SOLDIERS TO SUPPRESS BANDITS IN THE CHUNG SHAN DISTRICT.

Owing to the prevalence of bandits in Chung Shan, Lung To village, Li Fu-lin, Commander of the 5th National Revolutionary Army, despatched over four hundred of his soldiers from Chin Shan to the above-mentioned place in order to clear away the bandits. Though the bandits are at present not creating trouble because soldiers are stationed there, yet the bandits continue making disturbances at places where there are no soldiers.

When Chen So-chuan, a rich merchant who had recently returned from Australia to his home in Ho Tong village, was demanded by bandits to pay the sum of \$150,000 as ransom for his son who was kidnapped by them a few days ago. This captive has not yet been released, therefore General Li despatched a great number of his soldiers to Tung Chun, the den of the bandits, in order to rescue the captive and suppress the bandits.

(*Min Kuo Jih Pao*, 12-18-26.)

6. PLAN FOR BANDIT SUPPRESSION IN TUNG KIANG DISTRICTS.

In view of the fact that the military operations in the Tung Kiang Districts is at an end and that the bandits are still active, the Nationalist Government has appointed General Ho Ying-yam, the leader of the First Division of the Party Army, to be on the Tung Kiang Pacification Committee, and has ordered him to carry out plans for bandit suppression. For the sake of centralizing the command, General Ho Ying-yam has been allowed to command all the troops which are stationed at the Tung Kiang districts, viz: The 3rd Division under General Tan Hsu-hing, the First Independent Division under General Wu Thea-sing, the 2nd Independent Division under General Fung Yat-pui, the Chiu Mui Army under General Lo Yi-kuen, the Hupeh Army under General Yeung Yuen-yueh, and the Fukienese Army under General Cheang Ching and Tung Fuk-hoi. This is to facilitate the suppression of bandits. With regard to the officers of the different armies, they are also under the command of General Ho Ying-yam. The Nationalist Government has drawn up a mandate ordering and sanctioning the above.

(*Min Kuo Jih Pao*, January 1926)

7. FURTHER NEWS REGARDING TUNG KIANG BANDIT SUPPRESSION.

Owing to the ferocity of the Tung Kiang bandits, the water communications to the Tung Kiang Districts have been suspended for several months. But recently the 6th Revolutionary Army has extirpated them and the communications have thus been resumed. The former conditions and the events of suppression were separately described as follows:—

(1) *Ferocity of the Bandits.*

From the end of last year till now the bandits in the Tung Kiang Districts such as Wei Chow, Po Lo and Tung Kuan have been very numerous and audacious. The water route between Wei Chow and Shek Lung, which is about 210 Chinese li, was over-run with bandits most of whom were under the leadership of Pai Sau-chung. They used to plunder and perpetrated such acts as burning the Luk Lan Likin Bureau, demolishing the Shek Lung Station, and kidnapping station clerks, directors of telegraph stations and the operators. Those villages along the banks of the lower portion of the East River have been thoroughly devastated. The bandits have also been very bold in plundering the shops in the vicinity of the West gate of Wei Chow City. The garrison corps of Tung Kiang have incessantly been attacked by them. The steamers running between Wei Chow and Shek Lung have often been plundered. Accordingly communication was impossible for several months. The people were very much terrified. This is the review of the bandit condition in the Tung Kiang Districts.

(2) *Luk Lan Bandits Eradicated.*

Chief of staff, Wu Chien, led the 18th Division from Lo Lung to Wei Chow and arrived at the latter place on April 7. Finding the place overrun with bandits he undertook to investigate into the real condition. He discussed with General Ching Chien plans regarding bandit eradication.

On the 13th instant Wu Chien sent the 1st and 3rd battalions of the 53rd regiment to search for the bandits in Lung Kai, Ma Si, Sheung Nam, Ha Nam and Sum Kau.

The soldiers were stationed in Ma Si on the 14th instant. For a few days rain fell very heavily and the water in the river rose very high. On the 16th instant they proceeded to Sum Kau and Ha Nam from two different directions and attacked the bandits there. The bandits stationed there were a portion of Pai Sau-chung's gang under his subordinate Ko Fat, numbering a little over a hundred and having in their possession over a hundred rifles and several dozen Mausers. Upon receiving orders from General Wu Chien the soldiers rounded up the bandits on the 16th instant when it was raining slightly. The bandits retreated to the village but the soldiers entered the village and fought with them for several hours. The bandits occupied the forts to oppose the soldiers, while Pai Sau-chung led four hundred bandits from Tit Cheung to relieve them. They tried to break through the siege and to relieve the surrounded bandits, but just then the 1st battalion of the 54th regiment under Cheong Han-chang arrived at Luk Lan. They then joined in the fight and drove the bandits away. At that time the soldiers of the 53rd regiment set fire to the fort with the result that three were killed and ten wounded. They then reported to General Wu Chien requesting him to send the artillery to help in the attack. On the 17th instant the artillery corps arrived and they started bombarding the fort. By this means they exterminated the Luk Lan bandits. Communications were then resumed. The steamers between Sek Lung and Wei Chow have started running on schedule again. The merchants are now very happy.

(*Kuo Min Hsin Wen*, 4-23-26.)

8. FIGHTING BETWEEN SOLDIERS AND BANDITS IN TUNG KUAN DISTRICT.

According to a telegram from Sek Lung on January 28th, Yuan Ha-kow, the notorious bandit of Tung Kuan District, led several hundreds of bandits to attack the Shek Liek village in order to plunder it. Having heard of the coming of the bandits, the villagers of the whole village came out to resist them. The bandits fought with the villagers for a whole night but were unable to enter the village.

Upon hearing of this, the soldiers stationed at Shek Lung and the militia of the neighbouring villages immediately came to help the besieged. When bandit Yuan Ha-kow was told that the soldiers and militia were coming to the aid of the villagers,

he ordered his men to surround and attack it bravely. Within a short time they entered the village and set fire to the houses. Seeing the cruelty of the bandits, the soldiers at once fired their guns at them, and fought with one another for a few hours with the result that the bandits were defeated and had to flee to Fat Fon Chow, Lung Tse.

It is said that a great number of the bandits were killed or wounded and that over ten soldiers and militiamen were seriously injured during the fighting.

(*Min Kuo Jih Pao*, 30-1-26).

9. GENERAL TAN YEN-KAI DESPATCHES SOLDIERS TO SUPPRESS BANDITS IN YING TEH DISTRICT.

Bandits are prevalent in the districts of Ying Teh, Ching Yuan, Wung Yuan and Chi Ching of the North River. On the 11th instant Wong Si-kou, a notorious bandit, led a great number of his colleagues to plunder the villages of Sha Hou, Sheh Heng and others in the Ying Teh District. It is said that at the same time over ten neighbouring villages were robbed by the above bandits.

A telegram, which was sent by the refugees begging the Government to despatch its forces to suppress the bandits, reads as follows:—

To the Nationalist Government and General Tan Yen-kai, Commander of the 2nd Revolutionary Army:

On January 11th, Wong Si-kou, Ho Sheh-lam and Wong Yen, notorious bandits, led a great number of their followers to plunder our villages. After the bandits had kidnapped our countrymen and confiscated our cattle, they then set fire to our houses and burned them to the ground. We have suffered very much from this catastrophe, so we hope that you will be kind enough to despatch your troops to suppress them as soon as possible.

(sd) *Mo Sheh-jun and other refugees of Sha Hou and Sheh Heng villages*, 1-13-26,

It is said that upon receipt of the above telegram Commander Tan immediately despatched a telegram to his forces stationed at Ching Yuan and Ying Teh districts, ordering them to suppress the said bandits without delay.

(*Min Kuo Jih Pao*, 1-15-26).

10. THE 5TH AND 6TH DIVISIONS TO ERADICATE BANDITS IN SHI HSING DISTRICT.

Shi Hsing District is situated near the source of the North River. It is an important entrance to Kwangtung from North China. It is understood that at present there have been gathered together in this region more than one thousand bandits with Wong Yiu-cheang as their leader. The inhabitants living there suffer terribly from the bandits. Upon hearing of the above outrage Tam Tao-yuen, the

Commander of the 5th Division of the 2nd Revolutionary Army, immediately ordered Chu Kong-wai, the 15th regiment leader, to despatch two battalions there for the purpose of eradicating these bandits. Commander Tan also asked Tai Yao, the Commander of the 6th Division to send one battalion of his men to Fung Wan in order to attack the bandits from both sides so as to eradicate them as soon as possible. On receiving this order Commander Tai Yao at once despatched the 3rd battalion of the 18th Regiment to Fung Wan and Shiu Shau. Two telegrams despatched by Commanders Tan and Tai have been received by General Tan Yen-kai, the Commander of the 2nd Revolutionary Army. The telegrams read as follows :

The Telegram Sent by Division Commander Tai Yao :

"To General Tan Yen-kai:

"On the 4th instant I received a telegram sent by Chu Kong-wai, the 15th Regiment leader, stating that in Peh Ki Shai of Shi Hsing District a large number of bandits have gathered together to rob and disturb the peasants and intent on leaving them in a most miserable condition. As soon as I learned this I at once ordered Regiment Leader Chu on the 6th instant to send two battalions there in order to suppress the bandits, and at the same time I also requested division commander Tai Yao to despatch one battalion of his men to Fung Wan to cooperate with us in dealing with those bandits. I consider that the bandits will soon be suppressed. The detailed conditions I will report to you hereafter."

(*Sd.*) *Tan Pao-yuen.*

April 7, 1926.

The Telegram Sent by Division Commander Tam :

"To General Tan Yen-kai:

"Yesterday I received a telegram from Tam Tao-yuen, Commander of the 5th division, stating that in Peh Ki Shai of Shi Hsing the bandits are so fierce that the peasants cannot cultivate their lands. Division Commander Tan has despatched two battalions under regiment leader Chu to go there for the purpose of dealing with the bandits. He also asked me to send one battalion to Fung Wan to aid in the bandit suppression. Upon receiving his request, I considered that if the bandits were driven to Sho Kwan and Ying Teh they would combine with the bandits in Pei Par Hill, which would result in a most dangerous situation. Therefore besides despatching my 3rd battalion of the 18th regiment to Fung Wan and Shiu Shan by way of Tai Tong, I also informed the magistrate of Kook Kong District to send the militia and the Patrolling Troops to cooperate with us in the suppression of the bandits.

(*Sd.*) *Tai Yao.*

April 7, 1926.

(*Min Kuo Jih Pao, 4-13-26.*)

11. THE SECOND ARMY BESIEGE AND ERADICATE BANDITS IN THE PEI PAH MOUNTAIN.

Lately bandits in the Pei Pah Mountain have become stronger and, of course, fiercer. The Nationalist Government ordered General Tan Yen-kai of the 2nd Revolutionary Army to despatch troops to eradicate the bandits. General Tan ordered the 4th Division of his Army, which was stationed there, to besiege and attack the bandits. In order to clean up all bandits as soon as possible, the 6th Division was despatched to join Chang's Division to besiege this group of bandits. The soldiers' forces consist of four regiments. Up to present the bandits still have not been cleaned up because their forces are also very great. The chief of the bandits, Tse Kuan-chang, is the most famous marauder in the North River Districts and has a force of more than three thousand bandits. In occupying the dangerous regions of the Pei Pah Mountain, they are able to put up a strong resistance against the soldiers. General Tan, seeing the large number of bandits and knowing that it will not be easy to get rid of all of them within a very short time, requested the Aviation Bureau to send three aeroplanes to help the armies in suppressing the bandits. On the 10th the aeroplanes left for that place. When these aeroplanes arrived they found a great number of soldiers besieging the stronghold of the bandits, and so it is expected that the bandits will be cleaned up very soon. Division Commander Chang's telegraphic reports regarding the suppression of bandits, read as follows:

The First Telegram.

"Received Commanders Tse Ngai-pei and Liao San-kap's reports of the 30th. They read as follows:—

(1) Bandit chief Tse Kuan-chang occupied Tse Chuen, Wei Kong, Ha Chuen, Miu Ngun, etc. in the vicinity of Pei Pah Mountain. The bandits' strongholds are like forts. It is very hard to eradicate them in a short time with only infantry forces.

(2) The artillery has not yet arrived. Several scores of soldiers of the infantry have been killed since the commencement of the suppression of bandits.

We hope you will order the artillery to come here within these few days and send us various kinds of cartridges."

(*sd.*) *Pai-chang.*

Second Telegram.

To General Tan:

"This morning, a general attack upon the bandits' stronghold in Pei Pah Mountain was launched. More than ten rounds of cannons were fired and a few bayonet charges launched. About forty soldiers and officers were killed. But the bandits are still undefeated. We hope you will request the Government to send aeroplanes here to cooperate with our infantry to attack the bandits."

(*sd.*) *Chang Hin-yang.*

(April 2, 1926)

The Third Telegram.

"To General Tan :

"According to the latest reports more than two thousand bandits are in a stronghold in the Pei Pah Mountain. They have about three hundred rifles, a few machine-guns, and about sixty pistols. There are many bandits guarding each fort so that it is very hard for us to break into their strongholds. Lately as our soldiers have captured a few of their forts, the bandit chief Tse is somewhat frightened. Up to the present about thirty-three officers and soldiers have been killed and about seventy-six officers and soldiers wounded. I have determined to go to Pei Pah Mountain for an inspection to-morrow (5th).

(sd) *Chang Hün-yang.*

(April 4, 1926)

(*Min Kuo Jih Pao*, 13-4-26.)

12. NEWS ABOUT BELLEAGUERING THE BANDITS IN THE PEI PA HILLS.

Tse Kuen-sheung, a notorious bandit of Ying Teh District, has for a long time gathered together at Pei Pa hills a large force of robbers who have infested the neighbouring regions. After Commander Chang Fei-chan's troops were despatched to the district, he decided to suppress those bandits so as to relieve the sufferings of the villagers there. He also got the various bodies of the district to organize a Bandit Suppression Committee. Such matters have been reported in our previous issues.

When besieged by the revolutionary troops the bandit chief, Tse Kuen-sheung, recently sent a certain Chang, a peasant formerly kidnapped by the bandits, to see Commander Chang, asking him to raise the siege and to enlist Tse's followers. Seeing that the bandits had done very much harm to the villagers and were much hated by the people, Commander Chang refused their request and ordered his troops to attack them more bravely and to capture their den within a certain time. The hills which the robbers occupied as their base were very dangerous, but Chang's soldiers, being brave warriors, fought courageously and, in spite of the natural advantages which the bandits had, they captured successively several high ridges and captured scores of robbers and wounded a large number of them. At present they are near the stone cave which the bandits use as their headquarters. All the robbers arrested were taken back to the District City and shot after being tried by the Bandit Suppression Committee.

It is reported that the bandits of Ying Teh District have long been considered the most violent and powerful of all the robbers. Those under Tse Kuen-sheung comprise of some disbanded soldiers formerly under the command of Chang Sai-kou, and the robbers of many small gangs which Tse absorbed. They numbered more

than one thousand and constituted the fiercest band in that region. Some time last year they even dared to rush into the District City and disarm the garrison troops there. Thus we can see how violent and ferocious this gang of bandits were. But now they have been seriously defeated by Commander Chang's force and will be all eradicated soon.

(*Kuo Min Hsin Wen*, 4-2-26.)

13. EXTIRPATION OF THE BANDITS AT PEI PA MOUNTAIN.

In spite of the fact that the robbers' dens in Pei Pa Mountain, Ying Teh, are strongly fortified by the famous bandit, Tse Kun-seung, and have not yet been captured, the government troops have been conducting themselves so bravely by launching bayonet charges regardless of any danger. During the charge they would all acclaim the slogan "Don't be afraid of death; go straight forward, the Revolutionary warriors are willing to sacrifice themselves for the masses." Furthermore Division-leader, Chang Faj-chan, while on his way to the front to fight the bandits especially roused and encouraged the troops. One day the division-leader, Chang, studied the fortified robbers' dens and realized that it would be hard to capture it. He therefore sent the vice-division leader, Wong, to Canton to ask for the help of aeroplanes in order to extirpate the bandits as soon as possible.

It is reported that two landing-fields have been chosen and from there one or two aeroplanes will be despatched. This has made all the people of Ying Teh very glad as they want to be rid of the bandits, who have been doing harm for the last ten years. The following is a telegram issued by the Delegation Conference of the various circles of Ying Teh:—

"Referring to the report of the 1st instant as filed for the reference of the Provincial Executive Committee, we beg to inform you that Chang Fai-chan, the leader of the 4th Division of the 2nd Army, has despatched troops to extirpate the bandits in Pei Pa Mountain and we have held a "special gathering" of soldiers and people, organized delegates for consoling the extirpators. Recently we received a report from delegates Chang Shiu-hung and Yeung Fook-ping which read as follows:

"It has been observed that the robbers' dens in Pei Pa Mountain are very well fortified and the bandits there very fierce. The Revolutionary troops have laid siege to the place, and more than one hundred heroes have been sacrificed during the last month's attacks. At present the Division-leader, Chang, is also at the front leading his troops. For the sake of the people and the locality, we beg you to telegraph to the Military Council for more cartridges and the aeroplanes so as to achieve a speedy success!"

APPENDIX

1.—Notes

2.—Chronological Table

In accordance with the truth of this report, we are reluctantly asking you immediately to assign us the aeroplanes and more cartridges in order to eradicate the bandits. The 300,000 people of this district have realized it as a most important crisis and hope you will tender an affirmative reply.

*Li Look-ngai and many others of the Board of
Chairman of the Delegation Conference of Ying Teh.
(Kuo Min Hsin Wen, 4-4-26.)*

14. THE RECOVERY OF THE NORTH RIVER REGIONS AFTER THE EXTIRPATION OF THE BANDITS.

In order to achieve permanent peace for the people, the troops of the 2nd Army have burnt most of the villages of the bandits near Pei Pa Mountain after the robber dens there were captured. All the fortified places have also been removed, so that the bandits cannot further hide themselves against the attack of the troops. Therefore the 2nd Army withdrew to their original station on April 29th. With regard to the villages within the region of the bandits, it might be desirable to put them under the control of the Party and making it public land. The following is a telegram sent by Commander Chang Fai-chun to the General of the 2nd Army, requesting him to urge the Association of Bandit Suppression and Tranquilization to appoint reliable delegates to negotiate with the Ying Teh Recovery Committee about steps in dealing with this case:—

“The bandits of Pei Pa Mountain have now no fortified places to hide themselves, since we have burned those dens that could be burned and levelled those dens that could not. Therefore all our troops who came to extirpate the bandits withdrew to their original station on the 29th instant.

With regard to the rearrangements, the Ying Teh Recovery Committee has resolved to make this region public property and to try to practice self-control in the rural district in accordance with the policy of the local administration under the period of training as regulated by our late Dr. Sun. This may serve the purpose so well that the uncivilized places will like to see the rural villages under the administration of the Party. As this is so great a task that we cannot do it without help from others, I beg to ask you to inform the Association of Bandit Suppression and Tranquilization to appoint reliable delegates as soon as possible for negotiating steps of rearrangement with the Ying Teh Recovery Committee, and on the other hand to request the government to help in this matter. That is the best way that we can console the heroes who have sacrificed their lives.

(From a Special Reports, April 1926).

NOTES.

CHAPTER I.

(1) **Chen Chiung-ming.**—A native of Kwangtung, Hai Feng District, born in 1875. In the Ching Dynasty Chen obtained the literary degree of "Chu Jen." Long before the revolution of 1911 he had already taken part in the revolutionary movement. Since 1911, after the Revolution, he became Governor of Kwangtung. Owing to Yuan Shih-kai's revolt, he was forced to abandon that post and emigrated together with Dr. Sun. Soon, however, he returned to Fukien, and participated in the arming of the revolutionary attack against Gen. Mo Yung-hsin, who was occupying Kwangtung then, and after defeating and driving away Gen. Mo, Chen Chiung-ming captured Canton and invited Dr. Sun to come down from Shanghai. Then the public opinion of Kwangtung turned toward the Kuomintang. Very soon, however, there arose many differences between Chen and Dr. Sun in a number of principal questions which made it necessary for Dr. Sun to leave Kwangtung again. The main issues were:

- (1) the peasant question or the policies in the villages, and,
- (2) the question of the Northern Expedition.

Dr. Sun stood for reforms in the villages, while Chen was against any reforms. The latter fact can be explained chiefly by the personal connections on the part of Chen with the most prosperous region of Kwangtung, i.e., Weichow (almost the entire Weichow District is economically dependent on Chen Chiung-ming or his relatives). In 1922 Chen Chiung-ming was ousted from Canton by the Kwangsi and Yunnanese troops under Generals Yang Hsi-min and Liu Chen-huan, but he continued to occupy, as before, the eastern part of Kwangtung from Swatow, Chaochow and Weichow.

Only towards the end of 1925 was Chen Chiung-ming finally crushed by the Nationalist Troops under Gen. Chiang Kai-shih.

Thus from a revolutionist, Chen Chiung-ming became a bitter reactionary and has sold himself to British imperialism. Now he is living in Hongkong and is busily engaging himself in Anti-Nationalist agitation.

(2) **Tang Chi-yao.**—He was born at Tung Chuan Hsien in Yunnan province in 1885. In 1909 Tang entered a Military Academy in Japan. He has been for twelve years, with some interruptions, military governor of Yunnan. In his youth he took an active part in the revolutionary movement, especially in declaring the independence of Yunnan in October 1911; and later in dealing with the monarchist coup d'état of Yuan Shih-kai in 1916. For some time Tang Chi-yao was a collaborator with Dr. Sun Yat-sen, but, beginning with 1921, Tang Chi-yao

settled himself firmly in Yunnan, doing away with all his opponents, established connections with the French and Japanese, gave up the "role" of a revolutionist, and became a die-hard reactionary. Now the regime in Yunnan is just the same as that in Fengtien. The social movement has been forced to go "underground." The populace suffers immensely from the oppression of Tang and his vicious and corrupt officials. At present Tang Chi-yao has an army of 30,000 strong, but there are many factions among his troops and these are not loyal to him. Tang cherished the plan of making an advance against the Nationalist Troops in Kwangsi, and in case of success to invade Kwangtung through that province; but this plan failed, owing to the collapse of Wu Pei-fu.

At the time of the 1st Northern Expedition, Tang Chi-yao, who was then in Kwangtung, was invited by Dr. Sun Yat-sen to be his Chief of Staff. Though having agreed to that, Tang, however, did not start his work in that capacity, but went with his troops to Yunnan. Now he always tries to make use of the position he never held, for in every pronouncement he declares himself the successor of Dr. Sun, while he is unable to work with the people who are actually continuing Dr. Sun's work.

(3) **Teng Pen-ying.**—Teng is a native of Kwangtung Province. He was formerly Battalion Commander and later a Division Commander in Chen Chiung-ming's army. For five years (up to 1926) Teng was a warlord of Southern Kwangtung and of Hainan Island. Being a reactionary, he pursued on Hainan very retrograde policies, enjoying the support of the French who have their concession in Southern Kwangtung, viz: Kwan Chow Wan. Teng was also connected with Chen Chiung-ming. It was only in the beginning of 1926 that Teng Peng-ying was defeated by the 4th Corps of the National Revolutionary Army.

The whole population met with great joy the People's Revolutionary Army which had liberated them from the long oppression under Teng Peng-ying.

(4) **Lin Fu or Lin Hu.**—Lin is a native of Kwangsi. He received his military education in Japan and took an active part in the revolutionary movement of 1911. After the revolution of 1911 he was a commander of Kwangsi troops. In 1919 when Chen Chiung-ming drove Lu Yung-ting (native of Kwangsi) from Kwangtung and invited Dr. Sun to return, Lin Fu joined the reactionary troops and together with Lu Yung-ting struggled against Dr. Sun.

In 1923 Lin Fu united with Chen Chiung-ming against Yang Hsi-min and Liu Chen-huan, and later against Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang. It may be noted that Lin Fu's chief aim was to struggle against Dr. Sun, and to that end he fought against Chen Chiung-ming (when the latter stood by Dr. Sun) and was his ally (when Chen fought against Dr. Sun), and finally retired from the political arena together with Chen Chiung-ming after the latter's defeat by Gen. Chiang Kai-shek in the East River Region towards the end of 1925. Now Lin Fu is living in Hongkong, busy fostering banditry in Kwangtung at the expense of the Hongkong authorities.

(5) **The Rebellion of Yang and Liu.**—In April 1923, YANG HSI-MIN, a Yunnanese general, and LIU CHEN-HUAN, a Kwangsi general, led their armies to help Sun Yat-sen drive Chen Chiung-ming from Kwangtung because he had started a revolt in the rear of the 1st Northern Expedition. Chen Chiung-ming was defeated by Yang's and Liu's troops and retreated to the East River Districts.

For a long time the Yunnanese and Kwangsi troops were the real masters of Canton and only nominally were they subjected to Dr. Sun who was the Head of the Government.

Dr. Sun however succeeded in gaining the support of the public for his aims, viz: to convene the 1st Congress of the Kuomintang, and to organize the Whampoa Military Academy.

During that period the peasant movement had already made good progress, having given birth to the peasant unions.

The revolutionary urban educated people also became more active.

All that together served to strengthen Dr. Sun's and the Kuomintang's influence.

In the summer of 1925 (when Dr. Sun had already passed away there occurred a conflict between the Kuomintang forces (Whampoa School, Chiang Kai-shih's and Hsu Chun-chi's troops) and those of Yang and Liu. As a result Yang and Liu were defeated and disarmed after several sanguinary fights, which took place on the Canton streets for eight days. Their defeat was made much easier because both of them during their stay in Kwangtung did nothing except collect the taxes, taking no interest in other things. Now Yang lives in Hongkong while Liu, who is a Yunnanese by birth, is working with Tang Chi-yao in Yunnan.

(6) **The Assassination of Liao Chung-kai.**—Comrade Liao Chung-kai was assassinated by the counter-revolutionists on August 20th, 1925, at the entrance of the Kuomintang Headquarters.

Comrade Liao was born in the U.S.A. in 1872. He was one of the most ardent followers of the late Dr. Sun. Like Sun Yat-sen his whole life was devoted to revolutionary work. The Kwangtung workers and peasants consider him as a real friend and emancipator of labor and the peasantry.

Comrade Liao Chung-kai jointly with Gen. Chiang Kai-shih organized the Whampoa Military Academy and was the first Party Representative in this Academy.

During 1924-25 he held various positions in the Kuomintang Government, the most important of them being: Civil Governor of Kwangtung province, Head of the Peasant Department, and sometimes Head of the Labor Department of the C.E.C. of the Kuomintang, then Party Commissioner in several Revolutionary Army Corps and Finance Minister of the Nationalist Government.

(7) **The Canton-Hongkong Strike and Boycott 1925-26.**—The strike started on June 19th in the foreign Concession of Shameen (Canton) as a sympathy-strike in connection with the May 30th Massacre in Shanghai, and by the 20th it spread to Hongkong. The Chinese workers and employees of the Hongkong wharves, factories, steamers, clerks and house-servants walked out *en masse*, leaving Hongkong for Canton. The movement involved more than 100,000 people.

On the 23rd of June British marines and soldiers fired from Shameen with machine-guns upon a large unarmed and peaceful people's demonstration along the Shakee Bund—opposite Shameen—killing more than thirty people and wounding about a hundred persons. Immediately after the Shakee Massacre the Canton-Hongkong Strike changed into a deep revolutionary movement of protest involving all classes of the Kwangtung population against British Imperialism.

The Strike became a boycott of British goods, of British shipping and of the whole British Trade in Kwangtung. The Canton-Hongkong Strike Committee, which had been earlier formed by the workers came in close touch with the Canton Chambers of Commerce and other peoples' bodies—declared the blockade of Hongkong and Shameen.

The following demands were set forth:

- (1) Equality for Chinese residents in Hongkong before the Laws of the Colony.
- (2) Abolition of all restrictions directed against the Chinese in the Colony.
- (3) Freedom of meetings, press and association.
- (4) Compensation of the strikers for the period of the strike.
- (5) An 8 hour working day, etc.

According to the Boycott regulations, no British goods could be brought into Kwangtung. No British ship might visit the ports of Kwangtung and no ship of any nationality might call at the ports if it had first called at Hongkong.

To enforce the strict adherence of the Boycott Policy special Picket Corps were organized. The Picket body was composed of the worker-strikers. They were well disciplined and military-trained and placed at the different ports of Kwangtung, as well as along the coast of the province. The whole number of pickets amounted to nearly 7,000 people, and they were under the direct supervision of the Strike Committee.

As time went on and the conservative Hongkong Colonial Government continued its stubborn resistance and moreover persistently plotted against the Southern Revolutionary Capital by supporting banditry and counter-revolutionists like Chen Chiung-ming and others—the Boycott became step by step a matter of political struggle of the whole nationalist-minded population of the province, supported by the organized workers, peasants and merchants. The movement was also strongly aided by the Kuomintang Party.

On October 10th, 1926, after a duration of 15 months, the Strike and Boycott was discontinued because of the many successes of the Northern Expedition which resulted in the capture of Hankow and the recovery of the whole of Central China. The success of the Northern Expedition meant the enlargement of the anti-imperialistic struggle to a nation-wide scale. This extension of the struggle was deemed incompatible with the intensive economic anti-British struggle in so remote a spot as Canton seemed to be after the occupation of Central China. Therefore the Kuomintang Party and all the labor organizations voluntarily declared the lifting of the Boycott. Propaganda-work was started, however, to restrain the merchants and public from handling British goods.

The economic consequences which have fallen on British shipping and trade in China in general, and especially that of Hongkong, can not be over-estimated. Hongkong whose trade returns with China used to represent 22-25% of the whole Foreign Trade of China lost owing to this Strike and Boycott its former preeminent position. Hongkong's trade with the ports of Kwangtung which formerly formed about 70% of the whole foreign trade of those ports, practically ceased during the Boycott. The Report of the Hongkong General Chamber of Commerce for 1925 states that "the previous effect the Boycott has had upon shipping may be estimated from the fact that some steamers normally carry cargoes in the following proportions: For Canton 50 percent, for Swatow 30 percent, for Hongkong 20 percent. The 20 percent is all the trade that has remained to them for the last eight months." The number of British steamers entering the harbour of Canton during the period of August to December, 1924, varied from 240 to 160 each month. During the corresponding period of 1925 the numbers varied from 27 and 2. From July to December, 1924, 681 British steamers entered the port of Swatow, as compared with 78 which were prevented by boycott pickets from loading and unloading cargo."

Summarizing the losses of Hongkong Shipping and Trade, and the aftermath of this—the depreciation of stock and land values—some authors who took up the question of the losses of Hongkong, estimate them roughly to be about 60 million silver dollars a month, and consequently for the whole period of the Boycott to about 900 million silver dollars.

At the same time Chinese and foreign economists observed no considerable decrease in the Foreign Trade of Kwangtung. And as far as Canton is concerned their reports showed even a rapid increase of its returns and a tendency toward a prosperous development in trade and business.

In supporting the Strike and Boycott, the Kwangtung peasantry also played a rather considerable role.

(8) **Paper Tigers.**—"Paper Tigers" was the name designated by the people of Canton to the Merchants' Volunteer Corps in Canton. The Volunteer Corps were organized by the merchants nominally to safeguard their interests and property

from being robbed by bandits and rascals, but really to serve as an armed force for the counter-revolutionary compradores against the Revolutionary Government of Sun Yat-sen. They were under the command of Chen Lim-pak, a notorious compradore and counter-revolutionist, and the counter-revolutionary Corps were uniformly dressed and supplied with better arms and munitions than the troops. But they were not good fighters. So the people concluded they were like "paper tigers" which look very fierce but are made only of paper.

(9) **The Insurrection of Ngai Pang-ping and Liang Kun-kai**—Ngai Pang-ping, a notorious landowner and capitalist in Kwangtung, together with Liang Kun-kai, a division commander under Hsu Chung-chi, started a rebellion against the Nationalist Government on August 25th, 1925, i.e., five days after the assassination of Comrade Liao Chung-kai. The leaders of the rebellion had collected large bandit gangs in Tung Kuan and Chung Shan districts.

Although the rebellious troops in Sheklung (near Canton) were disarmed at once, the leaders managed to escape and later organized another rebellion in Chung Shan District at the time of Second Eastern Expedition against Chen Chiung-ming (October 1925).

(10) **The Suspension of Customs**.—During February 1925 the Commissioner of the Canton Customs, Mr. Hayley Bell, suddenly suspended the work of the Custom House. As a pretext for this unlawful action he used the activities of the Picket Corps, who, in order to enforce the boycott of Hongkong, had without protest for more than six months, investigated all cargoes of vessels entering Canton. But during February, since the Custom Administration is in the hands of the British, they tried by closing the Customs to declare a blockade of Canton.

But the unlawfulness of this arbitrary action was very evident, and evoked so much indignation in all circles of Canton and even of Shanghai, that Commissioner Hayley Bell had to reopen the Customs on the same conditions as before after some five days.

(11) **Chen Kung-shao** is a cousin of Chen Lim-pak (see Notes 8 & 14). He is a big landlord with an estate near Fatsan city. At the same time he is a compradore for some big foreign firms and banks.

(12) **Lung Chi-kuang** was the Tuchun of Kwangtung in 1916. When Yuan Shih-kai wanted to raise his position from president to that of an emperor of China, Lung Chi-kuang expressed his allegiance to Yuan and was accordingly much appreciated. He was given the absolute power to rule in Kwangtung. He was very corrupt and his subordinates and soldiers were even worse. Plunder, slaughter and fornication were the evils committed by his soldiers and subordinates. Naturally Lung Chi-kuang's corrupt rule aroused the indignation of the people.

The extermination of Lung Chi-kuang came with the invasion of the Kwangsi militarists (General Liu Yu-chin, etc.) into Kwangtung near the end of 1916. Though Lung Chi-kuang made considerable efforts to resist the invaders at the beginning of the invasion, he was finally annihilated.

(13) **The Shameen Strike of 1924.**—Because of a rule made by the Foreign Consular authorities in Shameen, Canton, all Chinese employees (servants, clerks, etc.) on Shameen had to carry passports to which photos were attached and which were registered with the foreign police. They also might be searched at any time by these police. This rule was very humiliating to the dignity of the Chinese nationals; hence a general strike of all these Shameen workers was called on July 14, 1924. In all, about 6,500 Chinese participated in the strike; 3,500 being workers, clerks, and house servants in Shameen, the remaining 3,000 being seamen on the Hongkong-Shameen Line. The strikers were supported by the public opinion of all of Kwangtung and material help as well was given. The Revolutionary Government of Dr. Sun Yat-sen acted as mediator. Since the British Trade suffered heavy losses from this strike, besides the tremendous inconvenience of the foreign gentleman being deprived entirely of home accommodations and comfort, the British and French Consuls succumbed on August 19 and consented to the important demands of the strikers, such as the Abolition of the Rules, Compensation for the Strikers, etc.

(14) **The "Two Treacherous Chens."**—So called by the people of Kwangtung, are two leaders of the counter-revolution in Kwangtung. One of them is Chen Chiung-ming (see Note 1, Chapter 1), while the other is Chen Lim-pak (or Chen Lien-pai) a well-known big compradore.

Chen Lim-pak was the President of the General Chamber of Commerce in Canton during 1920-1922. During 1924 he was Commander-in-chief of the Merchants' Volunteer Corps of the whole Kwangtung province, and concurrently was the Commander of the Merchants' Militia (the "Paper Tigers").

In the Autumn of 1924 he started the rebellion of the Merchants' Militia against the Revolutionary Government of Sun Yat-sen. But the "Paper Tigers" although well-trained, equipped and armed could not withstand the attack of the revolutionary troops who were backed by the whole population. After the defeat Chen Lim-pak fled to Hongkong where he is reported to be residing still.

Chen Lim-pak was president of the Canton Silk Association, Director of the Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company, and Director and big shareholder of many large Chinese enterprises. But the main position, however, which gave him influence and wealth, has been that of the chief compradore of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation at Hongkong.

(15) **The Third All-China Labor Conference.**—The Third All-China Labor Conference, assembling the leaders of the labor class throughout China, was held in Canton commencing with May 1st, 1926, and lasting for 12 days. It was attended by 502 delegates from every part of China and representing more than 1,241,000 organized workers, including more than 400 labor unions. This conference attained to a much more important mission and greater significance than had been reached by the two previous conferences.

(16) **The Second All-Kwangtung Peasant Conference.**—The Second All-Kwangtung Peasant Delegates Conference was held in Canton, attended by 214 delegates from 66 districts, representing 626,450 organized peasants. The conference closed its session on May 15th. The most important resolutions passed at the conference were:

- 1) That high usury on loans should be prohibited;
 - 2) That all exorbitant taxes and monopoly of petroleum should be abolished;
 - 3) That disagreeable regulations imposed upon peasants by landlords and the advance collection of revenues should be abolished;
 - 4) That village public funds should be used for peasant educational purposes;
 - 5) That peasant sons should not be responsible for their parents' debts, etc.
- (For details see Part First of the Book, Chapter IV "A Brief Historical Sketch of the Peasant Movement in Kwangtung.")

(17) **The Picket Corps.**—see Note 7, Chapter 1.

(18) **The Whampoa Military Academy.**—The Whampoa Military Academy was established in 1924 by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and is located at the Whampoa Island which is not far from Canton. Cadets in the academy are well instructed in military sciences as well as in the political principles of the Kuomintang. A large part of the cadets are revolutionary students of various middle and high schools of Kwangtung and other parts of China. The other section of the cadets consists of distinguished, brave and politically conscious soldiers or low-ranking officers of the various army corps in Kwangtung.

A strong group of well-trained officers for the National Revolutionary Army has been created, which has enabled the National Revolutionary Army to defeat sometimes twice or three times as strong enemy troops and which gives to the Whampoa troops the glory and legend of invincibility.

The principal of the Academy since its establishment has been and still is General Chiang Kai-shih. Comrade Liao Chung-kai acted as Party Representative or Political Commissar of the Academy and after his death, Wang Ching-wei.

(19) **The Independence Day.**—The National Day of China. It was on October 10th, 1911, that the Chinese Revolution took place in Wuchang, capital of

Hupei Province. It was on that very day that the Manchu Empire was overthrown, and the Chinese Republic was established.

(20) **The "Tong Shih" Society.**—A special association for mutual help has been organised in the Lo Ting District. The power in this Society has been grasped by the leading gentry.

(21) **Chen Kung-po.**—A native of Kwangsi Province. He joined the revolutionary organization sponsored by Dr. Sun Yat-sen about twenty years ago. Afterwards Chen worked in a newspaper office owned by the revolutionaries in Hongkong. In 1911 Chen began to study law at Canton Christian College. After graduation from the Canton Christian College he took up the study of philosophy at the National University of Peking. When he returned to Canton, he started the "Social," a newspaper of his own. Upon his return to Canton in 1926 from Columbia University of New York City, where he studied politics and economics for a few years, Chen was elected a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang and Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor of the Provincial Government concurrently. Chen accompanied the Northern Expedition to Hupei. After the capture of Hankow and Wuchang, he was appointed Chairman of the Finance Committee of Hupei together with the posts of Commissioner of Foreign Affairs for Hupei, and Superintendent of Customs.

(25) **Wang Ching-wei (or Wang Chao-ming).**—A native of Kwangtung, was born in 1885 at Canton. In 1901 he went to Japan where he studied in the Tokyo Law College. Wang Ching-wei made the acquaintance of Dr. Sun in Tokyo and was elected a member, and later became Chairman of the Executive Committee of the "Tung Men Hui" (The Revolutionary League). He was also at the same time editor of the Min Pao—a revolutionary Republican paper. Wang Ching-wei personally participated in many revolutionary actions and even armed uprising in Kwangtung. In the Spring of 1911 at Peking, Wang Ching-wei attempted to assassinate the Prince Regent. He was arrested. The revolution in October 1911 gave him back his liberty. Yuan Shih-kai offered him the post of Minister of Justice at Peking. He declined, however, and went abroad to France where he studied Sociology. He was also very much interested in Educational Problems. In 1920 Wang Ching-wei acted as president of the Kwangtung Provincial Educational Association.

Wang Ching-wei is one of the closest followers of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen. He accompanied Dr. Sun on his last journey to Peking during the winter of 1924-1925.

It was he who wrote down the last will of Dr. Sun. In 1925 Wang Ching-wei was elected Chairman of the Nationalist Government Committee and Chairman of the Military Council of Kwangtung. He acted concurrently also as Party

Representative (or Commissar) of the Whampoa Military Academy and in several Army Corps. In the Spring of 1926 he took sick and went on sick-leave to Europe. He is one of the most respected leaders of the Kuomintang.

(23) **The China Weekly Review.**—Formerly Millard's Review, is an American weekly periodical published in Shanghai.

CHAPTER II.

(1) **The Party Army.**—Those units of the Kwangtung Revolutionary Army which were organized by the Kuomintang during 1924-25 were called the "Party Army." They were formed of the students of the Whampoa Military Academy and some troops among whom political training work had been started.

The "Party Army" has from the start been under the command of Gen. Chiang Kai-shih. The first distinction the Party Army won was the defeat of Chen Chiung-ning's counter-revolutionary troops in the whole of the Province and especially the clearing out of the remnants of the counter-revolutionary troops in the East River Districts.

The Party Army participated victoriously in the suppression of the Yang-Liu Rebellion in the summer of 1925.

(2) **Chiang Kai-shih.**—General Chiang Kai-shih (or Chiang Chung-cheng) was born in Chekiang Province in 1888. In 1907 he was sent by the Government to the Japan Military Academy. In the early days of the Republic he commanded a brigade in Shanghai. In 1913 he joined Dr. Sun Yat-sen and became his close follower.

In 1924, he organised under the commission of Dr. Sun the Whampoa Military Academy. Under his able supervision, the Whampoa Military Academy became a strong military basis for the Kuomintang and the backbone of the National Revolutionary Army. Chiang Kai-shih and his Whampoa Cadets distinguished themselves by being victorious in various struggles against the counter-revolutionary troops in Kwangtung. During 1925 General Chiang Kai-shih twice defeated Chen Chiung-ning in the East River Region, suppressed the Yang and Liu rebellion in 1925, and the insurrection of Ngai Pang-ping and others.

In the Summer of 1926 he became Chairman of the Military Council of the Nationalist Government. Later he was appointed Commander-in-chief of the Northern Expeditionary Armies. Concurrently he is a leading member of the C.E.C. of the Kuomintang, and a member of the Nationalist Government.

(3) **Dr. Sun Yat-sen.**—Sun Yat-sen (Sun Chung-shan or Sun Wen) was born in 1866 at Hsiang Shan (now Chung Shan) District, Kwangtung. In 1886 he entered the Medical College in Hongkong, graduating in 1892.

Sun Yat-sen started his revolutionary work in 1885, after the defeat of China in the Franco-Chinese War. The first revolutionary idea that animated him was the idea of overthrowing the Manchu Dynasty.

In 1894 he with several friends went to the Philippines to organise the "China Arousing Society" (Hsing Chung Hui). But soon he returned to Canton in order to continue the revolutionary work in South China.

In 1895 a small group of revolutionaries under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen tried to start an armed uprising at Canton. They failed, however, several of them being captured and executed; the rest had to flee to foreign countries. Sun Yat-sen went to the Philippines in order to enroll more members among the Overseas Chinese in the "China Arousing Society." But after the failure of 1895, he met with many obstacles, disappointment with the Chinese (emigrants) nationals being the main one. Then he went to America for the same purpose. In every place where Chinese nationals lived he stayed and preached revolutionary ideas. The Overseas Chinese, many of whom were members of various secret societies and many of whom had the aim of overthrowing the Ching Dynasty to restore the Ming Dynasty became ardent supporters of his work and contributed abundantly to the revolutionary cause.

Sun Yat-sen's activities abroad aroused suspicion and fear on the part of the Manchu Government. When in England he was kidnapped on a street in London and taken to the Chinese Legation to be shipped to Peking. With the help of his former teacher and friend in Hongkong, Dr. James Cantlie, he was released.

After leaving England Sun Yat-sen went to other European countries to study their social conditions. There he realised that in order to bring happiness to his people it is not enough to overthrow an alien dynasty only; deeper social problems have to be solved.

After leaving Europe he went to Japan in order to be nearer to China and to the revolutionary work.

In 1900 Sun Yat-sen organized a big uprising in South China. With the help of the Overseas Chinese he recruited a group of revolutionary-military men who went to Kwangtung where they became leaders of a Peasant Army and attacked a number of cities. The garrison-troops everywhere were disarmed and completely defeated. After a month the Revolutionary Army numbered already more than 10,000 men. But as soon as ammunition and other help did not arrive in sufficient quantities and several leaders had been captured by the government, this uprising failed. But after the defeat at this time the sympathy of the Chinese emigrants and of Chinese intellectuals in China grew stronger toward the Revolutionary cause.

In 1905 Sun Yat-sen went on his second world tour. In Brussels he enrolled about thirty Chinese students in his cause; in Berlin there were thirty adherents; in Paris there were about ten; and in Tokyo several hundred students became members of his Revolutionary organization. In the Autumn of 1905 in Japan Sun Yat-sen organized the "Allied League" (Tung Men Hui). In 1906 the membership of this

organization had already reached 10,000 men. In every province branches were organized.

In Pin Li during 1907 the "Tung Men Hui" started a rebellion and for several weeks fighting took place between the revolutionaries and the Government troops. In the same year Sun Yat-sen together with Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei went to Annam in order to organize a new uprising in Kwangtung. Soon in Chao Chow and Kwei Chow uprisings were started but without success. Then Sun Yat-sen personally with about a hundred comrades attacked several forts not far from the border of Annam. They succeeded in capturing those troops, but government troops were rushed to the spot and after seven days of severe fighting they had to retreat to Annam. Then began a hard time for Sun Yat-sen, because he could stay neither in Japan, Hongkong, Annam, nor in other places near China. So he set forth once more on a world tour to collect funds for the needs of the revolution. It must be mentioned that he met with the whole-hearted support of most of the Overseas Chinese. For instance, in Paris, Chang Ching-chiang sold his enterprise and contributed from 60-70 thousand dollars. Big contributions were given by many other wealthy Chinese emigrants.

In 1911 when the revolution started at Wuchang, Sun Yat-sen was in Columbia busily collecting funds. Receiving the news of the revolution he immediately decided to use all his influence in persuading foreign governments and foreign public opinion to favor the revolution and not to help the Manchu Dynasty. In England he obtained the consent of the British Government to cease the subsidization of the Manchu Government. There he also started negotiation with a Bank Consortium in order to make a loan to the Revolutionary Government. In France he met with a sympathetic attitude on the part of public opinion. Sun Yat-sen arrived in Shanghai at the time of the peace negotiations between the North and the South.

In 1912 Dr. Sun was elected by delegates of all provinces as Provisional President of the Chinese Republic. In order to attract Yuan Shi-kai, a powerful general in the North, and to obtain final victory over the Manchu Government in the North he ceded the presidency to Yuan Shi-kai. Very soon Yuan Shi-kai showed himself a reactionary, striking one blow after another upon the Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party, organized in 1912 by Sun Yat-sen. The Parliament, the plurality of members of which consisted of Kuomintangites, was dissolved. Important leaders of the Kuomintang were murdered by agents of Yuan Shi-kai. The old Manchu generals appointed as Tutuh or Tuchun (military governors) in the province became independent militarists without any political principles. Sun Yat-sen decided to fight once more for the public and for the welfare of the people.

In 1918 members of the Parliament convened at Canton and elected Sun Yat-sen as the Head of a Military Government (Tang Shao-yi and Wu Ting-fang being the members) whose mission was to fight the Northern (Pei Yang) militarists. But soon the

Kwangsi General, Lu Jung-ting, ousted Sun Yat-sen from power and Dr. Sun fled to Shanghai.

In 1921, after Chen Chiung-ming recovered Kwangtung, Sun Yat-sen returned to Canton where he was in April, 1921, elected president by the Parliament of the Chinese Republic by 213 out of a total of 222 votes.

In 1922, Dr. Sun started the First Northern Expedition, but met with failure owing to the rebellion of Chen Chiung-ming at the rear in Canton. Sun Yat-sen had to flee once more from Kwangtung. He came back to Canton in 1923 when the Kwangsi and Yunnanese troops of Yang Hsi-min and Liu Chen-huan drove out Chen Chiung-ming and invited Dr. Sun to Kwangtung.

In January, 1924, Sun Yat-sen convoked the First Congress of the Kuomintang at which time the Reorganization of the Party took place, the party being now organized on a European pattern. In the Autumn of 1924 Sun Yat-sen started the Second Northern Expedition, himself directing the military operations at the front. During October 1924 the *coup d'état* of General Feng Yu-hsiang occurred at Peking, and the power in the Capital fell into the hands of General Feng who sympathized with the Kuomintang. Dr. Sun went to the North in order to convoke the National Conference, and to restore a real democratic republican system. But upon arrival in Tientsin he became sick, and on March 12, 1925, passed away at Peking. His coffin is temporarily set by in the Western Hills near Peking pending the construction of a big mausoleum in Nanking, where he will be finally buried.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen was the author of several books and numerous articles, all being highly esteemed by the Kuomintang, and they serve as the ideological basis of this Party. The most important works of Sun Yat-sen are "San Min Chu Yi" or the "Three Principle Theory," the "Plan for Reconstruction of the State," the "Plan of Industrial Development of China," and others.

Sun Yat-sen has been, and still is, called by the people of China "Kuo Fu," viz., "The Father of the Republic."

(4) **The Three Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.**—The "Three Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen" (sometimes called "Three People's Theory") or "San Min Chu Yi" are Nationalism ("Min Tsu Chu Yi"), Democracy ("Min Chuan Chu Yi") and Socialism ("Min Sheng Chu Yi").

NATIONALISM—This includes two points: The first, the emancipation of the Chinese nation from its Foreign Yoke; the second, equality and freedom for the various races which compose the Chinese nation, and also freedom and equality for other oppressed nationalities.

DEMOCRACY—According to Dr. Sun's Theory, democracy means the administration of the people, by the people and in the interests of the people. The sovereignty of the people is determined by the constitution of five rights in which the legislative powers are distinguished and independent. The people have the right to elect and

to control the officials. Most of the modern democracies have failed because there still exist the oppression of the common people by the oppressing classes. But should the principles of the Kuomintang be realized, there would be no oppression of that kind to undermine the real democracy. Everybody who fights against Imperialism can enjoy all these liberties and rights; those who are connected with militarism and Imperialism, who sell their own people, must be deprived of these rights.

SOCIALISM—According to Sun Yat-sen, socialism means the right of the people to enjoy the benefits of national wealth and to have a good living. Land must be re-distributed and big estates be bought up by the government. Large capital must be limited. Labor must be protected. The State must provide with work, or help in other ways those who become unemployed. The State must take care of old people, invalids and the sick. Education of children should be at the cost of the State.

(5) **The Sand-field Bureau.**—See Note 3, Chapter IV.

(6) **Black Bills.**—The receipts given to the peasants by bandits after the peasants have paid to the bandits a special levy are so-called in Kwangtung. The peasants who have such "Black Bills" or "Black Receipts" are secured against robbery a second time by the same bandit gang. So these "Black Bills" can be and are considered as receipts for "protection by bandits."

At the same time the peasants who cultivate sand-fields (see Note 3, Chapter III) have to pay some protection-fees to the government and receive in turn official receipts, which are called "Red Bills" or "Red Permits." Sometimes the "Black Bills" are more efficient than the "Red" ones.

CHAPTER III.

(1) **The Kuomintang Party.**—The Kuomintang (or Nationalist Party) was founded on August 25, 1912, when a conference of Representatives of the "Tung Men Hui" (The Allied League), of the "United Democratic Party," of the "Harmony Party" and other political factions decided to unite those revolutionary bodies into one which should be named the "Kuo Min Tang." At the conference Dr. Sun delivered a lengthy speech. The Political Program adopted at that time consisted of five points:

- 1) Political unification of China, 2) Development of Local Self-Administration, 3) Equality of Nationalities, 4) Policy of improving the Peoples' Living, 5) International Peace.

Two important points of the "Tung Men Hui" during its illegal existence, namely, "Nationalization of Land" and "Equality for Women" were not for the time being included in the program of the New Party. Among the leaders of the

Kuomintang at that period were Sun Yat-sen, Sung Chiao-jen, Yan Hsi-shan (Shansi), Li Lieh-chun, Yu Yu-fen, Tan Yen-kai, Hsu Chien, Tang Shao-yi and Hu Han-min.

The Kuomintang obtained in the First Parliament 269 seats, in the Senate 123; thus forming the majority. After Yuan Shi-kai came into power he oppressed the Kuomintang by every means, using abduction, offering high posts to some leaders of the Party and secretly murdering others (as Sung Chiao-jen). During the difficult period of the Party many members left to form new and more moderate factions. The remainder of the Party split into two groups — one the radical and the other the "constructive" group. The first advocated immediate action against Yuan Shi-kai (organization of a military punitive expedition against Yuan Shi-kai); the others recommended limitation of Yuan Shi-kai's power by "lawful" means on the basis of the "Constitution."

The revolutionary elements of the Party assembled themselves under the banner of Sun Yat-sen in Canton which city served as the base for the revolutionary forces. Many members of the Party remained in various provinces, continuing their revolutionary work.

From January 15th to 30th, 1924, the First Congress of the Kuomintang was held in Canton, Kwangtung. One hundred and fifty delegates from all over China, and even from abroad (Annam, Siam, Canada and Mongolia) were present. Dr. Sun Yat-sen presided. Many important declarations and resolutions were adopted and issued. The Congress despatched congratulatory telegrams to the newly elected Labour Government in England. The Congress suspended its session for three days to commemorate Lenin's death, and telegraphed its condolence to Soviet Russia.

The Congress adopted a Political Program of the Party, based on the "San Min Chu Yi" Theory of Sun Yat-sen (see Note 4, Chapter IV).

The Political Program set forth the following important points:

- 1) The abrogation of all unequal treaties.
- 2) Self-government of provinces and districts.
- 3) Centralized administration of the whole of China.
- 4) System of general suffrage without any limitations (property or education, census, etc.).
- 5) Absolute liberty of meeting, speech and press.
- 6) The abolition of all exorbitant taxes, likin, etc.
- 7) Improvement of agriculture and living conditions of the peasantry.
- 8) Establishment of Labour Laws and improvement of labour living conditions.
- 9) General education.
- 10) Limitation of land ownership by means of buying up lands by the government from private landowners, and heavy taxations on surplus lands.

11) Governmental Administration of big enterprises such as railways, shipping, etc.

The Congress adopted also a general status of the Party, with strict rules regarding membership and discipline. A special resolution to organize a Nationalist Government under the leadership of the Party was adopted.

The First Congress decided also to admit members of the Chinese Communist Party into the Kuomintang.

At the time of the First Congress, which is also called the Reorganization Congress, because only from this Congress can the Kuomintang be considered as a real political party, was organized on European lines. The membership amounted to 300,000 people. A Central Executive Committee was elected with Sun Yat-sen as Head, and Wang Ching-wei, Hu Han-min, Tai Chi-tao and others as prominent members of the C.E.C.

In January 1926, after the death of Sun Yat-sen, the Second Congress of the Party took place.

Among the works of the Second Congress the most important was the General Declaration of the Congress, a declaration to all oppressed nations of the world. Resolutions on the Labour Movement, the Women's Movement, the Youth Movement, the Peasant Movement; Party Affairs and military work, centralization of finance, etc., were passed. The resolutions of the Second Congress were more detailed and more concrete than those of the First Congress. A new Central Executive Committee was elected.

At present the influence of the Kuomintang has become very great and has spread over the whole of South and Central China. The Kuomintang may be considered at present as one of the largest political parties in China.

(2) **The Northern Expedition.**—After the Revolution of 1911 had failed and China had come to such a pass that various militarist factions periodically replaced each other and controlled the country, Dr. Sun, the "Father of the Revolution," thought of extirpating the corrupt northern militarists by force of arms. Hence he planned for a big Northern Punitive Expedition, the aim of which would be the unification of China.

In 1922, Dr. Sun, using Kwangtung as a base, organized the First Northern Expedition which reached as far as Kweichow Province. But Chen Chiung-ming started a rebellion at the rear (Canton). Thus the expedition could not succeed. Then Sun returned to Canton in order to suppress the rebellion.

In 1924, Dr. Sun started the Second Northern Expedition, and personally went to the front (Shao Kwan). But the Expeditionary Forces were overpowered by the enemies—adherents of Wu Pei-fu in Hunan and Kiangsi. So the Expeditionary Forces retreated and Dr. Sun himself went to Peking.

His dream was realized after his death, when in 1926 the National Revolutionary Armies of Kwangtung marched out in the Third Northern Expedition and succeeded in recovering Hunan, Kiangsi, Hupeh, Fukien, and establishing at Wu Han the Capital of Nationalist China.

(3) **The Three Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.**—(See Note 4, Chapter II.)

(4) **The Seamen Strike of 1922.**—The General Strike of Chinese Seamen in Hongkong was declared on January 12, 1922. The essential demands of the seamen were for a wage increase and better treatment. One week after the declaration of the strike (the 19th) about 5,000 Hongkong seamen strikers left Hongkong and arrived at Canton, where they were welcomed by all circles of the people. Many labour unions in Hongkong also went out on strike (February 7) in sympathy with the seamen strikers.

On March 5 the seamen strike was settled through the mediation of Chen Chiung-ming and the British Consul in Canton under the following conditions:

- 1) That the seamen's wages on Chinese river boats be increased by 30%.
- 2) That seamen's wages on the Hongkong-Canton Chinese ships be increased by 30%.
- 3) That seamen's wages on foreign ships running between Hongkong, Canton and Macao be increased by 20%.
- 4) That workers on Jardine ocean ships receive an increase of 20%.
- 5) That workers on Jardine Pacific Line receive an increase of 15%.
- 6) That the unemployed seamen receive half pay according to the increased rate from January 1 for a period of five and a half months.

(5) **The Plough.**—A weekly paper with a rather large circulation published by the Provincial Peasant Association.

The contents usually consist of leading editorials, treating the most pressing questions of the peasant movement in Kwangtung and reports from the various districts. Sometimes short stories and poetry of and for the peasants are also included.

CHAPTER IV.

(1) **Generalissimo (Ta Yuan Shuai).**—Title of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, given to him when he returned to Canton to organise the Revolutionary Government in February of 1923, at the request of the Kwangtung people and the Yunnan and Kwangsi armies which entered Kwangtung and drove Chen Chiung-ming and Co. out of Canton about the end of 1922.

(2) **The Min Sheng Principle.**—See Note 4, Chapter II.

(3) **The Sand-fields.**—Sand-fields in Kwangtung are the fields formed in the Delta Region by the accumulation of mud at the river banks. Every year considerable areas of field are formed in this way. According to government statistics the total area of sand-fields only in seven districts consists of more than 1,500,000 mow. These sand-fields theoretically belong to the government and are usually leased out to farmers at a cheap rate. But often the fields are privately owned. The government also takes the responsibility of protecting these fields from attacks of robbers, and special taxes are collected for this purpose. In order to administer these various government affairs special "Sand-field Bureaus" are established in districts and sections. Usually the Bureaus are managed by the local gentry and corruption in respect to illegal levies, etc. is common.

(4) **Fang Peng-jen.**—Born in Hupeh, Fang was a pro-Chihli general for many years. In 1922, at the time of the First Northern Expedition organized by Dr. Sun, he fought against the Southerners. Fang Peng-jen was defeated in 1922, but soon after the Northern Expedition came to an untimely end, owing to Chen Chiung-ming's revolt in Kwangtung and Dr. Sun's forced departure for Shanghai.

General Fang with the remnant of his troops then settled in Kiangsi, having secured the post of Military Governor from the Peking Government.

When Marshal Sun Chuan-fang formed his union of five provinces in 1925, Kiangsi was included, although General Fang opposed it. Accordingly Fang Peng-jen was forced to hand over Kiangsi to one of Sun Chung-fang's followers, General Teng Chu-tso. During that time Fang was connected with Marshal Tuan Chi-jui.

Not long before the Northern Expedition of 1926 General Fang surrendered to the Nationalist Government with his two loyal divisions of Kiangsi troops. He participated in the Northern Expedition of 1926, was captured by the enemy, was rescued when Nanchang was occupied, and now is again working with the Nationalist troops.

(5) **Hu Han-min.**—One of the closest followers of Dr. Sun Yat-sen in the past. He made the acquaintance of Dr. Sun in Japan, where he, in 1905, together with Wang Ching-wei were editors of the revolutionary paper "Min Pao," an organ of the Tung Men Hui (a Chinese revolutionary organization). After the revolution in 1911, Hu Han-min acted as the Chief Secretary of Dr. Sun, the provisional President of the Republic. In 1912 Hu was appointed Governor of Kwangtung. In 1918 he had to flee to foreign countries because Yuan Shi-kai's nominee, Lung Chi-kwang, captured Canton and became Governor.

In 1918 when a Military Government with Dr. Sun as Head was established at Canton, Hu Han-min became Chief Secretary of this government.

In 1921 he was appointed by Dr. Sun Civil Governor of Kwangtung.

In 1924, when Sun Yat-sen launched the Second Northern Expedition, Hu became Acting Generalissimo at Canton.

In 1925 Hu became Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Nationalist Government. In the same year he went to the U.S.S.R. to study conditions there.

(6) **The Last Will of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.**—Dr. Sun Yat-sen died at Peking on March 12, 1925. The Last Will recorded by Wang Ching-wei and signed by Dr. Sun one day before his death in the presence of Soong Tze-vung, Shiu Yuen-chung, Wu Chi-hui, Mrs. Liao Chung-kai, Tai Chi-tao, and Chau Lo, reads as follows:—

"I have exerted myself in National Revolution for forty years with the aim of achieving China's liberty and equality. From my experience during the period I realise that in order to attain that aim it is of first and last importance to awaken the masses and then to cooperate in our struggle with those peoples who treat us as equals.

"As our Revolution has not yet been accomplished, all our comrades must act according to my works: the 'Outline of State Construction,' the 'Plan of State Construction,' and the 'Three People's Theory' as well as the Declaration of the First All-China Delegates Conference, and continue their effort with might and main so as to have our work accomplished. As regards my recent advocacies, such as, the Convocation of a National Conference and the Abolition of Unequal Treaties, they should have them realized in the shortest period possible. This is my stringent order."

Now the Last Will is read at the opening of every and any important meeting of the public, Party, professional organization, etc.,

(7) **The Supernatural Fighters.**—"Supernatural Fighters" is the name of the members of special Peasant Secret Societies. The term "supernatural fighter" shows the belief of their respective members that they are safe from any wound and cannot be harmed by firearms and other weapons. For details see Note 1, Chapter VII, ("Tai To Society").

CHAPTER V.

(1) **Peng Pai.**—Comrade Peng Pai, a returned student from Japan, is a native of Hai Feng District. He is a descendant of a rich and noble family. His father was a big landlord. In May 1921 he was appointed Director of Education of Hai Feng District. Later he was dismissed by Chen Chiung-ming owing to his participation in the peasant movement. He is a forerunner of the Peasant Movement in Kwangtung, and a good friend of the late Comrade Liao Chung-kai. The rapid development of the peasant movement in the Eastern Region of Kwangtung is chiefly due to his efforts and activities. He is now a committee member of the Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Union.

(2) **Li Fu-lin.**—Li Fu-lin, 5th Corps Commander of the National Revolutionary Army, Kwangtungese by birth (born at Pan Yu District, 1873), participated in the revolutionary movement long before the revolution of 1911, and has always maintained a connection with Dr. Sun.

Notwithstanding the frequent troubles in Kwangtung periodically forcing Dr. Sun to leave Kwangtung, Li Fu-lin has always remained loyal to Dr. Sun.

He took an active part in the suppression of the Yunnanese and Kwangsites (Yang and Liu) in 1925, as well as in the first Northern Expedition; and on the liquidation of Hsu Chun-chi, Li Fu-lin became chairman of the Mintuan (militia) Commission, and a candidate for the membership of the Central Kuomintang.

He was the Canton City Mayor in 1924 and during 1924-5 was Military Minister of the Nationalist Government.

(3) **The "Liu's Party" and the "Harmful Party".**—See the article of Tan Pin-shan in Chapter VII, page 295.

CHAPTER VI.

(1) **The Second All-China Labor Conference.**—The Second All-China Labor Conference, which assembled the leaders and warriors of the labour class of all China, was held in Canton on May 1, 1925, and lasted for ten days. It was attended by 277 delegates from every part of China, representing more than 540,000 organised workers, including 165 labour unions. Many important resolutions were adopted for the promotion of the labour movement.

(2) **The Battle of the Landlords at Kwang Ning.**—See Chapter IV, A Brief Historical Sketch of the Peasant Movement in Kwangtung.

(3) **Mo Hsung.**—A general of a brigade under Hsu Chung-chi, when the latter was Commander-in-chief of the Cantonese army. His troops were often stationed in the region of the East River and he was known as an oppressor of the peasantry there. He was disarmed after Liao Chung-kai's massacre.

CHAPTER VII.

(1) **The Tai To Society.**—See Part I of this Book, Chapter IV, A Brief Historical Sketch of the Peasant Movement in Kwangtung: 4th paragraph (The Peasant Movement and Peasant Organizations in the Past) of the first sub-chapter (General Economic and Political Condition of the Peasant Movement in Kwangtung); and then in the same chapter, the 3rd paragraph (The Origin of the Peasant Unions in Western Kwangtung) of the third sub-chapter (The Period of Origin of the Peasant Unions in Kwangtung).

(2) **Red and Black Permits.**—See Note 6, Chapter II.

(3) **The Seven Directions of the Peasant Association.**—That is a literal translation from the Chinese, and it means the Seven Regions of Kwangtung Province where seven Branch Offices of the Provincial Peasant Association are established. These regions are respectively: The East River Region, The West River Region, North River Region, the Southern Region, Hainan Island (or Chiung Ngai) Region, and the Central Region.

(4) **The Shakee Massacre.**—Because of the May 30, 1925, incident in Shanghai at which time many Chinese were shot to death by British police, the Cantonese people held a great demonstration in Canton on June 23rd., the same year, protesting against the cruelty and brutality of the British. A long procession of thousands of Chinese students, merchants, workers, suburb-peasants, and military cadets paraded along Shakee Road, in Chinese territory, opposite the British Concession of Shameen. When the paraders were abreast of Shameen they gave vent to slogans denouncing the British for their brutality in shooting the Chinese in Shanghai. As a result of such shouting, from Shameen machine-gun fire was opened which lasted more than twenty minutes, resulting in over 120 casualties including both dead and injured. The tragedy is now known to the Chinese as the Shakee Massacre.

CHAPTER VIII.

(2) **Undesirable Goods.**—A name given in Kwangtung during the Hongkong Boycott of 1925-1926 (See Note 7, Chapter I) to goods of British origin or any foreign goods transhipped from Hongkong.

(3) **The Policy of Controlling Rice.**—This policy was adopted by the Revolutionary Government of Dr. Sun Yat-sen in the Autumn of 1924, when a big speculation in rice arose. The Yunnan and Kwangsi armies which occupied Canton at that time used to buy up rice and sell it at high prices to Japan. The Government then issued an order to stop rice export from Kwangtung. At the same time in Canton City the stock of the big rice shops was controlled by the Government.

CHAPTER IX.

(1) **Tan Yen-kai.**—Tan Yen-kai was born at Chiu Lin Hsien, Hunan Province, in 1876. He was the son of the Viceroy of the two Hu' (Hunan and Hupeh) provinces. He became a Metropolitan Graduate in 1904 and was later admitted to the Hanlin Academy. In 1909 he was elected Chairman of the Provincial Assembly of Hunan. After the First Revolution of October, 1911, Tan was elected Chief of Military Affairs with headquarters at Changsha. In July, 1912, he was appointed Military Governor of Hunan. Being suspected of disloyalty to Yuan Shih-kai, Tan was deprived of his office. In August, 1916, he was appointed Civil

Governor of Hunan and concurrently Military Governor. In December, 1917, Tan was appointed by the Southern Government as Tuchun of Hunan. Tan declared a self-government in Hunan during November, 1920. After being relieved of his governorship he joined the Southern Government. In 1922 when the Chihli-Fengtien war had just broken out, the Peking Government appointed him Acting Minister of the Interior, but he did not accept the offer. In 1923 Tan together with his troops arrived at Canton where he joined the Revolutionary forces. Later he became Commander of the Second National Revolutionary Army Corps. After the establishment of the Nationalist Government in 1925, Tan became one of its Committee members. In 1926 he was elected Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. Since that year he has been Chairman of the Nationalist Government.

CHRONOLOGY OF IMPORTANT EVENTS IN KWANGTUNG PROVINCE.

(1922 - 1926)

1922

- Jan. 10. The general resignation of all Canton primary school teachers for an increase of their pay.
- " 12. Declaration of a general strike of Chinese seamen in Hongkong with demands for a wage increase and better treatment.
- " 16. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Military Headquarters in Canton organized 7 armies to be stationed in Kweilin, Kwangsi.
- " 18. Tang Chi-yao, ex-commander-in-chief of the Yunnanese Army and civil governor of Yunnan Province, who had been expelled from Yunnan by his subordinates, arrived at Canton from Hongkong *en route* to Yunnan with a view to taking back his power from the hands of his subordinates.
- " 19. About 5,000 Hongkong seamen strikers arrived at Canton and were welcomed by all circles of people in Canton.
- " 26. Dr. Wu Ting-fang, in the name of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Southern Government, asked the government of the U.S.A. to recognise the Southern Government.
- Feb. 6. The workers organised a Russian Disaster Relief Society.
- " " The traffic workers of the Canton-Hankow Railway struck. The Kwangtung Government promulgated twenty-one provisional regulations for the workers' guilds.
- " 7. The Hongkong Seamen's strike not yet settled. Many labour unions in Hongkong also on a sympathy strike with the seamen strikers. Hongkong Government took radical action to seal up the Seamen's Labor Union.
- " 23. Dr. Sun Yat-sen ordered the Yunnan, Kweichow, and Kwangsi troops to stop Tang Chi-yao's return to Yunnan by force.
- " 24. The Canton Government issued a proclamation to the effect that girl slavery will not be allowed to exist in the province, at the same time special schools were established for the poor girls.
- " 24. The law students organized the "Kwan Sing Society" to study social problems and socialism; and published a Kwan Sing Magazine. This society was afterwards dissolved due to the establishment of a new students society by a part of the members of this society.

- Feb. 27. Dr. Sun Yat-sen held a big send-off for his Northern Expeditionary Troops at the Military Headquarters in Kweilin (Kwangsi).
- Mar. 5. Hongkong Seamen's strike was settled through the mediation of Chen Chiung-ming and the British Consul in Canton under the following conditions:
- (1) that the seamen's wages on Chinese river boats be increased by 30%,
 - (2) that seamen's wages on the Hongkong-Canton Chinese ships be increased by 30%,
 - (3) the seamen's wages on foreign ships running between Hongkong-Canton-Macao be increased by 20%,
 - (4) that workers on Jardine ocean ships receive an increase of 20%,
 - (5) that workers on Jardine Pacific Line receive an increase of 15%,
 - (6) that the unemployed seamen receive half pay according to the increased rate from January 1st for a period of five and a half months.
- " 16. The various organizations in Hunan wired to Canton to stop the coming of the Northern Expeditionary Troops to Hunan.
- " 22. Various students voluntarily organized the anti-Christian League, electing Sam How-pei, Lam Chang-hui, Yuen Show-sen as leaders and published an anti-Christian weekly magazine.
- " 26. The workers of the Chaochow-Swatow Railway struck. The workers in Canton participated in the election of a Provincial Council, and started a General Election Movement.
- Apr. 4. The students and instructors of different schools organized an anti-Religious Joint League. Professors See Yee and Tan Ping-shan, students Kuo Show-hwa, Ho Show-ying, Yuen Show-sen were the promoters. The inauguration was held at the library of the Provincial Association with Tan Ping-shan as Chairman, where a wide movement and the publishing of anti-religious special issues were decided upon.
- " 15. All the Labor unions and Women's organizations in Canton held a big demonstration demanding that the government grant universal suffrage.
- " 21. The Southern Government officially dismissed Chen Chiung-ming as Commander-in-chief of the Cantonese Army and as civil governor of Kwangtung Province. Chen immediately led his troops from Canton to Weichow.
- " " Dr. Wu Ting-fang was appointed civil governor of Kwangtung. The post of Commander-in-chief of the Cantonese Army was abolished by a mandate of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.
- " 22. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, accompanied by Mr. Hu Han-min and General Hsu Chung-chi, arrived at Canton from Kweilin (Kwangsi).
- " 27. The Northern Fleet stationed in Canton waters were disarmed by Chen Chak and Wen Shu-tek under the order of Dr. Sun, and several naval officers were arrested.

- Apr. 29. Li Ping-yung, 1st. Brigadier-General of Chen Chiung-ming's army, declared that all remittances of revenues from Weichow District to the Canton Government should be stopped.
- May 1. The Canton Government forbade the people to under-value the governmental banknotes.
- " " The 1st. All-China Labour Conference was held in Kwangtung.
- " " The salt workers struck. The guild was dissolved by Wu Ting-fang. This was the first guild dissolved by the government under the control of the Kuomintang. The delegates of the Hongkong General Labour Union came to Canton and requested the Kuomintang Government the reason for dissolving the Salt Workers' Guild, and proclaimed that the workers have the right to organize a guild and to strike.
- " " All workers in Macao struck to protest the slaughter of more than hundred Chinese by the Portuguese over there.
- " 4. The students of different schools gave lectures on the roads for the commemoration of the "May 4 movement."
- " 13. The Canton Government gave an order to attack Kiangsi Province. Troops under general Li Lieh-chun were dispatched as vanguards.
- " 17. Troops under general Hsu Chung-chi and Leung Hung-kai moved to attack Kiangsi. The Northern Expedition was thus started.
- " 20. Cantonese troops under Chen Chiung-ming came back to Canton from Kwangsi, and launched two demands upon the Canton Government, viz: (1) that Chen Chiung-ming be reappointed as Commander-in-chief of the Cantonese Army, (2) that Hu Han-min be dismissed.
- " 22. Ma Chuen-wu tendered his resignation as civil governor of Kwangsi Province.
- " 28. The Canton Government appointed Chen Chiung-ming, chief director of Liang Kwang (i.e., Kwangtung and Kwangsi) Military Affairs.
- " 29. The Northern Expeditionary troops gaining victories in Kwangsi Province.
- " " Beginning of the Peasant Movement in the new form of Peasant Unions in Kwangtung (Hai Feng District, Chi Shan Villages).
- " " More than ten Chinese killed in Macao by Portuguese police and African soldiers.
- June 1. The Macao Government proclaimed that all the labour unions concerned with the recent strike in Macao be disorganised without exception, and that all the shops should resume business, otherwise the government would not be responsible for their protection.
- " 3. Members of the Emergency Parliament in Canton sent out a telegram advocating the continuation of the Parliament Session of 1919, denying Wang Ka-hsiang, chairman of the Parliament, the right of resuming the Parliament Session of 1917 in Tientsin.

- June 3. Dr. Sun Yat-sen appointed Hsia Yuan-han, civil governor of Kiangsi Province and Hsu Yan-ho, Director of the Department of civil affairs of the same Province.
- „ 4. The Canton Government issued three demands to the Portuguese Consul, viz: (1) that all the African troops be withdrawn from Macao, (2) that the loss of murdered Chinese be compensated and (3) that opium smoking and gambling in Macao be prohibited forever.
- „ 6. Dr. Sun Yat-sen issued a proclamation demanding two things for the people: (1) the punishment of the "law violating ringleaders" of 1917, (2) the carrying out of the working soldiers system. (The "law violating ringleaders" of 1917 were Tuan Chi-jui, Tsao Kun, Chang Tso-lin and other Tuchuns in the North who forced President Li Yuen-hung to dissolve the Parliament).
- „ 10. The Canton Government presented five demands to the Macao Government in connection with the recent shooting incident in Macao. The demands being (1) that due apology should be made to the Canton Government by the Portuguese Government, (2) that officers and soldiers and police responsible for the incident should be punished, (3) that compensation should be given by the Portuguese Government to the families of those persons killed, and payment of medical expenses to those wounded, (4) that African soldiers should be repatriated, and (5) that gambling at Macao should be prohibited.
- „ 16. Rebellion of Chen Chiung-ming.—At 2 a.m. Chen Chiung-ming's troops under the leadership of Ip Chu besieged the President's Residence (Dr. Sun's), bombarding and shooting at it and at the same time attacking and disarming Dr. Sun's troops in various quarters of Canton. The arsenal and forts in Bocca Tigris were taken by the rebels. Dr. Sun, warned by his attendants, went on board the gunboat "Wing Fung" before the incident.
- „ 17. A fleet of gunboats led by Dr. Sun bombarded the rebels in Canton city.
- „ 20. All the commercial circles and Philanthropic Associations in Canton held a meeting advocating the unification of the country and requesting Dr. Sun to retire.
- June 21. An agreement of peace between the navy and the army in Canton was signed, viz: (1) that the navy request Dr. Sun to retire, (2) that the navy obey Chen Chiung-ming, (3) that the navy belong to the nation, (4) that the navy and sailors on land be paid monthly, (5) that there be no change of position among the naval officers, (6) that after the unification of the country, the navy have the right to speak on national affairs.
- „ 23. Dr. Wu Ting-fang passed away at the Kung Yee Hospital, Canton.

- June 28. Ngai Pang-ping was elected by the Cantonese merchants as civil governor of Kwangtung, but resigned.
- July 1. The Provincial Assembly and other organizations in Canton sent out a circular telegram advocating unification of the country and to Dr. Sun Yat-sen expressing their appreciation of Dr. Sun's meritorious services in protecting the law; but adding that, since the old parliament was reinstated, the time had come to dissolve the transitional government and abolish the provisional presidency. (The Provincial Assembly consisted of landlords, gentry, and corrupt officials who conspired with Rebel Chen Chiung-ming against Dr. Sun Yat-sen).
- July 4. Admirals Tong Ting-kwong and Wen Shu-teh and all the naval officers of Kwangtung sent out a proclamation supporting the unification of the country and requesting Dr. Sun to retire.
- " 9. A severe fight took place at Whampoa between Dr. Sun's troops and Chen Chiung-ming's rebels. During the fighting the warships in Whampoa waters remained neutral and all the forts in Whampoa were thus taken by the rebels.
- " 10. Dr. Sun and Admiral Chan Chak led all the gunboats from Whampoa to Canton stationing them in Canton Harbour.
- " 11. Admiral Tong Ting-kwong and General Ngai Pang-ping held a conference on Dutch Folly to mediate the fighting between Dr. Sun and Chen Chiung-ming.
- " 12. Dr. Sun's Northern Expeditionary troops were ordered back to Canton from Kiangsi.
- " 15. Severe fighting took place in Shao Kwan between the returned Northern Expeditionary Troops and Chen Chiung-ming's troops.
- July 22. Dr. Sun sent out three gunboats under Li On-pong to launch an attack upon Rebel Chen's troops in Hongshan (Chung Shan District.)
- " 26. The fighting between the returned Northern Expeditionary Troops and Chen's rebels still waged in Shao Kwan.
- " 29. Dr. Sun Yat-sen living on the gunboat "Wing Fung" awaiting the return of his Northern Expeditionary Troops to Canton.
- Aug. 2. Swatow suffered an inestimable damage from a typhoon. The sea waves rose to a height of ten feet. Over ten thousand casualties were suffered.
- " 6. The returned Expeditionary Troops were defeated at Shao Kwan by Chen's rebels.
- " 9. Hearing of the failure of his returned Northern Expeditionary Troops in battle, Dr. Sun left Canton for Hongkong on board a British gunboat.
- " 11. The dispute between Canton and Macao Governments still unsettled.

- Aug. 13. Wong Min-tong, a general under Dr. Sun, declared his independence in Kaochow from Rebel Chen Chiung-ming.
- „ 14. Dr. Sun Yat-sen arrived at Shanghai from Hongkong on board the R.M.S. Empress of Russia.
- „ 15. Dr. Sun issued an internal declaration expressing his views regarding the unification of the country. Chen Chiung-ming came back to Canton from Weichow to attend a military council of his subordinates.
- „ 17. Dr. Sun in Shanghai issued an external declaration of the views already expressed in his internal declaration.
- „ 28. Chen Chik-yu, a capitalist of Hongkong, was appointed civil governor of Kwangtung by the Provincial Assembly.
- Sept. 1. Inauguration of the First Peasant Union in Kwangtung (Chi Shan Section—36 villages—Hai Feng District).
- „ 5. Hau King-yu, a Shanghai woman revolutionist, came to Canton to promote the Women's Rights Movement League. A league was inaugurated at the Higher Normal School with many students of the Higher Normal School and the Girls Normal School as members.
- „ 8. Wong Min-tong, a general under Dr. Sun, was defeated in Kaochow by Chen's rebels.
- „ 16. Rebel Chen Chiung-ming resumed his office as Commander-in-chief of the Cantonese troops, at the same time issuing a telegram stating that Kwangtung was anxious to live on good terms with its neighbours, and to devote its efforts to the improvement of internal administration. He further added that he thoroughly approved of Peking drafting the constitution and he was prepared to be conciliatory even if some of the terms did not appeal to his judgment.
- Sept. 18. Chen Chiung-ming appointed Ip Chu, chief of staff of his troops.
- „ 21. Canton primary and middle school teachers held a strike because their salaries had not been paid.
- „ 23. Kaochow was captured by Wong Keong, a general under Rebel Chen Chiung-ming.
- „ „ Chen Chiung-ming received a loan of \$2,000,000.00 from Chinese, French and English bankers to be used for municipal purposes.
- „ 29. Hsu Chung-chi, Wong Tai-wai, and Li Fu-lin, leaders of the Northern Expeditionary Troops to Fukien after their defeat in Shaokwan by Rebel Chen, were now gaining decisive victories over the Fukienese.
- Oct. 5. Chen Chiung-ming, owing to the success gained by the Northern Expeditionary Troops in Fukien, despatched Hung Shiu-jin to launch a rear attack upon them.
- „ 12. Foochow, capital of Fukien Province, fell into the hands of the Northern Expeditionary Troops under general Hsu Chung-chi.

- Oct. 20. Chen Chiung-ming's government received another loan of £2,000,000. from British bankers for a sum at $8\frac{1}{2}\%$ with interest at 7%, repayable in ten years, with the tobacco and wine tax of Kwangtung as security. This loan of which one-fourth would be available within thirty days, another fourth after sixty days, and the balance within six months, was for purpose of currency reform, viz: providing a reserve for the existing depreciated government notes, strengthening the condition of the provincial bank and improving the equipment of the mint, thus enabling the government to operate the mint itself.
- " 22. A big demonstration and a people's conference was held in Canton protesting against the making of loans by the government. The Provincial Assembly announced that no foreign loan would be recognised without the Assembly's approval and also declared in favor of the public consideration of provincial finance. But, it was stated, that the Assembly would likely approve the £2,000,000 British loan for the purpose of currency reform on security of the tobacco and wine taxes. Mr. G. L. Brander, who had been negotiating the loan for Chen's government, had left Hongkong for London to prepare for the issue of the bonds on behalf of Canton.
- " " The progressive members of the Technical Institute, the Higher Normal School, the First Middle School and others organized a "New Student Society," and had its inauguration at the Assembly Hall of the Higher Normal School. Decisions were passed to participate in the students' movement and the peasant and labour movements and establish branches in various places.
- " 23. A Draft Contract for a municipal loan was signed by Chen's government.
- " 30. The Kwangtung General Labour Union was monopolized by the corrupt staffs, and the Lefts reorganized it.
- " The Oi Kwan News Agency was inaugurated by the socialists. It was a central organ of the Workers' movements.
- " The workers demonstrated to protest against militarist Chen Chiung-ming negotiating loans from the imperialistic Great Britain.
- Nov. 15. The Female Sock Knitting Workers Union was inaugurated with 4,000 members, under the management of Tang Wen-kung, a right-wing partisan. By the 10th of August, the 15th year, the Underwear and Sock Knitting Labour Union decided to make an attack upon this Sock Knitting Labour Union to dissolve it and to make its members join the Underwear and Sock Knitting Union. No struggles have been entered into by this Union. The chief work it has performed has been the recruiting of members and the convocation of a social and a fraternity gathering.

- „ 18. Ngai Pang-ping resigned his post as the 3rd division leader of the Cantonese Army.
- Dec. 5. Chen Chiung-ming issued a note forbidding his subordinates to revive opium-smoking and gambling which had already been prohibited.
- „ 14. A part of the students of the Higher Normal School, the Technical Institute, the Municipal Normal School and others organized a Democratic Society with about 200 members. It participated in different municipal movements. Later on it was reorganized internally but was dissolved with the organization of the "New Student Society" in 1925.
- „ „ Chen Chiung-ming's troops under general Chen Wing-sen stationed in Hongshan (Chung Shan District) rebelled.
- „ 27. With a view to balancing the face value of bank-notes, the Department of Finance asked the General Chamber of Commerce to sell the "three kinds" of public property on behalf of the government, the cash obtained from the sale to be used to buy back the depreciated notes so they might be cancelled. (The three kinds of public property are lands, street temples, and buildings).

1923.

- Jan. 1. Inauguration of the First District Peasant Union in Kwangtung (Hai Feng District).
- „ 3. Chen Chiung-ming's troops launched a counter-attack upon the joint forces of Yunnanese and Kwangsi troops which were ordered by Dr. Sun to attack rebel Chen from Wuchow, Kwangsi. Chen's troops were defeated.
- „ 9. The joint forces of Yunnanese and Kwangsi troops captured Chao Ching; Chen Chiung-ming's troops retreated to Sanshuihsien.
- „ 10. Sanshuihsien was captured by the joint forces of Yunnanese and Kwangsi troops.
- „ 13. The victorious joint forces of the Yunnanese and Kwangsi troops marched toward Canton, while Chen Chiung-ming's troops scattered.
- „ 15. Being defeated by Dr. Sun's army (the joint forces of Yunnanese and Kwangsi troops), Chen Chiung-ming issued a telegram declaring his retirement, and led the remnants of his troops back to Weichow.
- „ 15. Hung Shiu-lin, a general under Chen Chiung-ming, declared independence in Swatow and welcomed Dr. Sun Yat-sen and General Hsu Chung-chi back to Canton.
- „ 16. The joint forces of Yunnanese and Kwangsi troops captured Canton.
- „ 19. The various armies in Canton organized a "Navy, Army, and Police Cooperative Bureau of Safety" and nominated General Ngai Pang-ping as Chairman of the said Bureau.

APPENDIX : CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

- Jan. 20. Dr. Sun Yat-sen appointed General Hsu Chung-chi, Commander-in-chief of the Cantonese Army, and Mr. Hu Han-min, Civil Governor of Kwangtung.
- „ 24. The Kwangtung Federation of Peasant Unions was inaugurated.
- „ „ The Fatshan Federation of Peasant Unions was inaugurated.
- „ ✓ „ The Hongshan (now Chung Shan) Federation of Peasant Unions was inaugurated.
- „ „ The Chan Chuen Federation of Peasant Unions was inaugurated.
- „ 26. Dr. Sun Yat-sen in Shanghai issued a declaration of the peaceful unification of the country.
- „ „ The Cantonese, Yunnanese and Kwangsi troops in Canton held a meeting in the River-Defence Military Quarters. A dispute arose among the attendants of the various troops, and through a misunderstanding, General Ngai Pang-ping was kept by the Yunnanese and Kwangsi troops (the latter troops were under the leadership of Shen Hung-ying).
- „ „ Owing to the dispute arising among the various troops in Canton, Dr. Sun Yat-sen postponed his coming to Canton from Shanghai.
- „ 28. The troops under General Ngai Pang-ping stationed in Honan were disarmed by the Yunnanese and Kwangsi troops (the latter troops were controlled by Shen Hung-ying). All the Cantonese troops were thus removed from Canton.
- Feb. 2. Cantonese troops under General Hsu Chung-chi arrived at Canton from Fukien.
- „ 4. Kwangsi troops under Shen Hung-ying were removed to the West River Districts.
- „ 6. Shen Hung-ying sent out a telegram stating that he had withdrawn his troops from Canton to be stationed in the outskirts of Canton. He would also welcome the return of Dr. Sun Yat-sen to Canton.
- „ 10. Fighting took place between the 4th Division Cantonese troops and Shen Hung-ying's troops in Chao Ching.
- „ 15. Dr. Sun Yat-sen left Shanghai for Canton.
- „ 16. A conflict took place between Hung Shiu-lin and Hsu Chung-chi's troops in Tapuhsien. The former retreated toward Chaochow.
- „ 21. Dr. Sun Yat-sen arrived at Canton from Shanghai resuming the generalissimo'ship.
- „ 22. Mr. Hsui Shiu-ching was appointed by Dr. Sun as successor to Hu Han-min as Civil Governor of Kwangtung Province.
- „ 23. Dr. Sun apportioned districts in which the various troops in Canton were to be stationed.
- „ 24. Hsia Min-pin was ordered to launch an attack upon Shen Yung-kwong's troops in Laocheong but was defeated.

- Feb. 24. Dr. Sun Yat-sen issued a circular telegram revealing his aims in coming back to Canton. At the same time he appointed Shen Hung-ying and Yang Hsi-min Commanders-in-chief respectively of the Kwangsi and Yunnanese troops.
- „ 26. General Hsu Chung-chi wired to the Swatow General Chamber of Commerce for funds raised and at the same time his returned troops were attacked by Hung Shin-lin's in Swatow.
- „ 28. Dr. Sun Yat-sen appointed Messrs. Hu Han-min, Wang Ching-wei, Hsin Hung-yi and Hsu Chien as his representatives to perform the work of unifying China by peaceful means in Shanghai.
- Mar. 18. Troops under Chen Tek-ching (Chen Chiung-ming's subordinate) were disarmed by general Chen Chat in Kwongmoon.
- „ 19. General Li Lieh-chun was appointed Boundary Defence Tupan of Fukien and Kwangsi Provinces. His troops stationed in Swatow were ordered to remove to Southern Fukien, and the troops under General Hsu Chung-chi were to be stationed in Swatow to take their place.
- „ 20. Peking Government appointed Shen Hung-ying and Yang Hsi-min, Commissioner and Vice-Commissioner respectively of Military Affairs of Kwangtung Province, and Lin Hu as Defence General of Chaochow and Swatow.
- „ 25. Shen Hung-ying and Yang Hsi-min issued a telegram refusing to accept the appointment from the Peking Government.
- „ 28. Obeying Dr. Sun's order, Shen Hung-ying removed his troops to the West River Districts, and established his military headquarters in Chaoching.
- Apr. 1. Troops under Shen Hung-ying left Canton for the West River Districts.
- „ 7. General Li Lieh-chun leading his newly-recruited troops left Swatow for Fukien. Troops under General Hsu Chung-chi entered Swatow to take their place.
- „ 10. Shen Hung-ying centralised his troops in Sunkai, a railway station, south of Pakonghow and devised plots against Dr. Sun.
- „ „ The Labour Weekly was first published. It was organized by the socialists, and was a propaganda organ of the workers' movement.
- „ „ The workers of the Arsenal struck to protest that the factory was being encroached upon by Shen Hung-ying, a militarist of the Kwangsi Party, who conspired with the Northern Militarists to disturb Kwangtung.
- „ 16. Shen Hung-ying, Commander-in-chief of Kwangsi troops (appointed by Dr. Sun), resumed his post as Commissioner of Military Affairs of Kwangtung Province having been appointed by the Peking Bogus Government. He sent out a circular telegram asking Dr. Sun Yat-sen to

- leave Canton, and at the same time he directed his force toward Canton attacking Dr. Sun's troops under Yang Hsi-min and Liu Cheng-huan.
- Apr. 19. Troops under Rebel Shen Hung-ying were defeated by Dr. Sun's Yunnanese and Kwangsiese troops under Generals Yang Hsi-min and Liu Cheng-huan, and retreated toward Shaokwan.
- " 20. Peking Bogus Government appointed a lot of generals in Kwangtung with a view to frustrating Dr. Sun's Government in Canton.
- " 21. Severe fighting was waged along the Yue-Han (Canton-Hankow Railway) between Dr. Sun's troops and Rebel Shen Hung-ying's troops. The latter being defeated, retreated toward Shaokwan.
- " 22. The fighting zone was extended to the West River Regions. A fight took place in Chao Ching between Generals Chen Tien-tai (Dr. Sun's general) and Chang Se-sit under Rebel Shen Hung-ying.
- " 23. Chao Ching was taken by Rebel Shen Hung-ying.
- " 25. Severe fighting still continued in the north and west of the province between the troops of Dr. Sun and Rebel Shen Hung-ying. No decisive victory as yet.
- " 27. The Canton Students Joint Union was resurrected. After the May movement it was divided into the Political Party and the Higher Normal School Party. The Students' Joint Union suspended for one year. Later on, about 34 schools each sent two delegates to reorganize the Student Joint Union, dividing it into a criticising department and a miscellaneous department.
- " 29. Shen Hung-ying was defeated at several places near Shaokwan.
- " 30. Wu Pei-fu sent Kiangsi troops to help Shen Hung-ying.
- " " Yuantang, an important railway station north of Sunkui, was taken by Dr. Sun's troops.
- May 2 Shen Hung-ying was defeated. Pakanghaw, a railway station near Shaokwan, was taken by Dr. Sun's forces.
- " 4. The students in Canton, such as the members of the "New Students' Society, the "Democratic Society" and students of other schools gave lectures on the streets for the commemoration of the "May 4" movement.
- " 7. Dr. Sun Yat-sen appointed Messrs. Ip Kung-chao and Ching Hung-yuen respectively as Minister and Vice-minister of Finance; Mr. Liao Chung-kui as Civil Governor of Kwangtung; and Mr. Hsu Shiu-ching as Minister of Internal Affairs.
- " 7. Ying Teh Hsien was captured by Dr. Sun's troops,
- " 9. Ip Chu in the name of Chief Director of Cantonese Troops (under Rebel Chen Chiung-ming) issued a circular telegram blaming Dr. Sun Yat-sen. A war between the troops under Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Chen Chiung-ming in the East River Districts was imminent.

- May 9. Shaokwan was captured by Dr. Sun's forces. Rebel Shen Hung-ying was completely defeated.
- „ 11. Chao Ching was besieged by Dr. Sun's forces, while Li Yao-han, a subordinate under Rebel Shen Hung-ying, directed his bandit-like troops to attack Kiangmoon from Yang Kiang Hsien.
- „ 16. The Peking Bogus Government appointed Li Kang-wen and Kwan Ching-pao to be respectively the 3rd and 4th Mixed Brigadier Generals of Cantonese troops.
- „ 18. After a long siege of a month Chao Ching was at last captured by Dr. Sun's troops.
- „ 19. Severe fighting took place along the East River Districts between Dr. Sun's forces and those of Rebel Chen Chiung-ming.
- „ 23. The ammunition store of the Military Headquarters of Dr. Sun's troops exploded and many arms were destroyed.
- „ 25. Swatow was captured by Rebel Chen Chiung-ming's troops and Dr. Sun's troops under General Hsu Chung-chi retreated to Chieh Yang Hsien.
- „ 30. Weichow was besieged by Dr. Sun's forces, while at the same time the troops under Rebel Chen Chiung-ming launched a sidewise attack capturing Po Lo. Canton was threatened.
- „ 31. Owing to evil plots against Dr. Sun, Wen Shu-tek, Commander-in-chief of the fleet stationed in Whampoa and a certain number of captains of the fleet were dismissed by Dr. Sun, who himself commanded the whole fleet.
- „ „ A Delegates' Conference of all peasant organizations in the Eastern Districts of the province was held in Hai Feng City for the purpose of forming the "Amalgamated Association of the Peasant Union." This was the first attempt to unify the Peasant organizations of the different districts.
- June 3. Rebel Shen Hung-ying's troops launched a counter-attack upon Chao Ching from Wuchow, Kwangsi.
- „ 4. Reinforced by Kiangsi troops sent by Wu Pei-fu, Rebel Shen Hung-ying launched a general counter-attack upon the combined forces of Dr. Sun. Shaokwan was again captured by the rebels.
- „ 8. Ying Teh Hsien was captured by Rebel Shen Hung-ying and the Kiangsi troops.
- „ „ The Hsin Hui Federation of Peasant Unions was inaugurated.
- „ 14. The New Student Society had a mass meeting attended by the members of different branches at the Eastern Hall of the Higher Normal School to decide questions of their own and participation in peasant and labor movements.
- „ 18. After the fall of Ying Teh Hsien into the hands of Rebel Shen Hung-ying and Kiangsi troops, these troops marched along the Yue-Han Line threatening Canton.

- June 21. Rebel Chen Chiung-ming left Hongkong for Swatow directing his troops against Dr. Sun Yat-sen.
- „ 28. Ying Teh Hsien was re-captured by Dr. Sun's troops and the enemy forces were pushed northward.
- „ 29. Dr. Sun Yat-sen issued an external declaration attacking the actions of the Northern militarists.
- July 8. Remnants of Chen Chiung-ming's troops under Hsia Min-pin in Lo Chang Hsien retreated to Hunan and were re-enlisted as Hunanese troops.
- „ 9. Students of the French Catholic schools such as the Sacred Heart College had a student strike because the French fathers did not allow the students to commemorate the "May 4" movement. As a result, the Far Eastern school was organized.
- „ 10. Being defeated, the troops under Rebel Shen Hung-ying together with Kiangsi troops retreated to Kiangsi from Shaokwan and Nanhsiunghsien.
- „ 11. Lin Hu, Hung Shiu-lin, and Wang Tai-wai, generals under Chen Chiung-ming, wired to Chang Chi-pin, Commander of Fukienese troops stationed in Chaochow and Swatow, demanding him to leave these places within 24 hours.
- „ „ Sir Robet Hotung of Hongkong sent out a proposal for the Powers to the effect that a conference be convoked among the Tuchuns for the limitation of troops.
- „ 16. Internal dissensions took place among the generals of Yunnanese troops in Canton, the result of which being that Yang Yu-sen and Yang Chi-shiu, division generals, were dismissed by Yang Hsi-min, Commander-in-chief of the Yunnanese troops in Canton.
- „ 17. Owing to its refusal to pay funds due to the Government, Dr. Sun declared the confiscation of Sunning Railway by the Government, while a trustee of that line, Chen Ting-chung, issued a circular telegram criticising Dr. Sun's action.
- „ 18. Wuchow was captured by Dr. Sun's troops, while Wong Siu-lung, division general of Kwangsi troops in Wuchow, surrendered.
- „ 21. Yuan Tai and Chen Wing-on bandit leaders in Hongshan (Chung Shan), created a disturbance in Hongshan, with a view to rendering help to Chen Chiung-ming.
- „ 23. Chen Chiung-ming's troops under Lin Hu, Hung Siu-lin and Wong Tai-wai attacked the Fukienese troops under Chang Chi-pin in Swatow and Chaochow, driving the latter to Fukien and capturing Chaochow.
- „ 26. Dr. Sun Yat-sen sent General Tan Yen-kai back to Hunan to overthrow Chiu Hang-ti.

- Aug. 1. General Fan Chung-hsiu and his Honanese troops despatched by Wu Pei-fu while *en route* to Kiangsi to attack Kwangtung, surrendered to Dr. Sun. Fan was appointed by Dr. Sun as Commander-in-chief of the Honanese troops.
- „ 6. Nan Hsiung Hsien was captured by Rebel Shen Hung-ying and his Kiangsi troops, thus Shaokwan was threatened.
- „ 7. General Tan Yen-kai resumed his office in Hengchow (Hunan Province) as Civil Governor of Hunan Province and also Commander-in-chief of Hunanese troops.
- „ 17. Troops under Dr. Sun launched a counter-attack upon Rebel Shen Hung-ying and Kiangsi troops and re-captured Nan Hsiung Hsien.
- „ 26. Rebel Chen Chiung-ming withdrew his troops which had entered Fukien back to Weichow to reinforce his war-tired troops in the East River Districts.
- „ 27. Po Lo Hsien and Sheklung fell into the hands of Rebel Chen Chiung-ming's troops.
- Sept. 9. Rebel Chen Chiung-ming's troops was pushed back toward Weichow.
- „ 11. Pingshan, a strategic point in the East River Districts leading to Hai Feng and Lu Feng districts, was captured by Dr. Sun's troops.
- „ 13. Wong Chi-yoon, a subordinate under Chen Chiung-ming, created disturbances in Kaochow.
- „ 18. Being defeated, troops under Shen Hung-ying at last submitted to Dr. Sun.
- „ 19. All the restaurants in Canton launched a general strike in opposition to the "Dinner Tax" imposed upon them by the government, while other commercial lines in the city also turned out to oppose this tax.
- Oct. 2. Troops under General Hsu Chung-chi captured Hoynanhsien in the East River Districts.
- „ 3. The All China Students' Joint Union held its meeting in the Assembly Hall of the Higher Normal School. Dr. Sun Yat-sen attended the meeting and gave instructions. Decisions to support Dr. Sun Yat-sen's principles and decisions regarding the students themselves were passed.
- „ 4. The opening ceremony of the Kwangtung Mechanics Labor Union was held in Honan attended by thousands of guests. Civil Governor Liao Chung-kai, Messrs. C. C. Wu, Lin Sen and other governmental officials took part in the ceremony.
- „ 9. Dr. Sun Yat-sen sent out a circular telegram denouncing Tsao Kun and declared that those members of parliament who had elected Tsao Kun as president should be arrested and at the same time Chang Tso-lin, Tuan Chi-jui and Lao Wing-beiong were requested to take the same action.

APPENDIX : CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

- Oct. 11. Dr. Sun Yat-sen decided to launch a Northern Expedition to punish Tsao Kun.
- „ 18. Severe fighting still waged in the East River Districts.
- „ 21. Dr. Sun Yat-sen personally went to the front to direct his forces in war.
- „ 28. Sheklung was captured by Rebel Chen Chiung-ming. Canton was threatened.
- „ 30. The Northern fleet stationed at Whampoa left Canton waters under cover of darkness for Swatow to join the Northern fleet there.
- Nov. 3. Very severe fighting took place near Sheklung between the troops under Dr. Sun and Rebel Chen Chiung-ming.
- „ 4. Rebel Chen Chiung-ming's troops captured Po Lo. The fighting line now along the Canton-Kowloon Railway.
- „ 6. Fighting took place in Nan Hsiung Hsien between Kiangsi troops under general Fang Pen-jen and Honanese troops under general Fang Chung-hsia (surrendered to Dr. Sun). Chen Chiung-ming's troops in Po Lo Hsien were defeated.
- „ „ Martial Law declared in Canton.
- „ 12. Sheklung fell into the hands of Chen Chiung-ming. All troops under Dr. Sun at the front retreated to Canton.
- „ 17. Lo Ting Hsien captured by Rebel Chen's troops; Chao Ching threatened.
- „ 18. Rebel Chen's troops attacked Canton from four directions. Desperate fighting took place on the outskirts of Canton. Chen's troops were at last defeated, retreating to Sheklung.
- „ 21. Sheklung was retaken by Dr. Sun's forces.
- „ „ Yang Kiang Hsien fell into the hands of Rebel Chen's troops.
- „ 23. The Kwangtung Law School, the Higher Normal School, and the Farming Institute were combined to form the Kwangtung University. The students Association of Kwangtung University was inaugurated at this time.
- „ (?) Beginning of the Peasant Movement in Shun Teh District (Wang Loh Village) and in Hua Hsien District.
- Dec. 1. Dr. Sun Yat-sen ordered C. C. Wu, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Southern Government, to deliver a note to the Diplomatic Body demanding the deliverance of Customs Revenue to the Southern Government, and in case such demands were not fulfilled, Canton would be declared a free port.
- Measures were taken by the Diplomatic Body regarding the same (1) to give a warning to the Southern Government, (2) that the fleet be mobilised, if necessary.
- „ 2. Chen Chiung-ming was defeated at several places.
- „ 5. The Imperialist Powers sent a fleet to Canton to prevent by force the Southern Government from taking the Customs Revenue.

- Dec. 11. The workers of Canton demonstrated to protest the mobilization of foreign battle-ships in Canton Harbour, and demanded the rendition of Customs Control.
- „ 16. A big mass meeting was held in Canton in protest against the Imperialist Powers' "Gunboat Policy" in blockading Canton harbour and occupying the Custom House.
- „ 16. After the reorganization of the Kuomintang, the number of student members was greatly increased. The First Branch Sectional Kuomintang was established by the Law School. The First and the Third Branch Sectional Kuomintang were organized successively by the Higher Normal School and others.
- „ 17. Wen Shu-tek led the Northern Fleet, which was formerly stationed in Whampoa, from Swatow to the North having surrendered to Wu Pei-fu.
- „ 21. Dr. Sun Yat-sen gave a note to the Customs Commissioner demanding him to hand over the Customs Revenue to the Southern Government within two weeks; otherwise he would be dismissed.
- „ 30. Fighting in the East River Regions. General Li Fu-lin, representative of Dr. Sun, and Mr. Ching Cheung, representative of Chen Chiung-ming met in Hongkong to effect a reconciliation between Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Chen Chiung-ming.

1924.

- Jan. 4. The important members of the Kuomintang held a Conference in Canton to discuss the organization of a Reconstructive Government by electing Dr. Sun Yat-sen as President and launching a Northern Expedition.
- „ 5. Owing to his communications with enemies, Wong Pin-chun, the 4th division General of Yunnanese troops, was dismissed by Dr. Sun. Troops under Wong came back to Canton from the front demanding Dr. Sun to rescind this order of dismissal.
- „ 11. Dissatisfied with the reply to their demands, the troops under Wong Pin-chun attacked the Military Headquarters of the 3rd Yunnanese Army.
- „ 17. Chen Chak, leader of the Cantonese river fleet, was dismissed by Dr. Sun who simultaneously appointed Fung Shiu-min to take Chen's place.
- „ 20. The Kuomintang was reorganized and a 1st. All China Kuomintang Delegates Conference was held in Canton. A resolution was adopted to organise a Nationalist Government.
- „ „ The fundamental policy adopted by the Conference was: (1) to overthrow Imperialism in order to effect the emancipation of China and other oppressed peoples of the world, (2) to exterminate militarism, (3) to rally the forces of the people and cooperate with the international revolutionary forces to work out the National Revolution.

- Jan. 21. The various public schools of Kwangtung held a meeting to commemorate the death of Lenin. Students of different schools paid homage to the late Lenin at the Public Park.
- „ 27. A part of the Yunnanese Troops under Wong Ping-chun surrendered to Chen Chiung-ming.
- „ 28. Dr. Sun Yat-sen cabled fraternal greetings to the British Premier, Ramsay Macdonald, hailing the Labour Party's accession to power as marking a new era not only in English history but in the secular affairs of the nations. Dr. Sun looked to Mr. Macdonald to act in his dealings with China, not as if she were still a conquered nation as in the days of the Opium War and the Boxer Outbreak, but as a home of a people whose civilisation work in Asia entitles them to at least the same treatment as that now accorded to the nations whose sovereignty has been freed from the fetters of power.
- Feb. 3. Dr. Sun instructed the Canton city philanthropic associations that, to meet military and administrative expenses at the end of Chinese New Year, the property of these associations would be taken over by the Government as security for the issue of \$500,000 military loan bonds.
- „ 7. Yang Shi-kan was appointed Civil Governor of Kwangtung Province.
- „ „ Yunnanese and Hunanese troops forced the circulation of military loan bonds on the Canton merchants, the result being that several merchants were shot by the soldiers. The Merchant Volunteers mobilized to interfere with the soldiers and a conflict took place between the volunteers and soldiers. A strike started among the city merchants. Members of the "philanthropic associations" appeared to mediate and requested the Government to take back by means of the police and volunteers the issued bonds which had been distributed to the leading merchants.
- „ 12. The Canton Government managed to become unified on the matter of provincial finance. Owing to a difference over interest, a quarrel broke out between the Yunnanese and Hunanese troops.
- „ 20. The C. E. C. of the Kuomintang held its 7th session at which regulations regarding working plans for the Central Peasant Section were fixed, viz: (1) to investigate the peasant living conditions and the distribution of land and fields in the various provinces; (2) to investigate the peasant organizations to see what their aims and forms were; (3) to investigate the kinds of common taxes imposed upon peasants in the various provinces; (4) to fix the plans for a peasant movement; (5) to call peasant conferences.
- „ 24. A mass meeting was held in Canton in commemoration of the death of Lenin.

- Feb. 26. A Funds Raising Bureau was organized in Canton with a view to unifying finance. Generals Fan Shek-san and Li Fu-lin were respectively appointed chief and vice directors of the Bureau.
- Mar. 8. All the merchants in Shaokwan held a general strike against the lawless action of the Honanese troops. Thousands of Merchant Volunteers together with the Village Militia mobilized.
- „ 16. Kuomintang worker members held a "Party Worker Members Conference" at which important problems regarding labor unions were discussed and preparation made to hold a Labor Delegates Congress.
- „ 19. The C. E. C. of the Kuomintang held its 15th session and passed the "First Plans On Peasant Movement," viz: (1) to organize peasant unions of independent peasants, (2) to organize peasant unions of tenants, (3) to organize peasant unions of employed peasants, (4) to organize peasants' self-defence corps.
- „ 29. The students of various schools paid homage to the 72 Martyrs at Yellow Flower Hill. Different young men's bodies were organized to give lectures.
- „ 31. Dr. Sun ordered the Kwangsi troops under General Chen Ting-tai to be removed to the Southern Districts *en route* to Chao Ching; but the troops under General Liu Cheng-huan, fearing that Chen Ting-tai would attack Wuchow by surprise, disarmed Chen's troops in Chao Ching and imprisoned him.
- „ 7. The second Canton Students Joint Union was inaugurated with Mr. Lum Hok-pao as Chairman and Messrs. Chiang Sze-mong and Liang Chi-ze as members of the executive committee. A resolution was passed to support the anti-Christian movement and the decisions of the Kuomintang. The Canton Students Joint Union began to participate in the revolutionary movement.
- Apr. 2. Dr. Sun Yat-sen ordered the troops in the West River Districts to stop military actions among-themselves.
- „ 4. Chiu Si-pek, head of the Supreme Court, was dismissed owing to his advocacy of "Impartiality of Jurisdiction," thus violating the Kuomintang principles.
- „ 8. The Kwang Ning Peasant Union was inaugurated in Kwang Ning Hsien.
- „ 9. Troops under Dr. Sun launched a general attack on Rebel Chen Chiung-ming in the East River Districts.
- „ 11. All the subordinates of Rebel Chen Chiung-ming issued a circular telegram advocating the unification of the country.
- „ 30. The Canton Students Joint Union organized a special committee to consider the revision of the control of foreign schools in Kwangtung and to prepare a great movement to bring about this movement.

- ✓ May 1. Workers in Canton celebrated Labour Day. The 1st. Labour Delegates Conference was held in Canton, and in the course of its opening ceremony, Dr. Sun delivered a lengthy speech.
- " 5. With a view to promoting peasant movements, the Central Kuomintang at the 26th session decided to organise a Peasant Movement Committee, and Messrs. Liao Chung-kai, Tai Chi-tao, Tan Ping-shan and Fran(?) were appointed committee members.
- " 18. The Peking government appointed Lin Hu, Commissioner for Military Affairs of Kwangtung and Ip Chu, Civil Governor of the province.
- " 19. Mr. Yang Shu-kan, Civil Governor of Kwangtung Province, tendered his resignation.
- " 26. The merchant delegates of the 72 Merchants' Guilds in Canton held a meeting and decided to hold a general strike opposing the Municipality's collection of special shop rents under the name of improving city roads. The merchants were backed by City Volunteers and Village Militia.
- " " Civil Governor Yang Shu-kan issued a notification abolishing the special tax on shop rents.
- " 28. General strike among the Canton merchants was averted because of the Government's promise to abolish exorbitant taxes.
- June 2. The Canton Government despatched troops to stop the American merchants from shipping away on board a Japanese ship the machinery for arsenal operations which had been ordered by Mo Yung-hsin, former Tuchun of Kwangtung. At this the American Consul lodged a protest.
- " 9. Some Kuomintang members proposed that a reconciliation should be made between Dr. Sun and Chen Chiung-ming and a highest committee be established in the Military Headquarters of Dr. Sun with Chen Chiung-ming as a committee member.
- " 10. Hsu Chung-chi, Commander-in-chief of the Cantonese Army, urged that the various troops stationed in Canton city be removed to the outskirts of Canton, thus abiding by the instructions issued by Dr. Sun.
- " 12. Dr. Sun gravely ordered the various troops stationed in Canton to be removed to the outskirts of Canton within 10 days; otherwise they would be disarmed and disbanded.
- ✓ " 13. Mr. Liao Chung-kai was appointed Civil Governor of Kwangtung.
- " 15. The various public schools in Kwangtung held a parade as a protest against the Kwangtung Customs incident.
- " 16. The employees in Shanteen struck to protest against harsh rules.
- " 17. Hunan military authorities despatched troops to aid Lu Yung-ting who was besieged in Kweilin City by Shen Hung-ying, and at the same time Dr. Sun ordered Wong Shiu-hung, Chief Director of Kwangsi troops, to launch an attack upon Nanning to relieve Shen Hung-ying.

- June 19. The Peking Government instructed the Commissioner of Customs to give a certain sum of the Kwangtung Customs revenue to the Canton Government for conservation purposes on the West River. Dr. Sun appointed Liu Sun to be Chief Director of the Kwangtung Conservation Bureau.
- " " A bomb was thrown at Mr. Merlin, Viceroy of Annam, by an Annamite while the Viceroy was attending a reception dinner party given by the Consulate Body at the Victoria Hotel, Shameen. The Viceroy was unhurt. The Consular Body lodged a protest with the Canton Government against this, but the protest was strongly rejected.
- " " The American merchants agreed to hand over the arsenal machinery ordered by Mo Yung-hsin to the Canton Government; the unpaid sum was subscribed by the Canton merchants.
- " 26. Nanning, capital of Kwangsi, was captured by Dr. Sun's troops under General Li Chung-jen.
- " 28. The Canton Students Joint Union elected Messrs. Kok Show-hwa, Chu Ze-san, and Kee Hap-kong to attend the All-China Students Joint Union. Mr. Kok Show-hwa was chosen as a member of the Standing Committee of the All-China Students Joint Union.
- " 30. The C. E. C. of the Kuomintang at its 39th session decided: (1) to organize peasant movement special delegates of twenty persons to be despatched to the peasant movement advanced districts such as Kwang Ning, Shun Teh, Ho Shan, Tung Kuan and Hong Shan (Chung Shan) districts to do organization work in peasant movement, (2) to establish a peasant movement training institute; (3) to inaugurate the Provincial Peasant Association at an early date, (4) to fix the forms of Peasant Union flags, and compose peasant songs.
- July 3. Opening of the Peasant Movement Training Institute. The total number of students was 38, including two girl students.
- " 6. Troops under Chow Chi-chin stationed in Shun Teh Hsien, owing to their conspiracy with bandits, were ordered to be dismissed.
- " 10. The students of the Law School, the Higher Normal School and others established labour schools.
- " 13. War between the troops of Dr. Sun and Chen Chiung-ming in the Eastern Districts resumed its fury.
- " 15. The C.E.C. of Kuomintang petitioned Dr. Sun proposing the change of a "Blue Sky and White Sun" flag to an all red one at the corner of which a small form of "Blue Sky and White Sun" be inserted.
- " 16. The Shameen Consular Body, owing to the recent incident regarding the Annam Viceroy in Shameen, made new regulations prohibiting Chinese citizens to pass at night into Shameen. All the Chinese workers and merchants in Shameen, to uphold their national honour and personal

- character, held a general strike and left Shameen. Communication between Shameen and Canton was blockaded. Foreign residents in Shameen organized a special committee to keep up general affairs in Shameen; their provisions were supplied from Hongkong. Canton authorities came out as mediators, requesting the Consular Body to abolish the new regulations.
- ✓ July 17. The Kuomintang declared their support of the Sino-Russian Treaty.
- „ 24. Through mediation of the Canton authorities, the Consular Body in Shameen agreed to abolish the new regulations, but on the condition that on entering or leaving Shameen after 10 p.m. every Chinese citizen must possess a passport with his photo attached. This proposal was strongly rejected by the strikers, and the strike continued.
- „ 29. Severe fighting took place in Chiukiang between the Merchant Volunteers, the Village Militia and the Yunnanese troops stationed there. The former two groups opposed the latter's lawlessness in imposing exorbitant taxes on the people.
- Aug. 1. The Canton Government decided to establish a Central Bank to facilitate bank-note circulation.
- „ 8. Fighting in Chiukiang between the Merchant Volunteers, the Village Militia and the Yunnanese troops still waging. The troops were at last defeated and withdrew from Chiukiang.
- „ 11. Internal dissension took place among the Yunnanese Army. Chiang Kiang-leung, Commander of the 3rd Army, was driven away by his subordinate division leader Hu Si-sing.
- „ 12. Through the mediation of the Canton Government, the Shameen strike was settled. All new regulations were abolished. All Chinese workers resumed work.
- „ 13. The Merchant Volunteer Corps decided to inaugurate a 'Volunteers' Joint Defence Headquarters which act was opposed by Civil Governor Liao Chung-kai who ordered it to be changed into a "Preparatory Office." At the same date the arms bought by the Volunteers and imported from Hongkong were detained by the Government. All the staff of the Merchant Volunteers Corps Headquarters tendered a general resignation. The merchants of Canton on their side were ready to hold a general strike. Several thousands of unarmed volunteers went to petition Dr. Sun for the refund of the detained arms.
- „ 14. The British and French Consuls in Shameen forced the Chinese police who had participated in the recent strike to resign. The strike was started again.
- „ 19. Shameen strike was satisfactorily settled. All Chinese policemen resumed duty.

- Aug. 20. Civil Governor Liao Chung-kai issued a warrant to arrest Chen Lim-pak (Chen Lien-pai), Commander-in-chief of the Merchant Volunteer Corps, since he had plotted to upset the Revolutionary Government.
- „ 21. Graduation ceremony of the 1st term students of the Peasant Movement Training Institute was held. Dr. Sun Yat-sen was present and delivered a lengthy speech encouraging the students to develop national revolutionary work—peasant movement work after their graduation. The total number of the graduates was 33, including two girl students.
- „ „ The Workers Corps, organized by the workers in Canton, protested against the oppressions of the Merchant Volunteer Corps.
- „ 22. Their organization being prohibited in Canton, the Merchant Volunteer Corps removed their headquarters to Fatshan, and there their Joint Defence Headquarters was inaugurated. A conference was held in Fatshan at which all the Merchant Volunteer delegates of the various districts were assembled. Merchants in Fatshan were on strike in favor of the Volunteers. A conflict between the Volunteers and Dr. Sun's troops in Fatshan took place.
- „ 25. Merchants in 138 trading cities were on strike protesting the detention of the Volunteers' arms by the Government. Merchants in Canton were also on strike. Dr. Sun despatched troops to force the merchants to resume their business. Dr. C. C. Wu acted as mediator.
- „ 27. Civil Governor Liao Chung-kai issued a notification urging the merchants to resume business; otherwise they would be dealt with according to military law.
- „ 29. Through the mediation of Fan Shek-san, Commander of the 2nd Yunnanese Army, an agreement was reached between the Merchant Volunteers and the Government, viz: (1) that due apology be made by Chen Lim-pak to the Government, (2) that the arrest warrant of Chen Lim-pak issued by the Civil Governor be abolished, (3) that a sum of \$500,000 be submitted to the Government by the Merchant Volunteer Corps, (4) that the detained arms be refunded, (5) that troops stationed in the streets of Canton be withdrawn.
- „ „ The Special Municipal Kuomintang of the Kwangtung University had its inauguration with more than 800 members. Messrs. Kok Show-hwa, Yuen Tak-wan, Loo Yang-ching, and others were chosen as members of the executive committee.
- Sept. 5. Dr. Sun Yat-sen issued a declaration stating the aim of his Northern Expedition which had recently been launched.
- „ 9. A conflict took place in Tung Kuan between the Village Militia, the Merchant Volunteer Corps and the Kwangsi troops under General Liu Cheng-huan.

- Sept. 10. The Youth Department of the General Kuomintang established 32 schools to teach 5,000 uneducated young men and boys. The text books were specially compiled by the Department.
- " 11. The Canton Press workers held a strike for a wage increase. Their demands were not accepted by press employers. Civil Governor Liao Chung-kai advised the workers to resume work unconditionally.
- " 13. Dr. Sun Yat-sen left Canton for Shaokwan to direct his Northern Expedition. Mr. Hu Han-min stayed in Canton as Acting Generalissimo, and also Civil Governor of Kwangtung; Liao Chung-kai was appointed Chief Commissariat, Minister of Finance, and Commissioner of Provincial Financial Department; Li Fu-lin was made Mayor of Canton City and Director of the Police Force.

Prior to Dr. Sun's departure he issued a manifesto admitting that Kwangtung under the Kuomintang had suffered from disagreeable taxes and oppression of disorderly, unthinking generals and unscrupulous officials who had been enriching themselves under the pretext of raising money for the Government. They had rendered the people's lives and property unsafe and therefore the merchants had gradually lost faith in the Revolutionary Government. The course of action adopted by the revolution was unsound and was clearly due to the indifference of the people toward national affairs. He called on the people of Kwangtung to co-operate with the Revolutionary Government and promised the following:

- (1) To despatch various troops northward as soon as possible.
 - (2) To recognise the self-government of the Canton Municipality; the people were to elect a new mayor.
 - (3) All miscellaneous taxes were to be cancelled, and taxation to be decided and regulated by the newly elected officials.
- " 14. The Merchant Volunteer Corps, because their detained arms were not refunded by the Government, issued declarations blaming the Government, and at the same time inducing the Canton merchants to prepare a 2nd general strike. General Fan Shek-san asked the Government to refund the detained arms in order to pacify the merchants.
- " 16. Lin Ching-ting, general of Kwangsi troops stationed in Kaochow, tendered his submission to Dr. Sun.
- " 20. Abiding by the agreement contracted between the Government and the Merchant Volunteer Corps, Chen Lim-pak, Commander-in-chief of the Kwangtung Merchant Volunteer Corps, issued a circular telegram duly apologizing to the Government and indicating his support of Dr. Sun. The arrest warrant issued by the Government was accordingly cancelled.
- " 27. General Li Fu-lin was appointed Chief Director of all the Kwangtung Village Militia Forces.

- Oct. 5. The Northern Expeditionary Troops under General Fan Chung-hsiu gained victories in Kwangsi.
- „ 7. The press workers, not satisfied with Liao Chung-kai's mediation, renewed their strike. All press work was stopped.
- „ 10. A portion of the detained arms were returned to the Merchant Volunteer Corps. When the Volunteers were unloading their arms on the Bund, it happened that a parade of workers, students, and soldiers celebrating Independence Day passed by. Because of a dispute between the Volunteers and the paraders, a conflict took place in which several workers were shot down on the spot by the Volunteers.
- „ 14. The Merchant Volunteer Corps in Canton were ready to rebel against Dr. Sun. A general strike took place among the Canton merchants which was fanned by the Volunteers. Because of this, Dr. Sun returned to Canton from Shaokwan, and appointed general Wu Tieh-cheng, Director of the Bureau of Public Safety, directing the police and soldiers to suppress the rebel volunteers, and at the same time Civil Governor Hu Han-min was instructed to give an order to disband the Volunteers.
- „ „ A British Admiral newly arrived at Canton from Hongkong accompanied by a fleet of gunboats lodged an ultimatum with the Canton Government stating that in case the Government disarmed the Volunteers, the British warships would bombard Canton.
- „ 15. Dr. Sun ordered the various troops in Canton to suppress and disarm the rebel Merchant Volunteers. Consequently, severe fighting took place between the rebel volunteers and the Government troops in Canton at 6 a.m. After a few hours' fighting, the rebel volunteers were completely overwhelmed and several streets were set on fire by the rebels while retreating.
- „ 16. Canton was peaceful. The rebel volunteers had been duly suppressed. Business in the city resumed as usual.
- „ 20. The Merchant Volunteer Corps massacred the Worker and Peasant corps when the two corps were parading.
- „ 22. Dr. Sun appointed Lo Kwei-fong, Commissioner of Canton Customs with a view to taking over the Customs. The Imperialist Powers again despatched gunboats to Canton waters.
- „ 26. The Canton students organized an anti-Christian League and held a meeting in the Assembly Hall of the Kwangtung University. Messrs. Liao Chung-kai, Chow Yen-lai, Chow Fai-hai, and others were present to give lectures. Lecture groups were organized by different schools.
- „ 30. Dr. Sun arrived at Canton from Shaokwan. A meeting was held among his important followers to discuss methods in dealing with the *coup d'etat* in the North.

- Nov. 4. General Feng Yu-hsiang cabled to Dr. Sun inviting him to Peking for a consultation regarding national affairs. Prior to his departure from Canton Dr. Sun appointed Hu Han-min, acting Generalissimo and Tan Yen-kai, chief director of the Generalissimo's Military Headquarters to manage the Northern Expeditionary Affairs.
- „ 6. Dr. Sun appointed Liu Cheng-huan, Civil Governor of Kwangsi, and his troops were removed to Kwangsi soil.
- „ 11. A formal inauguration of the Kwangtung University was held in Canton.
- „ The workers had an organization to participate in the election of a mayor, but most of the workers protested the obscurity of the election. The Government promulgated regulations for the workers' guilds.
- „ 12. A big lantern parade was held in Canton as a send-off for Dr. Sun's journey to the North.
- Dr. Sun, prior to his departure from Canton, issued a declaration on the present political condition of China, advocating the calling of a National Conference to settle National Affairs.
- „ 13. Dr. Sun left Canton for Shanghai via Hongkong.
- „ 17. Dr. Sun arrived at Shanghai, spreading propaganda in regard to the National Conference which he fervently advocated.
- Dec. 1. Shen Hung-ying resumed his post as Commander-in-chief of the Kwangsi National Reconstructive Army.
- ✓ „ 15. Wang Ching-wei and other members of the C.E.C. of the Kuomintang issued a telegram denying that Dr. Sun advocated Communism.
- „ 16. Rebel Chen Chiung-ming, supported by the Kwangtung Merchant's Salvation Association and his subordinates, sent out a telegram expressing his real attitude and his decision to resume his post as Commander-in-chief of the Cantonese Army.
- „ 20. A big demonstration was held in Canton participated in by more than 100,000 persons to hasten the convening of the National Conference. A circular telegram was issued advocating the convening of the National Conference and its Preparatory Conference, but opposing the Rehabilitation Conference in Peking planned by Tuan Chi-jui.
- „ „ The women workers in Kuan Shan, Nan Hai (i.e., those of the silk factories of Nan Hai), declared a strike on account of employers reducing their wages. They carried on their struggle for five months. Four women workers were detained, and their movement ended in a failure. At first there were over 8,000 workers participating in the movement. But at the time of the inauguration of the Labour Union only about 800 remained.

31. Kwangtung Provincial Assembly (under Rebel Chen Chiung-ming) sent out a circular telegram stating that the Canton Government intended to contract a foreign loan with the Yue-Han Railway as security, which loan, the telegram stated, would not be recognised by the Assembly.

1925.

- Jan. 1. Rebel Chen Chiung-ming launched a general attack upon Canton from three directions.
9. Military Headquarters of the Generalissimo gave an order that an officer would be appointed to the Yue-Han Railway Co. as Government Superintendant.
26. Troops of Rebel Chen Chiung-ming attacked the Bocca Tigris forts, but were defeated.
30. The Central Kuomintang issued an instruction prohibiting Party members from participation in the Peking Rehabilitation Conference.
- Feb. 2. The Central Kuomintang wired to all judicial associations of the country stating that abiding by the determination of President Sun Yat-sen, the C.E.C. of Kuomintang had decided not to second the convention of the Peking Rehabilitation Conference. All the people of Canton held a big demonstration to hasten the convening of the National Conference.
7. A strike was declared by a small number of the female workers in the silk factories of Shun Teh on account of employers' reduction of their wages and their being effected by the strike movement of the workers in Kuan Shan. They carried on a struggle for 5 months. Seven female workers were wounded, and they at last failed. Finally the matter was settled on the 20th of December. The amount of \$500 was given to the workers as compensation for their injuries. On the 10th (month?), the 14th year, their labour union was inaugurated. At first there were over 400 workers participating in the struggle, but at the time of the inauguration of their union, there remained only a little over a 100.
10. The Central Kuomintang issued a circular telegram advocating the free proposal of the people and also the organization methods of the National Conference. It also stated that the essentials underlying the Rehabilitation Conference were not helpful to the people and so the Kuomintang could hardly agree with the said conference.
11. Troops of Dr. Sun Yat-sen were winning decisive victories over Rebel Chen Chiung-ming in the East River Districts.
22. The Kuomintang sent out a proclamation against the settlement of the Gold Franc Case by the Peking government. It stated that it would never recognize the settlement of important national cases which would increase

the burdens of the people and which were not discussed or decided by the National Conference or other organs growing out of the National Conference.

- Feb. 23. A great reception party was given by all peasant and labour organizations in Canton to Dr. Sun Yat-sen's bodyguards and other soldiers who just returned from Kwang Ning Hsien and who had rendered remarkable service to the peasantry in eradicating bandits, rowdies and landlords in Kwang Ning.
- " 28. Ping Shan, an important strategical point in the East River Districts, was captured by Hsu Chung-chi and Chiang Kai-shih, and their troops marched toward Hai Feng and Lu Feng districts.
- Mar. 1. Yunnanese troops under general Fan Shek-san were despatched to Wuchow to help the Kwangsi troops oppose the coming of Tang Chi-yao's troops to Kwangsi.
- " 4. Troops of Rebel Chen Chiung-ming were repeatedly defeated in the East River Districts. Cha Sin, a subordinate under Chen, declared his independence in Chao Yang Hsien and welcomed the coming of the revolutionary troops under Hsu Chung-chi and Chiang Kai-shih.
- " 7. Chaochow and Swatow were captured by the revolutionary troops under Hsu Chung-chi and Chiang Kai-shih.
- " 8. A women's meeting for the celebration of the International Women's Workers Day (March 8) was held.
- " 12. Dr. Sun Yat-sen passed away in Peking. Mourning for his death held throughout Canton.
- " 13. The Central Kuomintang held a meeting in commemoration of the death of Dr. Sun.
- " 15. All Kuomintang members in Canton held a demonstration in commemoration of Dr. Sun's death.
- " 20. The C.E.C. of the Kuomintang issued a telegram punishing Tang Chi-yao who had recently dispatched troops to invade Kwangsi.
- " 21. Messrs. Hu Han-min, Liao Chung-kai, Hsu Chung-chi and others issued a proclamation stating that when the National Conference and a legal government were not in session, they should apply themselves strenuously to revolutionary work.
- " 23. Rebel Chen Chiung-ming launched a counter-attack upon Chaochow and Swatow but was defeated.
- April 8. Liu Cheng-huan, Commander-in-chief of Kwangsi troops, conspired with Tang Chi-yao and tried to lead his troops back to Kwangsi. His subordinates issued a circular telegram criticising the C.E.C. of the Kuomintang who had recently issued a telegram to punish Tang Chi-yao.

April 15. The All Kwangtung Railway Workers' Delegates Conference discussed the organization of a Railway Labor Union. The Canton-Hankow Railway Labor Union was inaugurated.

The workers of the Canton-Hankow Railway struck and demanded better treatment.

„ 16. The Provincial Government issued an instruction that the name of Hong Shan District and that of Gunboat "Wing Fung" be each changed to "Chung Shan" in memory of the late President, Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

„ 26. The Third Term Executive Committee of the Canton Students Union was chosen. A circular telegram was issued which emphasized the study of arts and urged that the political advocacies be comprehensive. They declared they would follow the principles of Dr. Sun so as to hasten the success of the Revolution for all the people.

On inauguration day, over 250 delegates from the various schools attended.

May 1. The Kwangtung Provincial Peasant Union was formally inaugurated and a 1st All-Kwangtung Peasant Delegates Conference was held in Canton and was attended by 117 delegates from 22 districts representing 210,000 organised peasants. Many resolutions were passed, the most important of which were (1) "that no compromise will ever be made with the Imperialists, the Militarists, the Capitalists, the wicked gentry, the rowdies, the bullies, or the corrupt officials. They are bitter enemies of the peasants," (2) "the workers of the whole country should unite with all international workers," (3) "international capitalism and imperialism should be struck down," (4) "their intention to enter the 'Red Peasant International,'" (5) "to assist in the organization of local and village administrative organs," (6) "to abolish the head-tenant system and fix the highest rate of rents, and abolish the system of collection of revenues on land and fields now in existence."

„ „ The 2nd All-China Labour Conference was held in Canton. Many important resolutions were adopted for the promotion of the labour movement.

„ 2. Hsu Chung-chi, Commander-in-chief of the Cantonese Army stationed at Swatow, declared that Chaochow and Swatow would be governed by the Party.

„ 3. Yunnanese and Kwangsi troops gathered in Canton with a view to occupying the arsenal. As a result a committee system was established in the arsenal and Ha Sing, a subordinate of Yang Hsi-min, was appointed Chairman of the committee to pacify the Yunnanese troops.

- May 4. The students of Canton held a meeting to commemorate the May 4th Movement. The various schools sent out lecture parties and gave lectures in various places.
- " 7. The C. E. C. of the Kuomintang issued a proclamation against the settlement of the Gold Franc Case. As May 7th was proclaimed National Humiliation Day, a telegram was issued to the Japanese Government and her ambassador to China demanding the abolition of the "21 Demands" at an early date. A commemoration meeting was held on the grounds of the Kwangtung University, followed by a parade.
- " 8. The people in Hong Shan opposed the action of the governing of that district by the Party.
- " 10. The Kwangtung Woman Emancipation League was inaugurated. Before the inauguration of this Emancipation League there were only two woman organizations in Kwangtung, viz., the Women's Union and the Women Rights Movement League. Because they could represent only a portion of the women, and were not capable of bearing the responsibility of conducting the Kwangtung Women's Movement, some revolutionary women comrades arose and organized this Women's Emancipation League.
- " 12. Kwangsi troops of Liu Cheng-huan tried to return to Kwangsi *en route* to the Northern Districts. The Government instructed the troops of Chu Pei-teh to prevent their going by force.
- " 14. The Canton Student Union held a reception in honour of the delegates of the Provincial Peasant Union. Each school sent two representatives to the reception.
- " 15. Hu Han-min sent out a proclamation under the name of Acting Generalissimo stating that, abiding by the Last Will of the late Generalissimo he would fight the wicked militarists to the very end and oppose the oppression of Imperialism to realize the establishment of local self-government.
- " 17. The Canton Student Union acted as follows:
- (1) Sent a telegram to Peking in support of those students who were arrested while parading in commemoration of the May 7th Humiliation Day.
 - (2) Sent a telegram supporting the students of St. Paul's College, Hongkong. Lau Hak-ping and Wong Kwok-wai were also despatched to Hongkong to comfort them and to get their cooperation.
 - (3) Decided to send members during the midsummer holidays to lecture in various places to prepare for the establishment of free laic schools.
 - (4) Issued a circular telegram protesting against Teng Pen-ying's negotiations for foreign loans.

- May 23. The Kwangtung Provincial Government declared the government of Chaochow and Swatow by the Party and appointed Sin Yuan-chung, Chief Administrator and Liao Chung-kai, Chief Committee Member.
- „ 24. Yang Hsi-min and Liu Cheng-huan planning rebellion. Hsu Chung-chi and Chiang Kai-shih returned to Canton from Swatow to deal with them. Hu Han-min, the Acting Generalissimo, fled to Honam (the island opposite Canton City) and the Military Headquarters of the Generalissimo were removed to the Cement Factory in Honam.
- „ 27. The Canton-Samshui Railway Labour Union was inaugurated.
- „ „ The Second All-China Labour Conference was held in Canton.
- „ „ The workers of the Arsenal struck and demanded better treatment.
- „ 29. Yang Hsi-min, Commander-in-chief of the Yunnanese troops, sent out a declaration supporting the Revolutionary Government.
- June 2. With a view to dealing with the disorderly and unthinking Yunnanese and Kwangsi troops, the Acting Generalissimo Hu Han-min issued an order that the military and civil finance of the province be unified and that whoever dared to oppose the measure would be severely punished.
- „ „ The various student associations and organizations distributed circular telegrams regarding the May 30 Massacre.
- „ 5. While still protesting loyalty to the principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang, Yang Hsi-min, Commander-in-Chief of the Yunnanese troops, and Liu Cheng-huan, Chief Commander of the Kwangsi troops, presented a demand to the Canton Government for an order for the cessation of the movements of troops in the East and North River districts. The demand intimated that otherwise they would take necessary steps to resist the movement. The government replied with a proclamation, denouncing them for insubordination and dismissing them from their posts. This was a virtual declaration of war.
- „ 6. Troops of General Li Fu-lin and all the village militia corps in the various districts of Honam were concentrated in Honam. Troops under Generals Hsu Chung-chi, Chiang Kai-shih and Li Tsai-sam returned from the East and West River districts jointly to attack Canton.
- „ 9. Fighting took place in Canton between the Cantonese troops in Honam and the Yunnanese and Kwangsi troops in Canton. The General Chamber of Commerce and the nine philanthropic associations demanded that both sides remove the fighting line to thirty miles away from Canton City.
- „ 12. The Canton Student Union sent two delegates to Hongkong to negotiate for a strike of the students.
- „ 14. Rebel Yang Hsi-min and Liu Cheng-huan were completely defeated and all their troops disarmed.

- June 16. The workers of the Canton-Hankow, the Canton-Samsui, and the Canton-Kowloon Railways struck with one accord to help the Revolutionary Army oust the militarists Liu Cheng-huan and Yang Hsi-min.
- „ „ The workers in Hongkong struck and left for Canton.
- „ „ The workers in Shameen struck.
- „ 17. A compromise was reached between Hsu Chung-chi and Chen Chiung-ming. It was agreed that the troops of Hsu Chung-chi which had left Chaochow and Swatow were to be replaced by troops of Chen Chiung-ming on the condition that Chen Chiung-ming's troops would not interfere with the activities of the Kuomintang members in Swatow.
- „ 18. The Canton Student Union invited the Shanghai Student Representatives to come to Canton to give an account of the May 30 Massacre. Propaganda corps were organized to spread knowledge of the real conditions of the May 30 Massacre. Each corps consisted of five persons. Propaganda was carried on through literature and verbal lectures.
- „ 21. To support the May 30 Shanghai Strike, workers in Hongkong launched demands for the revision of the unequal treaties and for better treatment of workers in Hongkong. The Chinese workers in Shameen held a strike in support of the Shanghai May 30 strike.
- „ 22. The Canton Student Union ordered the various schools to participate in the parade protesting the Shanghai incident. All participants in the parade were to be in Chinese clothes. Every one should wear a black band on his arm for a week.
- „ 23. Thousands of Canton students, workers, citizens, and unarmed soldiers paraded along the Bund on the afternoon of this date. When they arrived at the Shakee Bridge, British and French marines stationed inside Shameen suddenly fired upon them thick and fast for 20 minutes. Over 50 patriotic Chinese paraders were killed, most of them were students, and over one hundred were wounded.
- A note from the Canton Government to the British and French Consuls demanded (1) that the British Government should appoint high commissioners to apologise to the Canton Government; (2) the punishment of the senior officers concerned; (3) the withdrawal of all ships from Kwangtung waters, excepting two despatch boats; (4) the return of Shameen; (5) compensation for the wounded and the dead.
- „ 24. The Canton students organized lecture parties on account of June 23 Massacre and went to the various villages. The Government gave them passports, while the district magistrates supplied board and lodging.
- „ „ C. C. Wu, Minister for Foreign Affairs, wired M. Karakhan, Doyen of the Diplomatic Corps, Peking, reporting the Shakee massacre.

- June 25. Hu Han-min, Acting Generalissimo, sent out a declaration on the organization of the Nationalist Government.
- " " The Canton Students Union proposed the following:—
- (1) That the murderers who first opened fire and the British Consul be punished, (2) That the wounded and the families of the dead be compensated, (3) That the British Government tender apologies to our Government and its people, (4) That the British Concession be taken back.
- " 26. Owing to the Shanghai May 30 Massacre and the Shakee Massacre on June 23rd, all the workers employed in foreign firms and factories in Hongkong called a general strike and left Hongkong for Canton. They organized a Strike Committee in Canton. Strike Pickets were organised by the strikers and despatched to the various ports of the province in order to blockade Hongkong.
- " 27. The Canton Student Union convened a School Delegates Conference. Three students were elected to attend the All-China Students General Union.
- " " The Boy Students were organized as military cadets with the Kuomintang University as their headquarters. The Girl Students were organized into a nursing corps.
- " " Representatives of the Students' Union were sent to the various shops to protest against dealing in enemy goods. The Special Student's Investigation Department investigated the quantity of enemy goods. A magazine named "Canton Blood and Tears" was published by the students.
- " 29. The British and French Imperialists increased their number of soldiers. Conditions between Canton and Shameen became very tense. A resolution was adopted by all the organizations in Canton to cause an economic severance with the British Imperialists.
- " 30. The Canton Students Union asked the Mun Tin Hang Co. of Hongkong to make photos of everything concerning the Shakee Massacre. A drama was then constructed from these pictures.
- July 1. The Nationalist Government was formally inaugurated in Canton. The committee system was adopted. The Committee consisted of 16 members; Mr. Wang Ching-wei being Chairman of the Committee; Hsu Chung-chi, director of Military Department; C. C. Wu, Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Liao Chung-kai, Commissioner of Finance Department. The oath taken by the Committee adjured them to follow the political Will of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen and made them subject to the directions and instructions of the Kuomintang and the orders of the Nationalist Government.
- " 3. The Kwangtung Provincial Government was formally inaugurated. In accordance with the organization regulations of the Provincial Government which were published by the Nationalists Government the following

departments: military, finance, education, civil affairs, reconstruction, commerce, peasantry and labour were established. The Canton City Municipality was separately reformed, C. C. Wu becoming mayor.

- July 13. The Consular Body in Shameen replied regarding the protest of the Canton Government stating that under telegraphic instructions from the Peking Diplomatic Corps, it was not necessary to consider the five demands presented by the Canton Government.
- „ 14. During a demonstration in Hoshan District students were manhandled by people instigated by the degenerate gentry.
- „ 16. The British Consul declared his intention of abandoning the plans for blockading Canton Harbour.
- „ 18. Representative were sent to the Eastern, Western, Northern and Southern districts to negotiate with the students for the organization of student unions. Each district had one responsible representative and three assistants.
- „ 21. The Canton Government wired to the Peking Government reporting the Shakee Massacre and requesting co-operation between the North and the South in regard to diplomatic affairs.
- „ 22. The Central Kuomintang issued a proclamation stating that in accordance with the advocacy of Dr. Sun which had been announced on November 13th of the previous year, a Preparatory National Conference would be voluntarily held in Peking on August 1st to discuss the measures in regard to the abolition of the unequal treaties.
- „ 27. The workers in Canton organized troops to raise funds for the Canton-Hongkong Strike.
- „ 28. The representatives of various schools held a reception in honour of representative Yang Song of the Merchant, Labourer, and Student Association of Shanghai.
- „ 30. The Canton Student Union resolved to participate as promoters in the organization of a Merchant, Labourer, and Student Association.
- Aug. 1. Hsu Chung-chi issued a telegram resigning his post as Commander-in-chief of the Cantonese army and handing over his military power to the Military Council of the Nationalist Government.

Tan Yen-kai and Chu Pei-teh, Chief Commanders of the Hunanese and the Yunnanese troops, adopted the same step.

- „ 20. Liao Chung-kai, Finance Commissioner of the Nationalist Government and director of the Peasant and Labor Departments, was assassinated while alighting from his automobile in front of the Kuomintang Headquarters. Three shots took effect and he died five minutes later while *en route* to the Kung Yee Hospital.

- Aug. 24. The students in Canton sent Chan Mei-wai, etc. to fight for the unification of finance in Kwangtung and the independence of educational expenses and cooperation with the educational authorities.
- " 25. After the assassination of Liao Chung-kai, an Emergency Committee was organized by Hsu Chung-chi, Chiang Kai-shih and Wang Ching-wei to deal with the reactionary militants, several of whom were arrested.
- " " The British in Hongkong requested their government to lodge an ultimatum with the Canton Government regarding the strike.
- " 27. The Nationalist Government issued a telegram stating that a representative of the Nationalist Government would be shortly despatched to Peking to urge the Peking Government to form a National Diplomatic Committee on the ground that, in view of the present enthusiastic national movement for the abrogation of China's unequal treaties a united front of the whole nation of China was most essential in diplomatic affairs.
- " (2) At Chiungchow, Teng Pen-yin killed several students. The students of Sacred Heart School suspended their studies. The school was established by French missionaries. The Student Union and the New Student Society issued declarations in their support.
- Sept. 1. The First All-Kwangtung Kuomintang Delegates Conference was held and lasted for 15 days. The important resolutions pertaining to the peasants were (1) the prohibition of advanced collection of revenues and high usury in loans, (2) the fixing of a common measurement, (3) the establishing of peasant banks, (4) the abolition of all exorbitant taxes, (5) the prohibition of the landlords from changing tenants without adequate reasons, (6) the apportioning of the public uncultivated lands to poor peasants, (7) the abolition of deposits and advanced rents, (8) better treatment for employed peasants both male and female.
- " 12. The students of various schools went to pay homage to the late Mr. Liao Chung-kai.
- " 13. The Canton students sent a wire protesting the affliction imposed by Chang Li-chim upon the Peking Girls Normal School.
- " 15. Troops of Chen Chiung-ming drove the subordinates of Hsu Chung-chi out of Swatow. The agreement contracted between Chen Chiung-ming and Hsu Chung-chi was broken.
- " 19. Hongkong Chinese merchants petitioned the Canton Government to effect a prompt settlement of the Hongkong-Canton Strike to prevent the Hongkong Chinese commerce from becoming bankrupt.
- " 20. A dispute arose between Generals Chiang Kai-shih and Hsu Chung-chi, as a result of which Hsu, accompanied by several of his subordinates, left Canton for Shanghai. His troops under Mo Hsueg and Cheng Wing-cho were disarmed.

- Sept. 20. The Canton Student Union, New Student Society, Men Kun Society, Military Youth Union, Hongkong Students Union, and Women Rights Movement League cooperated to organize a Revolutionary Youths Union.
- " 23. The Nationalist Government sent Mr. Hu Han-min to Russia to investigate political conditions there.
- " 24. The Kwangtung Diplomatic Delegation, headed by Lin Sen, left Canton for the North via Shanghai to spread propaganda in various places.
- " " The Political Council of the Nationalist Government summoned the delegations of the Hongkong-Canton Strike Committee to discuss the drafting of conditions to be presented to the Hongkong and Shamenee authorities regarding the settlement of the Hongkong-Canton Strike.
- " 29. Hongkong Chinese merchants despatched delegates to Canton to consult with the Government and Strike Committee regarding the settlement of the Hongkong-Canton Strike.
- Oct. 1. Plots of Hsung Keh-wu, Commander-in-chief of the Szechwanese troops who had recently entered Kwangtung from Hunan, against the Government were disclosed and consequently Hsung was arrested and jailed and his troops stationed in the Northern Districts were disarmed.
- " 10. The Canton students organized lecture parties and held an exhibition of national food. They also organized an Anti-Imperialist League with Li Chan-lit and others as committee members.
- The Canton Student Union organized a Peasant and Laborer Special Committee. Li Chan-kwan, Chung Han-yu, etc. were appointed as committee members.
- " 11. The Nationalist Government launched an Eastern Expedition. A proclamation was issued which aimed at the rooting out of the rebels of Chen Chiung-ming and the unification of the province.
- " 13. Weichow was captured by the Eastern Expeditionary troops.
- " 24. The Central Kuomintang issued a proclamation blaming Chang Tso-lin and Tuan Chi-jui and expressing its views regarding the recent fighting which had taken place in the Yangtze Valley.
- " 25. Yan Wai-loong and other students of the Law College and Technical School returned to Canton after the midsummer holiday via Hongkong where they were arrested by the British.
- Nov. 1. After the fall of Weichow to the East Expeditionary troops, the troops of Rebel Chen Chiung-ming were scattered.
- " 5. Swatow fell into the hands of the Eastern Expeditionary troops. General Chiang Kai-shih arrived at Swatow.

- Nov. 5. The Nationalist Government wired the general of Chihli and Fengtien troops regarding the reorganization of the government after the overthrow of Tuan Chi-jui and Chang Tso-lin to the effect (1) that a unified Chinese National Government be established; (2) that the said government should convene a Preparatory National Conference as soon as possible; (3) that within the soonest possible time, the said government should call an International Conference to settle the abolition of unequal treaties; (4) that the said government should protect the people in regard to the freedom of holding meetings, of organizing associations, and of speech.
- " 8. General Chiang Kai-shih called a meeting of his subordinates in Swatow and decided to despatch troops to Fukien to suppress the retreating rebels of Chen Chiung-ming.
- " 15. A social gathering of the women in Kwangtung was held in the building of the Provincial Educational Bureau. At the gathering a resolution was passed as to the unification of the Kwangtung Women's Government.
- " 20. The Laborers Supplementary Studies School, established by the Kwangtung Women's Emancipation League, was opened.
- " " Chao Lao, Head of the Kwangtung Diplomatic Delegation to Peking, and also chancellor of Kwangtung University, owing to his plots against the Government was dismissed.
- " 23. The Right Wing of the Kuomintang, not satisfied with the executive members of the Canton Nationalist Government, held the 4th C.E.C. meeting of the Kuomintang in Hsishan, Peking (called the Bogus Hsishan Party) where it was decided to excommunicate the Communists from the Kuomintang and punish Wang Ching-wei and others.
- " 25. The Canton Merchants' Delegation sent to Hongkong for the Strike negotiations returned to Canton without having obtained a settlement. The Hongkong-Canton Strike Committee decided to close all the ports in Kwangtung against the British Imperialists.
- Dec. 9. Hung Shiu-lin, a general under Chen Chiung-ming, was assassinated by a sailor named Wai Tak on board a "President" boat on which Hung was travelling from Hongkong to Shanghai.
- " 11. Members of the Right Wing of the Kuomintang, Chao Lao, Lin Sen and others under the name of the 4th C.E.C. of the Kuomintang held in Peking, issued a declaration excommunicating Communists from the Kuomintang and attacking Messrs. Wang Ching-wei, Borodin and many others. The Kuomintang in Canton denied the resolutions of that bogus C.E.C. and a legal 4th C.E.C. meeting of the Kuomintang was held in Canton. It was decided that a 2nd All-China Kuomintang Delegates Conference be held in Canton on New Year's Day, 1926.

- Dec. 26. The Hongkong Chinese Merchants were invited by the Canton Government to Canton to see for themselves how good the conditions of Canton were. The result was that the Hongkong merchants organized an Inspection Party which came to Canton, and was heartily welcomed by the Government and all the people in Canton. At a reception party given by the government, Messrs. Wang Ching-wei and C. C. Wu delivered lengthy speeches explaining that the Canton Government did not favour Communism.
- " " The New Student Society and the Min Kun Society agreed to unify the Youth movements. They voluntarily dissolved their organizations.

1926.

- Jan. 1. The Educational Circles in Kwangtung promoted a National Language ("Kuo Yu") Movement. A grand parade was also held. Over 5,000 students participated.
- " " The 2nd All-China Kuomintang Delegates Conference was held in Canton, attended by more than 200 delegates. The Conference lasted for 18 days. Many important resolutions were adopted, the most important of which were (1) to promote a mutual alliance with Soviet Russia, help the weak nations, and cooperate with the world's revolutionary masses; (2) to help the peasant and labor classes in their organizations and to direct them to participate in the National Revolution; (3) to dissolve all these armed organizations which oppress the peasants; (4) to fix peasant protection regulations; (5) to develop peasant village education. Thirty-six members of the Kuomintang were elected to serve their second term on the C. E. C. These included Messrs. Wang Ching-wei, Chiang Kai-shih, Hu Han-min, Tan Yen-kai; Mrs. Sun Yat-sen, Mrs. Liao Chung-kai, and others.
- " 7. The 1st Delegates Conference of Chinese Seamen was held at Canton. Over 100 delegates were present. The following important resolutions were adopted, (1) to secure an increase of wages; (2) to procure the right of employing only union members; (3) to insist upon an eight hour working day; (4) to oppose all ill-treatment; (5) to stipulate terms regarding the compensation of wounded and dead; (6) to overthrow local distinctions and unite all the seamen of China and of the world.
- " 8. The Chinese delegates who had left Hongkong in December for Canton to try and bring about a settlement between the mercantile communities of Hongkong and Canton returned to Hongkong with their mission unfulfilled.

- Jan. 15. The Canton youths held a meeting commemorating the anniversary of the death of the revolutionary heroes, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg, at the grounds of the Kwangtung University. Students of various schools attended.
- " 22. General Chiang Kai-shek tendered his resignation as the Commander of the 1st National Revolutionary Army. General Ho Ying-yam was appointed as his successor.
- " 24. Kanchow and Leichow were captured by the 4th Revolutionary troops under Commander Li Tsai-sam. The victorious troops were ready to attack Hainan and unify Kwangtung.
- " 25. The Customs authorities in Swatow were ready to take over the native customs within 50 li of Swatow, and to levy an equal business tax on foreign and Chinese firms. The Consular Body in Swatow lodged a protest against the act, but it was rejected.
- " 27. Wang Ching-wei and Tan Yen-kai went to Wuchow (Kwangsi) to attend a conference there so as to discuss the unification of Liang Kwang (Kwangtung and Kwangsi).
- " " C. C. Wu gave a report at the General Chamber of Commerce detailing the past events regarding the failure of settling the Hongkong-Canton Strike. He stated that since the labor strike was a protest of workers against the oppression of foreigners; the government being in a position of third party, could not make formal negotiations with the Hongkong Government.
- " 29. The New Student Society, Min Kun Society, Hongkong Student Union and Revolutionary Youth Union organized a movement for the unification of youth.
- " " Commemoration of the death of V. I. Lenin. Students of various schools attended. There were also many lecturers.
- Feb. 4. The Hongkong Government issued a notification stating that in regard to the Strike, the Canton Government was a concerned party, and according to principles of law, the wages during the period of the strike need not be paid.
- " " The Nationalist Government appointed General Chiang Kai-shek, Chief Supervisor of the National Revolutionary Army.
- " 5. The various circles in Canton held a meeting in support of the Canton and Hongkong Strike. The students of various schools undertook the responsibility of raising funds. All schools in the city were closed for the occasion. A carnival was held in the Public Park.
- " " The Revolutionary Youth Union organized a grand lecture meeting in the Assembly Hall of the Kwangtung University. Over 1,000 persons including students, labourers, peasants, merchants and soldiers attended the meeting.

- Feb. 5. The New Students Society and the Min Kun Society declared the voluntary dissolution of their organization. They agreed on the unification of the Student Movement.
- " " The Sunyatsenism Society and the Chinese Youth Comrades Society were established.
- " 10. The Oversea Comrades' Family Members Association was inaugurated.
- " 11. Owing to their maltreatment by Hongkong Imperialists, workers in Hongkong prepared a second general strike which was suppressed by the Hongkong Imperialists.
- " 17. The C.E.C. of the Kuomintang sent out a proclamation stating that the Kuominchun was in imminent danger of attack by Chihli and Fengtien troops, and that the Kuomintang, with a view to rendering aid to the Kuominchun, should create an anti-Wu Pei-fu and Chang Tso-lin atmosphere throughout the whole country.
- " 21. The Commissioner of Canton Customs, under the pretext that the Strike Pickets stopped the goods that had not been examined by the Customs, closed the ports of Canton and Whampoa pending the surrender and return to the Custom authorities for proper examination and assessment of duty on the cargo previously removed from the custody of the Customs by the Strike Committee.
- " 24. The Nationalist Government established a Liang Kwang Unification Committee and a Whampoa Port Opening Scheme Committee, and also expressed their intention of launching a Northern Expedition to aid the Kuominchun in the North.
- " 27. Internal dissension occurred among the military officers under General Chiang Kai-shih. Wang Mow-kung, a division leader and garrison commander of Canton, was dismissed and forced to leave Canton owing to his participation in the Sunyatsenism Association (an organ of the Kuomintang Right Wing).
- Mar. 4. The youths of various classes held a meeting in commemoration of Dr. Sun. Several thousand students attended.
- " " The Labour Children Organs Preparatory Office was established. An Instructors' Training Class was formed. There were over one thousand members.
- " 8. A meeting to commemorate the International Women Workers' Day was held. It was attended by over 10,000 people. The resolution on the unification of the Kwangtung Women's Movement was again passed, and a decision was made to demand the Kuomintang to enforce the resolution of the Second Delegates Conference so as to support the women's rights. A demonstration-parade was also held.

- Mar. 10. Work was started for the organization of a Match Factory Workers' Union. The promoters were all male workers. The female workers only followed them in their activities, and some of them were even opposed to their movement. By the 10th of August a general strike was declared by the whole body of workers, both male and female. There were 3,134 workers, of whom 2,944 joined the labour union. Their struggle continued for 39 days. One person was killed but a successful result was obtained in the movement. Since that time, the female workers have entertained better feelings towards the labour union. Besides, special provision was made to grant 2 months leave and \$15 to those female workers who were about to give birth.
- „ 12. All organizations in Canton held a big demonstration in commemoration of the anniversary of the death of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen.
- „ 15. The Political Council of the Nationalist Government passed the following resolutions regarding the unification of Kwangtung and Kwangsi: (1) that Kwangsi Provincial Government obey the directions of the Nationalist Government in the management of the administration of Kwangsi Province; (2) that the Kwangsi troops be reorganized into the National Revolutionary Army; (3) that the finance of Liang Kwang (Kwangtung and Kwangsi) be under the control and supervision of the Nationalist Government.
- „ 20. A severe party dispute took place in Canton. Being misinformed to the effect that the Communists were plotting against him, General Chiang Kai-shih without the permission of the Nationalist Government, declared martial law in Canton and took radical measures to deal with the Communists. He despatched troops to disarm the gunboat "Chung Shan" and arrest Li Chi-loong, captain of the gunboat and also director of the Naval Department, who was suspected to be the prime mover of the plot. Besides, a certain number of the party representatives of various other ships, who were also suspected of sharing in the unconfirmed plot, were detained. The Strike Committee was also searched.
- „ 24. Since the March 20th incident several party representatives in the 1st Revolutionary Army have been dismissed. Wang Ching-wei, Chairman of the Nationalist Government and the Military Council, asked for sick leave.
- „ 28. The students of the Yueh-Han Railway Labour School promoted a meeting of the Canton workers. The Shamen Labour Youth participated, so the meeting was enlarged and called the Canton and Hongkong Youth Workers Conference.
- „ 30. The authorities in Swatow abolished their former act by returning the native customs within 30 miles of Swatow.

- Mar. 30. The Canton-Hongkong Women Workers General Conference was held at the Assembly Hall of the C.E.C. Building. At the conference, the following resolutions were passed:-
 (a) Resolution on the enactment of the New Factory Laws, (b) Resolution on the enactment of the Female Workers Protection Laws, (c) Resolution regarding the Canton-Hongkong Strike, etc.
- Apr. 3. Chiang Kai-Shih issued a note supporting the policy of cooperation with Soviet Russia. As for the "Chung Shan" affair (March 20) he said he would be personally responsible for that. He also stated that he would take severe measures to deal with the Kuomintang Right Wing members who had attended the Hsishan Meeting.
- " 4. The Canton Student Union convened a meeting of the representatives of various schools in Canton for the re-election of the Executive Committee. The students of Lingnan University, Kwangtung University, and the City Vocational School protested against the representatives of their schools. Therefore disputes ensued. Suddenly the detectives of the Bureau of Public Safety entered the meeting place and some members were taken to the police station. The meeting was divided into two parts. One portion continued the meeting in the Kwangtung University and the other portion met in the City Normal School.
- " 5. The 1st Canton Workers' Delegates Conference was held.
- " 8. C. C. Wu delegated the Government to make consultations with the British Consul and the Hongkong Government's delegates in Canton regarding the settlement of the Hongkong-Canton Strike.
- " 12. Li Chi-long who was arrested on March 20 was set free by General Chiang Kai-shih. He declared himself loyal to General Chiang Kai-shih.
- " 15. The All-Kwangtung Student Union held its First Delegates Conference. 160 delegates, representing 54 places, attended. The conference lasted 7 days. Shan Po-tung and others were elected to serve on the Executive Committee.

Later a small group of students organized a separate All-Kwangtung Student Union. For the sake of unifying the student movement, most of the students voluntarily cancelled the new movement which went into effect in July.

- " 16. Owing to the disputes of the Student Union, the Lingnan University expelled three Kuomintang students. Those students who had new ideas were dismissed. The entire body of workmen there struck in order to support the students. The result was that the university re-enlisted the students.
- " 18. The Kuomintang convened a conference of the workers in the Youth Movement of Kwangtung. Representatives of the schools from various districts attended.

- Apr. 20. The Nationalist Government issued a circular telegram stating that there was really no government in Peking and advised the people of the nation to call a National Conference in order to obtain political power.
- „ 21. Through the mediation of General Chiang Kai-shih, the Youth Military Officers Association (radical left wing) and the Sunyatsenism Association (extreme right wing) automatically abolished themselves.
- „ 24. The Nationalist Government issued a proclamation advocating the convening of a National Conference, and advising the Foreign Powers not to recognise the Peking Government.
Wu Teh-cheng, director of the Bureau of Public Safety and also the Division Commander of the Independent Division, was dismissed by the Government and Li Chang-tek was appointed director of the Bureau of Public Safety.
- „ 25. Disputes occurred among the arts and medical students of the Kwangtung University. Within a week the students fought with one another more than eight times. The "Stick Party" was organized and everywhere its members struck the people.
- May 1. The 2nd All-Kwangtung Peasant Delegates Conference was held in Canton, attended by 214 delegates from 66 districts, representing 626,450 organized peasants. The Conference closed its session on May 15th. The most important resolutions passed in the Conference were (1) that high usury on loans should be prohibited, that all exorbitant taxes and monopoly of petroleum should be abolished; (2) that disagreeable regulations imposed upon peasants by landlords and the advance collection of revenues should be abolished; (3) that village public funds should be used for peasant educational purposes; (4) that peasant sons should not be responsible for parents' debts.
- „ „ The 3rd All-China Labour Conference was held in Canton.
- „ „ The workers of the Canton-Hankow, the Canton-Samshui, and the Canton-Kowloon Railways organized a Kwangtung Branch of the All-China Railway Labour Union.
- „ „ The Kwangtung Transportation Labour Union was inaugurated.
The 3rd All-China Labour Conference, which assembled the leaders and warriors of the labour class of all China was held in Canton and lasted for 12 days. It was attended by 502 delegates from every part of China, representing more than 1,241,000 organized workers, including more than 400 labour unions.
- „ 4. A grand lecture was held by the students in the Kwangtung University, Tungshan, Sai Kwan and Honam. Prominent persons were invited to deliver lectures on the significance of the May 4 Massacre.

- May 9. Hu Han-min who had been despatched by the Government to Soviet Russia to investigate political conditions returned to Canton, while Wang Ching-wei left Canton for Hongkong and from there for Europe on sick leave.
- „ 17. The C.E.C. of the Kuomintang held a special session for party amelioration. Chiang Kai-shih's proposals regarding the same were adopted and resolutions were passed that (1) the relationships between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party should be bettered; (2) that the unfavourable attitude and writings of the Communist Party to the Kuomintang should be forbidden; (3) that the number of other party (Communist) members in the executive committee of Kuomintang high organs should not exceed one-third of those of the Kuomintang members, and also that they could not be the department directors of the Kuomintang Central Organs; (4) that those who had entered the Kuomintang should be prohibited from having connection with other organisations outside the Kuomintang Party.
- „ 18. In order to strive for their own welfare, the Pui Ching Students suspended studies and organized an Oppressed Students League to resist the school authorities. They won at the end.
- „ 19. Chiang Ching-kiang was elected Chairman of the C.E.C. of the Kuomintang.
- „ 20. A Resolution was passed in the C.E.C. of the Kuomintang to the effect that a new registration be opened to party members, i.e., all Kuomintang members should be re-registered. It was decided to hold a joint meeting of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and Messrs. Chang Ching-kiang, Tan Yen-kai, Chiang Kai-shih, Wu Chi-hui and Ku Meng-yu were elected as Kuomintang delegates to the joint meeting.
- „ 26. The Special Session of the C.E.C. of the Kuomintang for Party Amelioration was closed and a proclamation was issued explaining the purpose of the special session for Party Amelioration. It stated that the resolution adopted in the Session had no insincere intentions toward any party regarding cooperation. The adoption of these resolutions was really an act aiming at eradicating obstacles, cementing revolutionary factors and fighting with the reactionaries.
- „ „ A section of the students paraded to, and demonstrated in front of, the Central Kuomintang, loudly acclaiming "Overthrow Kam Nai-kwang," who is Director of the Youth Department.
- „ 30. Wu Teh-cheng, ex-director of the Bureau of Public Safety and later division Commander of the 17th division of the Revolutionary Army, was arrested by order of Chiang Kai-shih.
- „ „ C. C. Wu left Canton for Shanghai.
- „ 31. The Nationalist Government issued a proclamation stating that in compliance with the request of the people, the government had decided

to act upon (1) the abolition of the petroleum monopoly; (2) the settlement of the Hongkong-Canton Strike; (3) bandit suppression; (4) the organisation of an arbitration committee of workers and employers; (5) the prohibition of the free use of arms by various classes of people; (6) the strict punishment of corrupt officials; (7) the arrest of rumor mongers and disturbers of the peace; (8) the improvement of education, communications, and ports.

- June 4. The various schools in Canton organized an Anti-Cultural Aggression League. The League was organized in 36 schools. They decided upon an anti-Christian campaign on Christmas Day. Lectures were also given for three days.
- " 5. The Nationalist Government notified the Hongkong Government that Messrs. T. V. Soong, Chen Kung-po and Eugene Chen were appointed as the plenipotentiary delegates of the Canton Government to negotiate with the Hongkong authorities regarding the settlement of the Hongkong-Canton Strike.
- " 6. Chiang Kai-shih was appointed by the Military Council of the Nationalist Government as Commander-in-chief of the National Revolutionary Army, and to take command of all the troops of the Northern Expedition.
- " 10. The four Chambers of Commerce in Canton, with a view to hastening the prompt settlement of the Hongkong-Canton strike, sent delegates to Hongkong to consult with the Hongkong merchants to urge the Hongkong Government to settle the strike.
- " 15. The 2nd Canton Workers' Delegates Conference was held.
- " " The Native-made Cloth Labour Union was inaugurated some time in November, the 9th year of the Republic. At that time there were no female workers in the Union. In February of the 15th year a social gathering of the female weaving workers was convoked and propaganda begun. On June 15 another social gathering was convened at which some female executive committee members of the Union were elected. Work was then started to recruit female members. At that time the number of members of the Union was about 600. On October 10th, on account of the difficulty in maintaining a living, and because of the lack of uniformity of wages, a movement for the unification of the rate of wages was conducted. In the conducting of this movement the workers of all factories were not to declare strikes at the same time. In case the owner of any factory refused to comply with the terms of the workers, a strike was then declared by the workers of that factory. After one month's struggle their movement was finally successful. At the same time the Union obtained over 1,290 new members which made a total of more than 1,890 members.

- June 17. Chiang Kai-shih did not assume his post as Commander-in-chief of the National Revolutionary Army, but two divisions of the 4th Army were despatched to Hunan to aid in the Northern Expedition.
- „ 20. A conference of the representatives of the various schools in Canton was held. An election was carried on by single ballots. Pat Sit, Ng Chan-wah and others were elected for the Executive Committee. The Canton Student Movement was about to be unified.
- July 6. Chang Ching-kiang, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Central Kuomintang, resigned his office, and General Chiang Kai-shih was elected to be his successor and also appointed as a Committee member of the Nationalist Government.
- „ 10. General Chiang Kai-shih assumed office as Commander-in-chief of the National Revolutionary Army. Upon his assumption of office, General Chiang issued a lengthy declaration reviewing the last fifteen years and asserting that Imperialism had been the cause of all the hardships and ills from which China had suffered during this period. General Chiang would personally direct the Northern Expedition.
- „ „ The Party Red Cross Nurse Corps was inaugurated. Ten members of the Corps started for the front in company with the troops.
- „ „ Delegations of the Hongkong and Canton Governments formally met in Canton to negotiate about the settlement of the Hongkong-Canton Strike.
- „ 16. A Provincial Students Delegates Conference was held again in the Kwangtung University. The number of delegates was suddenly increased and disputes arose. Pun Hau-kam and Hung Sing-yun were wounded. There were no results from the conference.
- „ 19. The Kwangtung Youth organized the Northern Expedition Working Corps. Over 1,000 students joined the corps.
- „ 22. The three Youth Departments of the Kuomintang convened the Provincial Students Delegates Conference for the third time. 170 delegates attended. Election was carried on by single ballots. Pun Hau-kam, Leung Yau-yim, Wong Lin-yik, Wong Ping-kwan, Tsui Shi-fan, Pun Wai-kee, Siu Sheung-nan, Wong Chun-ming, and Li Yik-chung were elected for the Executive Committee. Now the Student Movement of Kwangtung was unified.
- „ 24. The incident regarding Chan Sum occurred. One hundred and fifty Unions demanded the Government to organize a judicial committee to settle the case. The Kuomintang organized a committee for the workers' movement to settle the dispute between thirty employers' guilds and the employee's guilds.
- „ „ The Railway workers organized a Northern Punitive Communicating Troop to participate in the Expedition.

- July 27. Chiang Kai-shih, Commander-in-chief of the National Revolutionary Army, left Canton for Shaokwan on his way to Hunan.
- „ „ The Conference on the settlement of the Hongkong Strike sojourned *sine die*, pending reference by the Hongkong delegates to the British Government of the question of appointing an international commission of inquiry into the details of the Shakee Massacre of June 23, 1925, and reference by the Canton Government regarding the British proposal of a loan.
- „ 30. The various schools in Kwangtung began to organize Party Boy Scouts.
- Aug. 1. Canton postmen held a General Strike demanding an increase of wages.
- „ „ The Kwangtung Educational Commission promoted a Proselytized Educational Movement. A Training Department was established in various schools to give political training.
- „ 6. The Kwangtung Women's Association was inaugurated. There were 100 representatives of 54 organizations present at the inaugural meeting. No resolutions were passed.
- „ 7. With a view to quieting the labor dissensions among the labor unions themselves, the Government issued a "Labor Arbitration Regulation" prohibiting the labor unions from using arms in fighting among themselves.
- „ 8. Canton Press workers held a general strike and announced the following demands: (1) that wages be increased; (2) that news about workers and labor unions be not so freely published; (3) that documents and correspondence of the Kuomintang and the Government be considerably published.
- „ 10. Being guaranteed by the Government of the fulfillment of their demand for an increase in wages, the Canton postmen resumed work.
- „ 12. Through the mediation of the Government, the Canton Press accepted all the demands of the Press Workers, and the strike was fully settled.
- „ 15. The Canton youths prepared to establish Youth Recreation Clubs.
- „ 23. Messrs. Li Min-chung and Hsu Chien, delegates of Feng Yu-hsiang, Commander-in-chief of the North-west Kuominchun, arrived at Canton and reporting that Commander Feng and his whole army had enlisted in the Kuomintang. Acting upon this report the Central Kuomintang the Nationalist Government appointed General Feng Party Representative of the North-west Kuominchun and Committee member of the Military Council and the Nationalist Government.
- Sept. 4. The British Imperialists in Shameen under the pretext that the patrol-boat of the Strike Pickets interfered with the British (smuggling) ships, arrested the Strike Pickets and detained their patrol-boat and at the same time British gunboats came alongside the Bund and marines were despatched ashore.

- Sept. 4. The Labour Children Corps held a mass meeting at the East Parade Ground.
- " 6. The Canton Government lodged a strong protest with the British Consul against the action of British gunboats in Canton waters.
- " 7. The youth of all circles had a meeting for the International Youth Celebration. They held a large parade and went to the Nationalist Government to present the demands of youth.
- " 12. The British marines were withdrawn from Canton's Bund and the British gunboats left Canton waters.
- " 23. The Political Council of the Nationalist Government decided automatically to end the boycott against Hongkong, and at the same time it was decided to levy a luxury tax on imported goods.
- Oct. 10. The Canton Government definitely called off the boycott against Hongkong, and shipping communications with that port were no longer interfered with by Strike Pickets. The Government issued a declaration to the effect that for the information of the people the giving up of the policy of direct boycott and blockade of Hongkong did not mean the cessation of the Anti-Imperialist struggle, but it meant intensification on a national scale, until the Independence of China is completely secured.
- " " Celebration of National Day and the end of the Hongkong-Canton Strike. Over 6,000 students attended.
- " 11. After the ending of the boycott against the Hongkong Imperialists, all the organisations in Canton established an "Economic Severance Committee" against the buying and selling of British goods and the circulation of British bank-notes.
- " " The Provincial Woman Movement Instructors Training Class was opened. There were 57 students, of whom 25% were true left-wing partisans, 62½% were indifferent members, and the rest were rightists. Again, of those students, 47 were natives of Kwangtung, 2 from Fukien, 2 from Kwangsi, one from Anhwei, and the rest unknown.
- " 15. The Joint Conference of Delegates of the Central, Provincial, City, and Special Kuomintangs, was held in Kuomintang Headquarters, Canton, lasting for 15 days. Many important resolutions were passed, these pertaining to peasants being (1) the reduction of the rental of land by peasants by 25%; (2) the standardization of the land tax tariff and the abolition of oppressive regulations; (3) the establishment of agricultural banks in the provinces and districts for the issuing of loans to peasants at an annual interest of 5%, (4) the appropriation of public land in the province by the Provincial Government as a reserve fund for the Agricultural Banks; (5) the allotment of untilled public land belonging to the Provincial Government to the poor peasants; (6) the prohibition of the

exaction of heavy interest on loans; (7) the assistance of the Government in aiding the peasants in the organisation of various cooperative unions; (8) the liberty of the Peasant Joint Unions in organising Peasants Self-Defence Corps.

- Oct. 15. The 3rd Canton Workers' Delegates Conference was held.
- " " The Canton Workers Self-Defence Troops were organized. (These troops were organized by the workers of various guilds, adopting the military system.)
- " " The Canton Employees General Labour Union was inaugurated.
- " 25. Lau Tat-chin, a student of the 1st Middle School armed himself and went back to the school and closed up its office so as to stop the school from communicating with outside people. He then compelled the teachers to leave and also disturbed the girls dormitory. Afterwards detectives from the Bureau of Public Safety found many evidences that this action was caused by the "Stick Party." At the same time the 2nd Middle School and the Girls Normal School were also disturbed by the "Stick Party."
- " " The Provincial Kuomintang of Chekiang discovered that Shan Hung-chi, of the "Stick Party," had conspired with the Sishan Bogus Conference. Shan said that three thousand members of the "Stick Party" would be enough to sweep away the Kwangtung University, the Canton Student Union, and finally the All-Kwangtung Student Union.

The recent disputes of the various students were disclosed. Afterwards the Joint Conference of the delegates of the Central Kuomintang, etc., passed a resolution to arrest Shan Hung-chi. A Student Disputes Investigation Committee was organized to settle the disputes.

- Nov. 1. The Canton Students Union convened a conference of the representatives of the various schools. Owing to the disputes caused by the students of Chung Shan University and the Girls Normal School, no results were obtained.
- " 11. The Arsenal was ordered to close. The workers of this factory lost their jobs. The Canton Workers' Delegates Conference organized a committee from the Mechanics' Union to help these workers start work again. The All-China General Labour Union despatched advice to all the workers' guilds in Kwangtung.
- " 12. A grand meeting was held commemorating the death of Dr. Sun. A parade was also held which was participated in by many students. Lectures by prominent persons were given in Tung Shan, Chung Shan University, Sai Kwan, and Honam.
- " 16. Three ministers of the Nationalist Government, Messrs. Eugene Chen, T.V. Soong and Sun Fo, High Advisor Borodin, and Mrs. Sun Yat-sen left Canton for Shaokwan on their way to Hankow.

APPENDIX: CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

- Nov. 20. General Chiang Kai-shih wired the Political Council requesting the removal of the Nationalist Government and the Central Kuomintang Headquarters to Wuchang, capital of Hupeh Province.
- „ 25. The Canton Municipal Schools held an athletic meet on the grounds of the Chung Shan University. The Primary Schools held a competition in arts.
- Dec. 7. Members of the Nationalist Government and Central Kuomintang left Canton for Shaokwan on their way to Wuchang. The important members included Messrs. Tan Yen-kai, Chiang Ching-kiang, Ku Meng-yu, and Mrs. Liao Chung-kai.
- „ 10. Chien Ta-chun, the Precautionary Commander of Canton, was appointed director of the Bureau of Public Safety. Upon his assumption of office, he issued a notification prohibiting the workers to engage in armed combat among themselves.
- „ 25. The Second All-Kwangtung Kuomintang Delegates Conference was held in Canton, attended by more than 80 delegates. The conference lasted 10 days, and many important resolutions were passed.
- „ The Canton students held a demonstration against Cultural Aggression. Lecture corps were organized and an entertainment was given. Over 6,000 students participated.
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PRACTICAL MAP OF KWANGTUNG PROVINCE

Scale 1:



Capital of province

Hsien'or District City

Open or Treaty Ports

Foreign colonies or

Long term Leased

Territories

Boundaries of

Districts

Railways

